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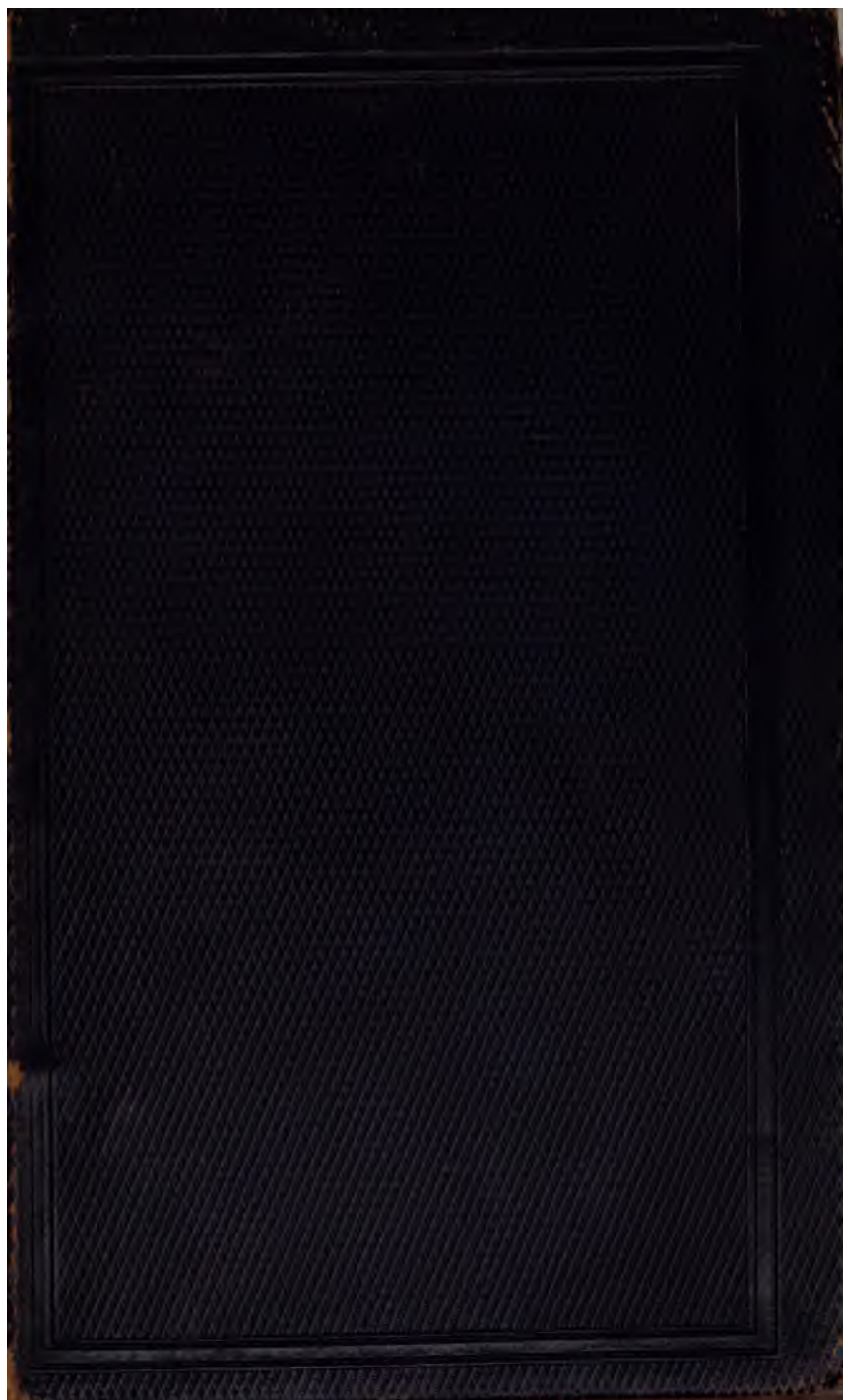
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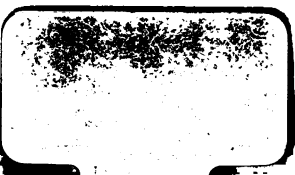


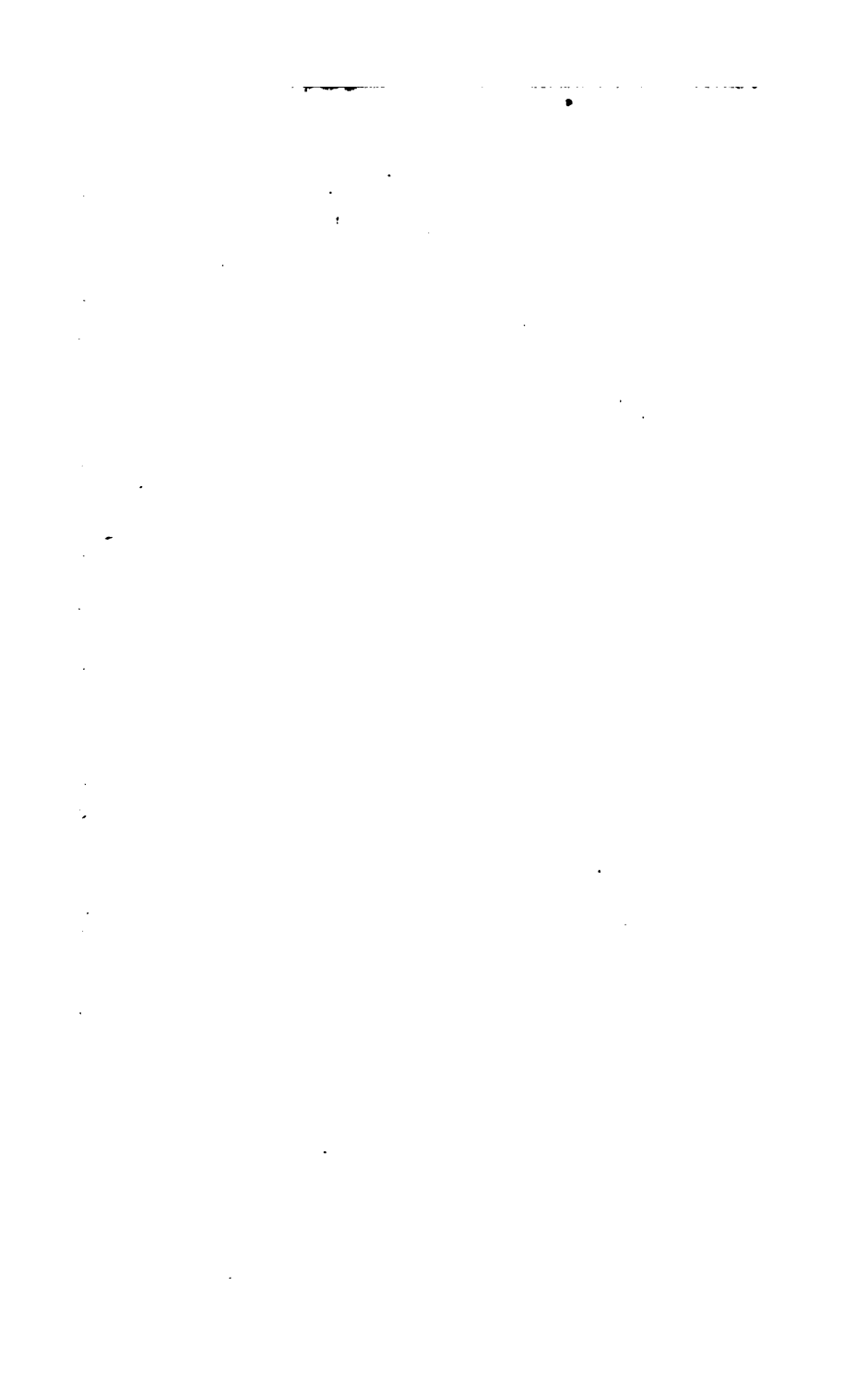
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THE  
COLLEGIATE, SCHOOL, AND FAMILY  
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD,

TO THE

Eleventh Year of the Reign of Queen Victoria ;

CONTAINING

A NARRATIVE OF CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS, AND EXHIBITING A VIEW OF  
THE RELIGION, GOVERNMENT AND LAWS, LITERATURE, ARTS, COMMERCE,  
MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, ETC., ETC., OF THE DIFFERENT PERIODS  
OF ENGLISH HISTORY.

---

BY

EDWARD FARR, F.S.A.,

AUTHOR OF

"A Continuation of Hume and Smollett," "Ancient History, from various Authentic Sources  
both Ancient and Modern," "The History of France," "Bible Biography,"  
"The People of China," etc. etc.

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JOSEPH RICKERBY, SHEARBOURN LANE,  
KING WILLIAM STREET, CITY

## PREFACE.

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It is generally admitted that a History of England for Schools and Families is a desideratum in literature: that while there are many Histories published for the use of young people, there is not one on which they can depend for sound information. Those Histories, moreover, for the most part are only outlines, or mere narratives of civil and military transactions. Nor are these events recorded truthfully: errors particularly abound in the History commonly used in schools, and which professes to be an improved edition of the work originally written by Goldsmith. But even if this History were perfect in what it records, at the present day something more is required than the dry and often revolting details of war and bloodshed. Such details should never form the distinctive feature of a History for youth. Ambition begets ambition. The war-narrative of Homer inflamed the ambition of Alexander; and the pages of Xenophon in a great measure formed the warlike and dangerous character of Napoleon. A notice of the wars in which England has been engaged should not be omitted, but they should not form the all-absorbing topics of the pages of English History. A nation's true greatness does not consist in the victories gained by its armies: they exhibit only

its physical, not its mental strength. A complete History of England must, therefore, present a view of the people at large, in their religion, government, laws, literature, arts, sciences, commerce, industry, manufactures, and manners and customs. On such principles is this History written. Its pages unfold not only the nature and progress of political events ; not only relate the wars in which the monarchs of Great Britain have been engaged, internally and externally ; but the nature and progress of all that appertains to the religious, moral, and social condition of the people : commencing at the earliest period, and concluding with the eleventh year of the reign of her majesty QUEEN VICTORIA. Interspersed throughout the work will be found lessons conveying moral and religious instruction : the writer conceiving that the one aim of the historian should be so to mould the minds of the young that they may become loyal and good subjects, and peaceful and useful members of the community.

IVER,  
*December, 1847.*

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# THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE ANCIENT BRITONS: THEIR ORIGIN, CONDITION, ETC.

THE origin of the first inhabitants of the British islands is involved in obscurity. The earliest traditions respecting them are preserved in the Welsh poetical histories, known by the name of the "Triads;" in allusion to the three events which they commemorate. The first Triad says, "Three names have successively been given to the island of Britain. Before it was inhabited it was called *Clas Merddin*, 'the country with sea and cliffs;' and afterwards *Fel Ynis*, 'the island of honey.' When a government had been imposed upon it by Prydain, the son of Ædd the Great, it was called *Inys Prydain*, 'the island of Prydain;' and there was no tribute to any but to the race of the Cymri, because they first obtained it. Before them there were no human beings in it, but only bears, wolves, beavers, and oxen with the high prominence." According to this authority, therefore, the Cymri, or ancestors of the present Welsh, who still call themselves Cymri, were the first inhabitants of Britain. Another Triad states that their leader was *Hu Cadarn*, or "Hugh the Strong," and that he conducted them through the Hazy—that is, the German Ocean—to Britain; and to Llydaw—that is, Armorica—from "the country of Summer," where Constantinople now is. Other Triads inform us, that the next people who came to Britain were the Llogewys, who came from the land of Gwasgwyn, or Gascony, and were of the same race with the Cymri; as were also the next colonists, the Brython, from the land of Llydaw. The Triads represent these three nations as living together in peace and tranquillity, and as speaking the same language. After-

wards, these traditionary poems say, that other nations came to the country with more or less violence; as the Romans and the Gwyddyl Fficti, or Picts, to Alban or Scotland, on the part which lies nearest to the Baltic; the Corraniaid from Pwyll, probably Poland, to the Humber; the men of Galedin, or Flanders, to Wyth; the Saxons, and the Llychlynians, or Northmen.

According to an ancient legend which was perpetuated by Geoffrey of Monmouth, who flourished in the twelfth century, the first Britons were descended from the Trojans, a colony of whom, it states, was conducted to this island by Brutus, a grandson or great-grandson of Æneas, after the destruction of Troy by the confederated Greeks. The vanity of being supposed to be sprung from the Trojans was anciently common to many European nations; but the English seem to have retained the notion to a later date than any other people. The first King Edward gravely alleged it in a letter which he addressed to Pope Boniface, A.D. 1301, as part of the argument by which he attempted to establish the supremacy of the English crown over Scotland. The tale was first questioned by Camden in the sixteenth century; but nearly a hundred years afterwards, a belief in its truth still lingered in the poetical imagination of Milton; and there are some who believe it even to this day. But even if Brutus and his Trojans did settle in the British islands, it is certain they were not the *first* settlers. Holinshed observes, that he must have found the island peopled, either with the generation of those which Albion, the giant, had placed therein, or some other kind of people, whom he subdued and reigned over in common with those he brought with him.

The traditionary tale to which Holinshed here alludes, states that Albion was a son of Neptune, who took the island from the Celts after they had occupied it for more than three hundred years. Five kings reigned over the Celts; the first of whom was Samothès, the eldest son of Japheth, who is called in the Book of Genesis, Meshech. From Samothès Britain received its first name Samothea. Albion and his brother Bergion, who reigned over Ireland, were eventually conquered and put to death by Hercules. But this tale, which was first published about the fifteenth century, must be looked upon as essentially fabulous.

Among the modern theories proposed on this subject, one is, that the Phœnicians first colonized both Britain and Ire-

land. These enterprising navigators, it is supposed, ventured to pass the Straits of Gibraltar, and coasted along Spain and France till they reached Britain. The Phœnicians, however, cannot be deemed the earliest settlers in Britain. Their first appearance in the country was for the purpose of trading with its inhabitants for tin, an article for which in the earliest ages it was celebrated. The Phœnicians were for a long time careful not to mention the situation of the country from whence they obtained this article. They appear to have kept the secret for nearly three hundred years; and Strabo relates that, in one instance, the master of a Phœnician vessel ran his ship aground and destroyed it, on finding that some Roman vessels were resolved to follow his course. It may appear strange to be told that a people of Italy did not know of such an island as Britain: but in that age pilots never willingly went out of sight of land, and the situation of foreign countries was very little known.

During their season of commerce, it may be concluded that some of the Phœnician traders settled in Britain and amalgamated with its original inhabitants. It is clear, however, that the numerous population which the Romans found in the occupation of the southern part of Britain about half a century before our era, was principally a Celtic race; and this race seems to have been immediately derived from Gallia, or France. Cæsar, the first Roman who has described this people, states that their buildings were similar to those of the Gauls, and that their religion was the same. And that a close political alliance existed between the states of Britain and Gaul is proved by the fact, that the latter were all along aided by the former in their fierce hostility to the Romans. Tacitus also has expressly recorded that, in addition to an identity of religious rites, the language of the Gauls and the Britons was nearly the same. Evidence of this fact remains to the present day in the Celtic character of the topographical nomenclature of the south and other parts of Britain. As Bishop Percy has observed, although the names of towns and villages are generally of Anglo-Saxon derivation, yet the names of hills, forests, rivers, &c., are for the most part Celtic. It seems clear, therefore, that the southern parts of Britain were originally occupied by the Cymerian or Celtic tribes. At the same time the interior was inhabited, according to the common belief at least, by a different race. Cæsar, who describes these as much more

rude in their manners, and less advanced in civilization than the inhabitants of the south, says, that the tradition was that they originated in the island itself; whereas, those who occupied the maritime parts came from Belgium, and seized the country in which they lived by violence. This statement establishes the fact that the occupation of the coast was a more recent event than the colonization from which the people of the interior had descended. Yet both the tribes of the coast and interior were of the same Celtic descent, for all spoke dialects of the same Celtic tongue. Evidences of this community of language and lineage are found throughout Britain, from its northern boundary to the Channel. The oldest names of natural objects and localities, both on the coast and in the interior, are Celtic. There appears to be little reason to doubt, therefore, that the whole of what is now called England was first occupied by a Celtic population, which came over in successive swarms from Gaul. Colonies from other quarters afterwards may have mingled with them, but they formed the basis of society in the earliest ages; for everything of the greatest antiquity that survives among us is Celtic.

The names of the British or Celtic tribes, and their localities at the first dawn of authenticated English history, which was about one hundred years before the Christian era, were as follows:—

- 1.—The *Bibroci*, in Surrey, Kent, Sussex, and part of Berkshire.
- 2.—The *Segontiaci*, in Hampshire, and part of Berkshire.
- 3.—The *Durotriges*, in Dorsetshire.
- 4.—The *Carnabii*, } both in Devonshire.
- 5.—The *Cimbri*, }
- 6.—The *Hedui*, in Somersetshire, part of Gloucestershire, and Wiltshire.
- 7.—The *Ancalitis*, in a small district near Henley-on-Thames.
- 8.—The *Dobuni*, in Oxfordshire, part of Gloucestershire, and part of Worcestershire.
- 9.—The *Cassii*, in Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Middlesex, and Essex.
- 10.—The *Iceni Magni*, in Huntingdonshire, Cambridge-shire, Norfolk, Suffolk, and part of Northamptonshire.
- 11.—The *Coriceni*, including the *Jugantes*, in Lincoln-

shire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Rutlandshire, and part of Northamptonshire.

12.—The *Carnabii*, in Warwickshire, part of Worcestershire, Staffordshire, Salop, and Cheshire.

13.—The *Brigantes*, in Durham, Yorkshire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancashire. This included three minor tribes.

14.—The <i>Voluntii</i> ,	} These tribes held the country north of the Tyne, extending into Scotland.
15.—The <i>Sistuntii</i> ,	
16.—The <i>Parisii</i> ,	
17.—The <i>Ottadini</i> ,	
18.—The <i>Gadeni</i> .	

19.—The <i>Silures</i> ,	} These tribes occupied all the country of Wales, except the Isle of Anglesey, and a small tract near Bangor.
20.—The <i>Dimecia</i> ,	
21.—The <i>Ordovices</i> ,	

22.—The *Cangiani*, in the Isle of Anglesey, and the small tract near Bangor.

Although the position of these tribes may be traced in a map of England, it must not be supposed that their boundaries were marked with any precision. It seems probable that rivers and ridges of hills generally formed the lines of demarcation among the ancient Britons, as they do now among the savage tribes of America and Polynesia; and these lines could not be so easily defined then as they might be at the present time. A large part of the country was covered with thick forests, extending many miles in length, while other parts were covered with marshes, continually overflowed by the rivers, whose course was hindered by various obstacles; and other parts with lakes, the waters of which could find no outlet.

At this early period of English history the inhabitants were few in number compared with the present population. The character of the ancient Britons also was very different from that of the moderns. They were wild, fierce, and uncivilized. The greater part of them wore long hair, and the clothing which was in use among them was made from the skins of animals in their natural state. Their bodies were marked with many strange figures and devices, which were made by pricking the skin with an instrument, and then rubbing the punctured places with the juice of a plant called *woad*, which stained a blue colour. Their sustenance was chiefly milk



and animal food. In the interior many lived by hunting and fishing, for which latter employment they used small canoes, hollowed out of a tree, or a wicker frame covered with skins, which they could carry upon their backs from river to river, and which somewhat resembled the coracles now used on the rivers of Wales. The Latin poet, Lucan, alludes to this usage in the following passage:—

“The bending willows into barks they twine,  
Then line the work with skins of slaughtered kine;  
Such are the floats Venetian fishers know,  
Where in dull marshes stands the settling Po.  
On such to neighbouring Gaul, allured by gain,  
The bolder Britons cross the swelling main.  
Like these when fruitful Egypt lies afloat,  
The Memphian artist builds his reedy boat.”

Some of the ancient Britons were employed in agriculture. This was more especially the case in the southern districts, where the inhabitants seem to have been more enlightened and more civilized than in other parts of the country. Corn was cultivated there to some extent, the earth being tilled, or rather scratched with a rude plough, or dug with a mattock. To the flail the Britons appear to have been strangers. Diodorus says they had granaries, or subterranean chambers, in which they housed their corn in the ear, beating out no more than they required for one day; then, drying and bruising the grain, they made food for immediate use. Some vestiges of this ancient usage were remaining not long ago in the western islands of Scotland, and the process has been thus described:—

“A woman sitting down takes a handful of corn, holding it by the stalks in her left hand, and then sets fire to the ears, which are presently in a flame; she has a stick in her right hand, which she manages very dexterously, beating off the grain at the very instant when the husk is quite burnt; for if she miss of that, she must use the kiln. The corn may be so dressed, winnowed, ground, and baked within an hour.” In the isles of Scotland this process is called *graddan*, from the Irish word *grad*, which signifies “quick.”

The houses of the ancient Britons were of a very rude construction. Diodorus calls them wretched cottages, constructed of wood, and covered with straw. Those of the ruder tribes were mere huts, which could be removed from place to place; and the houses generally in regular towns were little better, being formed of the boughs of trees, interwoven and

covered with clay. They were of a conical form, the roof tapering to a point, with an aperture to let out the smoke. The interior was an open space, and was used by the family in common, both by day and night. The fire was kindled in the centre, and the inhabitants slept around it on a bed of rushes. Among the tribes who had intercourse with the Gauls, there were some houses formed exclusively of timber, and some of stone; but these were of equally rude construction with the wattled houses of the rudest tribes. In many parts of the United Kingdom vestiges are to be seen of stone foundations and walls of circular houses. Thus at Chun Castle, in Cornwall, are several remains of these buildings, which consist of large stones piled together without mortar, measuring from ten to twenty feet in diameter, and having a doorway with an upright stone or jamb on each side. There is no appearance of either chimneys or windows.

Towns were generally placed on hills, and surrounded by woods and ditches for security; hence Strabo says that the forests of the Britons were their cities; for when they had enclosed a very large circuit with felled trees, they built within it houses for themselves and hovels for their cattle. Some of the embankments which surrounded their houses are still in existence. There is one in Essex including a space of about twelve acres, which was formerly in the centre of Epping Forest; another on the Malvern Hills; and another, called *Caer Morus*, in the parish of Cellan, county of Cardigan. It is generally within such intrenchments that remains of buildings are found.

According to Cæsar the ancient Britons exhibited much skill in the art of fortification and the practice of encampment. He describes the capital of Cassivelaunus as admirably defended both by nature and art. Chun Castle is an interesting specimen of an ancient British *dun* or fortress. It consists of two circular walls, having a terrace between them thirty feet in width. The walls are built of rough masses of granite, which are fitted together and piled up without cement. Part of the outer wall is ten feet high and about five feet thick, but it is supposed that it was originally fifteen feet high and twelve feet thick. This wall was surrounded with a ditch nineteen feet in width, and the only entrance to it was towards the south-west. The entrance is six feet wide in the narrowest part, and sixteen in the widest, where the walls diverge and are rounded off on either side. There are indications of steps up to the level of the area within the castle, and the re-

mains of a wall which, crossing the terrace from the outer wall, divided the entrance into two parts at its widest end. The inner wall of the castle encloses an area measuring one hundred and seventy-five feet north and south, and one hundred and eighty east and west. Around the wall are circular enclosures, supposed to have formed the habitable parts of the castle; these are generally about twenty feet in diameter; but at the northern side there is a large apartment, which measures thirty feet by twenty-six.

Nothing is recorded respecting the internal decorations of the houses, or of the furniture of the ancient Britons. Those of private individuals were unadorned and unfurnished; but it is probable that the residences of kings, sages, and chiefs, possessed such ornaments as their intercourse, first with the Phœnecians and afterwards with the Gauls, placed within their reach. Of the handicrafts in which they themselves excelled, that of basket making, or wicker work, seems to have been the principal. Of wicker work they even constructed the gigantic idols in which they burned their victims at their religious festivals. Long before the arrival of the Romans, it is manifest that the Britons possessed implements required for cutting, smoothing, shaping, and joining of wood. At the period of Cæsar's invasion they had carriages for war as well as for other purposes, which is an evidence of this fact. The Greek and Roman writers mention British wheel carriages under the six different names of *bennâ*, *petoritum*, *currus*, *covinus*, *esedæ*, and *rheda*. It is probable that each of these terms signified a particular description of carriage, and that the *covinus* was that which was armed with scythes, for the purpose of war. The British war chariots seem to have been dreaded by the Romans. Cicero, writing to Trebatius, who served under Cæsar, after observing that he heard Britain yielded neither gold nor silver, playfully exhorted his friends to capture one of the *esedæ*, and make his way back to Rome with all speed. In another letter he cautioned Trebatius to take care that he was not snatched up and carried off by some driver of one of these vehicles before he was aware.

The ancient Britons seem to have understood the art of manufacturing earthenware; this, however, was of inferior description, being composed of coarse materials, rudely formed, imperfectly baked, and liable, therefore, to crack by exposure to the weather. The ornaments chiefly consisted of the zig-zag pattern, and of lines worked by some pointed instrument

with the hand. The vases most frequently found are of three kinds: the large sepulchral urn, which contains the burnt bones of the deceased, and is a truncated cone; the drinking-cup, which was placed at the head and feet of the skeletons, and is of a barrel form, widening at the mouth; and the incense cups, which are more fantastic in shape and ornaments than the former, and are supposed to have been filled with perfumes and suspended over the funeral pile.

Although possessing rich mines of tin, the Britons were but little acquainted with the art of mining; the only mining known to them was that which consisted in digging a few feet into the earth, and collecting what is called "the stream tin," from the modern process of washing and separating the particles of the ore thus lodged, by directing a stream of water over their bed. They separated the metal from the dross by smelting, and after it was thus purified, they prepared it for market by casting it into ingots in the shape of dice. The lead which they had was procured in like manner from the surface of the soil, or within a few feet under ground.

The Britons seem to have possessed some knowledge of the art of working in metals; moulds for spears, arrows, and axe-heads have frequently been found both in England and Ireland. British weapons, also, have been found; and some of them being chemically analyzed, the proportions were, in a spear head, one part of tin to six of copper; in an axe head, one of tin to ten of copper; and in a knife, one of tin to seven and a half of copper.

A more extensive commerce prevailed in Britain than might have been expected from the rude condition of its natives. Strabo says that its exports were gold, silver, iron, corn, cattle, skins, and dogs, possessing various excellent qualities: its imports, ivory, bridles, gold chains, cups of amber, drinking-glasses, and a variety of other articles of the like kind. This author does not mention either lead or tin, which certainly formed the chief articles of export, both to Phœnicia and to Gaul; and gold and silver were not found in the island. Diodorus observes, after describing the manner in which the tin was prepared in Cornwall, "When it has been refined and cast into ingots, the natives convey it in wheeled carriages over a space which is dry at low water, to a neighbouring island called Ictis, where the foreign merchants purchase it, and transport it in their ships to the coast of Gaul." Cicero speaks of slaves as a well-known descrip-

tion of British produce; but this may have arisen from the Romish invasion, for the Romans were great slave dealers. After the establishment of the Roman dominion in the country, its natural resources were more fully developed, and its foreign trade, both as regards exports and imports, assumed a new aspect. The chief export of Roman Britain was corn, but it supplied the continental parts of the empire with other agricultural produce, as well as grain, and also with natural productions, and much cattle. The British horses were highly esteemed by the Romans, both for their beauty and their training; and various Latin poets have celebrated the pre-eminence of the British dogs above all others for their courage, size, strength, fleetness, and scent. Tacitus mentions that pearls were procured from Britain; and the testimony of ancient authors proves that they were there found in several rivers, as those of the Conway and the Irt. Origen, who describes these as somewhat cloudy, affirms they were next in value to those of India.

The genius of the ancient Britons, however, was more warlike than commercial. Their chief property was their arms and their cattle; and after they had acquired a relish of liberty, it was impossible for their princes or chieftains to establish despotic authority over them. Their governments were monarchical, yet free, as well as those of all the Celtic nations, and the common people seem to have enjoyed more liberty among them than among the nations of Gaul, from whom, chiefly, they had descended. Each state was divided into factions within itself, and was agitated with jealousy or animosity against the neighbouring states: home wars were the chief occupation, and the principal object of ambition among the people.

In battle the ancient Britons fought with much courage, both on foot, on horseback, and in chariots. For the most part their chariots were armed with scythes; and they were driven among their enemies with great fury, for the purpose of disordering their ranks, and cutting down all who opposed them. Their horsemen are sometimes represented in a state of nudity, and sometimes in a shaggy clothing.

The appearance of Britain at this early period has been thus aptly described by a poet:—

“ Rudely o’erspread with shadowy forests lay  
Wide trackless wastes that never saw the day;

Rich fruitful plains, now waving deep with corn,  
 Frown'd rough and shaggy with the tangled thorn ;  
 Through joyless heaths and valleys dark with woods,  
 Majestic rivers rolled their useless floods.  
 Full oft the hunter checked his ardent chase,  
 Dreading the latent bog and green morass ;  
 While, like a blasting mildew, wide were spread  
 Blue thickening mists in stagnant marshes bred."

But, although this description is essentially true, there were a few great highways, by which communication was maintained between one district and another. These highways are thus enumerated:—1, the *Southern Watling Street*, from Richborough in Kent, by London, Verulam, and Weedon, to Wellington and Wroxeter, and from thence to Holyhead. 2, the *Northern Watling Street*, from Chew Green, in Scotland, and passing by Manchester and Chester, to Holyhead. 3, the *Ickneild Street*, from Yarmouth to the Land's End, by Royston, Dunstable, Chinnor, Streatley, to Old Sarum, Exeter, and Totness. 4, *Rykneild Street*, from the Tyne to Boroughbridge, Birmingham, Gloucester, and Caermarthen. 5, the *Ermyrn Street*, from Berwick to Pevensey, by Doncaster, Stamford, and London. 6, the *Ikeman Street*, extending from the eastern coast to St. David's. 7, the *Fossway*, from Lincolnshire, by Leicester, Cirencester, Bath, and Ilchester, to Seaton, in Devonshire ; and 8, the *Saltway*, from Lincolnshire to Droitwich.

If some of these roads had not been constructed, Cæsar could scarcely have marched his forces into the interior ; but it is evident that the Romans transformed them into those monuments of human art which their remains declare them to have been. For wherever the Romans extended their conquests they turned their attention to road-making ; and in Britain it seems probable that they began their operations with the great native high roads, the course of which led to the most important towns throughout the country. These were levelled, paved, and straitened, so as to form lines fit for the movements of large bodies of infantry and cavalry at any season of the year. They formed also new roads leading from one to another of the many stations which they established in Britain. Some of these lines of military posts were very elaborately constructed. Like the famous Appian way and others in Italy, they were paved with flat stones cut to a uniform rectangular shape, and closely joined together.

Of the manners and customs of the ancient Britons very little is satisfactorily known. Some authors charge them with cannibalism, and with immoral habits, which the rudest tribes in other parts of the world abhor. But, whatever their vices might have been, it is certain that they were not deficient in Pagan virtues. The intensity of grief which they felt at the death of a friend, is exhibited to posterity in the numerous barrows, or burying-places, that exist in the southern division of the island, and the cairns that are found in the northern. For as love and friendship are frequently found most intense among the uncivilized inhabitants of the world; so the rudest tribes are found to present the most striking indications of these passions in their funeral ceremonies and modes of burial.

The labour with which the old British barrows were constructed, and the care and ingenuity displayed in their forms, excite the wonder of modern ages. They exhibit great variety both in size and shape; and by this may be conjectured both the period of their construction, and the condition of those whom they were designed to commemorate. Thus the immense mounds of earth of an oblong form were probably the earliest graves of the island, and assigned for chieftains; the bowl-shaped barriers, which are plain hemispheric mounds of earth, were of a later period; and the bell-shaped barrow, which is an improvement upon the former, is evidently of a still later date. To these may be added what have been called Druid barrows. These are the most elegant of the whole series of graves; and appear, from the finer bones and the trinkets they contain, to have been generally the tombs of females. It would appear also, that all these various barrows were reserved for chiefs, and personages of rank: the common people were buried in humbler graves, as in other parts of the world.

What ceremonies were used in the interment of the dead among the ancient Britons is unknown. From the contents of the graves, however, we find that, like other rude nations, they buried whatever was accounted most valuable with the body. Weapons of war and the chase, ornaments, articles of jewellery, and the relics of dogs and deer, are found mixed with human bones. All this evidently had a prospective view to the existence of the departed in another world. The articles of jewellery and the ornaments were designed for his future adornment; and the weapons of war and the chase for the means of defence, subsistence, and amusement.

The Britons observed a variety of modes in the disposition of the body in the interment of the dead. The earliest mode seems to have been to place it in a cist, or coffer, with the legs bent up towards the head. This practice is generally found to have been adopted in the long barrows; and in these there are sometimes found bronze daggers and drinking-cups, of rude workmanship. At a later date they laid the body in the grave at full length; and in these graves are found articles of bronze and iron, such as spear-heads, lances, swords, bosses of shields, together with ornaments of chain-work, beads of glass and amber, with other trinkets; all of which indicate a more refined period. In some instances the bodies were enclosed in a strong wooden coffin, rivetted with bronze; and in others they were consumed by fire, and the ashes carefully deposited on the floor in the barrow, or within a cist cut in the chalk. A still more classical mode of burial was sometimes practised. When the body had been consumed on the pile, the ashes were collected, enclosed in a linen sheet, which was secured by a brass pin, and deposited in an urn, after the manner of the classical nations of antiquity.

Though the Britons were a hardy race, yet the climate of the country rendered a fire indispensable during the season of winter. Before the Romans introduced among them the luxury of a brazier, this was lit on the bare floor of their cottages. They were supplied with fuel by their forests; but they appear to have been acquainted with coal before the arrival of their conquerors. What coal they used, however, was gathered upon or near the surface of the earth, and it was only made available in places where wood could not easily be obtained.

The diet of the ancient Britons, doubtless, corresponded with the poverty of their dwellings, and the general simplicity of their lives. Those inhabiting the country opposite the coast of Gaul were indeed well supplied with the means of comfortable living, having corn-fields, and pastures covered with flocks and herds; but their more barbarous countrymen in the interior and other parts of the island, must have been in a state of considerable destitution. Cæsar says that the inhabitants of the interior sowed no grain, but lived on the milk and flesh of their flocks and herds. Those who lived in the north were still more destitute. Under the most favourable circumstances, it is said, that they lived upon the milk of their flocks, wild fruits, and whatever they could procure in



hunting; but there were seasons when they fed upon roots and leaves. At those seasons when they were in want of natural sustenance, ancient authors relate, that they used a certain composition, of which when they had eaten about the quantity of a bean, they felt neither hunger nor thirst. This "composition" was probably a drug, which deadened the gnawings of hunger, just as Indian hunters in similar cases gird a bandage tightly upon their stomachs, to prevent that painful feeling.

The game upon which the needy natives both of the north and south chiefly subsisted, seems to have been the bison, the boar, and the mouse-deer; in the procuring of which their efforts and weapons must often have proved unavailing. A difference of opinion exists as to how they cooked this game. While some assert that they ate it raw, after clearing the blood away, by pressing the flesh between flat stones or pieces of timber; others suppose that the carcass was baked in a pit lined with heated flints. It is a remarkable circumstance, that the southern Britons abstained from eating hares and poultry, and the northern Britons from fish: articles of food now considered great luxuries.

Little is known concerning the drinking habits of the Britons. Water from the brook was doubtless their principal beverage, as it is of all uncivilized people; but at their social feasts they drank mead or metheglin. They are also said to have used a preparation from barley, which was a species of ale common to the Gauls and Spaniards, and to the nations of the west and north. This is mentioned by several Latin writers, who express their admiration of the ingenuity of savages in making even water intoxicate.

In such a rude state of society it can hardly have been expected that any kind of learning or scientific knowledge existed. In southern Britain, however, there was a class of persons called the Druids, who formed a body of national functionaries, who were entrusted with the superintendence of the instruction of the people in every department of learning. The Druids were not only the theologians and priests of the nation, but they were lawyers, physicians, teachers of youth, moral and natural philosophers, astronomers, mathematicians, architects, musicians, poets, and historians. But the Druids did not diffuse their instructions among the people at large. The genius of their system was similar to that which prevailed in Greece, where philosophy taught that

while the few should be instructed, it was necessary to withhold instruction from the multitude. The Druids knew that "knowledge is power," and that if they enlightened the whole community, they would lose the ascendancy which their superior knowledge gave them. At the same time, while they no more thought of communicating knowledge to the multitude, than people would now think of lavishing away their estates or their money, the institution of the Druids was not a hereditary oligarchy. Even the Chief Druid obtained his place by election; and the Druidical clergy appear to have consisted of persons educated to the profession from the various families of the land. Their institution was maintained by constant drafts from the mass of the nation.

Concerning the course of the studies of the pupils of the Druids little is known. Cæsar states that they sometimes remained twenty years under tuition, and that in the course of that time they learned a great number of verses, and were instructed in theology, and in many things respecting the heavenly bodies and their motion, the magnitude of the universe and the earth, and the nature of things; by which last phrase must be understood a mixed course of physics and metaphysics. All these instructions were imparted orally, although the Druids were acquainted with the art of writing, and employed it on all common occasions.

As eloquence is the most popular instrument for ruling the public mind, the art was diligently cultivated by the Druids, as well as by the leading personages in the various tribes. Many harangues delivered by Galgacus, Boadicea, and other chiefs, have been preserved by Roman writers; and though it may be supposed that they have adorned them, yet they possess great native merit. Tacitus relates of the Druids of Mona, that when their sanctuary was attacked by Suetonius, they rushed with burning torches in their hands through the ranks of their armed countrymen, and inflamed their courage by pouring forth frenzied prayers. Sometimes they would evince their powers of persuasion by throwing themselves between two bodies of combatants ready to engage, and by the charms of their eloquence appease their mutual rage, and prevail upon them to throw down their arms. In Anglesey, and in other parts of Wales, there are artificial mounts existing, called *Carnedd*s, from the tops of which it is supposed the Druids were wont to deliver their regular instructions and admonitions to the people assembled below.

Poetry and music were cultivated by that particular division of the body of Druids called Bards. It was the office of these Bards to celebrate the praises both of the gods and heroes of their nation in verse. Sometimes their recitations were accompanied by a musical instrument resembling the ancient lyre or modern harp. Their effusions occasionally partook of the nature of predictions, although it cannot be supposed that they possessed the gift of prophecy. Thus it is said, when Boadicea, smarting under the rod of the Romans, sought counsel of the gods of her country, the Druid to whom she applied pronounced the destruction of Rome, as he swept the chords

"Of his sweet but awful lyre."

The medicine of the Druids in its general character was a medley of their vain and delusive theology, astrology, divination, and magic. In their art of healing, vegetable productions were used; as the mistletoe, selago, supposed to be a species of hedge hyssop, samolus, or marsh-wort, and vervain. Very little reliance, however, was placed by the Druidical physicians upon the natural properties of these plants; everything depended upon the mode in which they had been gathered: thus some were to be cut from their stalks with an instrument of iron; some were to be plucked by the hand; some were to be gathered with the left, and others with the right hand; some were to be obtained when the sun was shining, and others by moonlight; and some were to be gathered in the absence of both sun and moon, and under the ascendancy of some particular star. The persons who gathered these plants were sometimes to be attired in white; at others they were to go barefooted; and at others fasting. It is probable that these minute formalities were enjoined for the double purpose of impressing a sanctity on the art of healing, and for affording a shelter for the credit of the drug and the doctor, in cases where they failed to effect a cure.

The science of astronomy among the Druids seems to have sprung out of the national religion: at all events, it was blended with their theology; hence some have endeavoured to discover an astronomical meaning in the disposition of the stones of Stonehenge and Abury, as well as in other remains of antiquity, supposed to have been Druidical temples. The Irish round towers, which have generally four openings or windows facing the four cardinal points, are also supposed to

have served the twofold purpose of sacred or emblematical monuments, and of watchtowers of the heavens. The science of astronomy seems to have been cultivated by the Druids, as being imagined to afford them the means of looking into futurity; or, in other words, for the purposes of divination. It was also studied for the regulation of various annual festivals. Pliny likewise records that the Druids began the reckoning of their years, months, and their great cycle, which was a period of thirty years, from the sixth day of the moon. Diodorus Siculus, in his description of the wonders of the Hyperborean Isle—Britain or Ireland—speaks of the cycle of nineteen years, called the cycle of the moon, in such a manner as to imply that it was the great regulator of the national religious calendar. He says:—"The Hyperboreans believe that Apollo descends to their isle at the end of every nineteen years, playing upon his harp, and singing and dancing all the night, from the vernal equinox to the rising of the Pleiades, as if rejoicing in the honours paid him by his votaries."

This passage has been adduced as a proof that their observation of the heavenly bodies was assisted by optical instruments. That they had an idea of the shape of the moon is evident, but this may have been transmitted by rumour from other countries. A curious relic has been discovered in Ireland, which is thought to be an ancient Celtic astronomical instrument. It is composed of bronze, and is a circle, the outside edge of which represents the moon's orbit, having on it eight rings, representing the different phases of the moon. In the inside of this circle is another fixed on an axis, in the line of the inclination of the poles, on which this, which represents the earth, traverses. This instrument seems to have been in common use to teach the science of astronomy. There are remains of several circles of ancient stones in existence, both in Wales and Ireland, which still bear the name of the Astronomical Circles, and are supposed to mark the sites of Druidical seminaries for instruction in astronomy.

The function which procured the Druids the highest honour among the people, was that which they discharged as judges; for by the Druids all disputes or litigations were determined. If any theft or murder were committed, or if any difference arose about an inheritance, or the boundaries of the land, they were the judges. But even in this capacity religion was the instrument they used to

enforce their sentences. If any one refused submission, they interdicted him from being present at the sacrifices; and to be interdicted by the Druids was a penalty equally severe as to be excommunicated by the Romish priests, in modern times: the person who incurred this punishment was considered impious and accursed; he was shunned by every one, and excluded from the protection of the law, and all offices of honour.

The chief office of the Druids was that of presiding over sacred things, of performing all public and private sacrifices, and of directing all religious matters. Their religious rites, which were of a very evil character, were performed in the midst of oak groves, which they chose for their residence. The poet Lucan alludes to this usage in a celebrated passage on the Druids and doctrines of their religion, which reads thus:—

“ The Druids now, while arms are heard no more,  
Old mysteries and barbarous rites restore;  
A tribe who singular religion love,  
And haunt the lonely covert of the grove.  
To these, and these of all mankind alone,  
The gods are sure reveal’d, or sure unknown.  
If dying mortals’ dooms they sing aright,  
No ghosts descend to dwell in dreadful night;  
No parting souls to grizzly Pluto go,  
Nor seek the dreary, silent shades below:  
But forth they fly, immortal in their kind,  
And other bodies in new worlds they find.  
Thus life for ever runs its endless race,  
And like a line, death but divides the space:  
A stop which can but for a moment last;  
A point between the future and the past.  
Thrice happy they beneath their northern skies,  
Who that worst fear, the fear of death, despise;  
Hence they no cares for this frail being feel,  
But rush undaunted on the pointed steel;  
Provoke approaching fate, and bravely scorn  
To spare that life which must so soon return.”

Rowe’s “Lucan.”

Many superstitions connected with the oak existed among the Druids, the most remarkable of which was the reverence they paid to the parasitical plant called the mistletoe when it was found growing on that tree. The ceremony of gathering this plant, like all the other sacred solemnities of the Druids, was performed on the sixth day of the moon, and probably as near to the 10th of March, which was their New Year’s Day, as this rule would permit. Whenever it was found on the oak,

which very rarely happened, a procession was made to it on the sacred day with great form and pomp. Two white bulls were first bound to the oak by their horns, and then a Druid, clothed in white, mounted the tree. This Druid cut the mistletoe with a knife of gold, and it was received in the white robe of another Druid, standing on the ground. This was followed by the sacrifice of victims and festive rejoicings.

Pliny says, that the Druids believed that God loved the oak above all other trees; that everything growing upon that tree came from heaven; and that nothing is more sacred than the mistletoe growing thereon. The sacredness of the mistletoe, however, was not peculiar to the Druids; it formed a part of the religion of the ancients, to which Virgil, who was acquainted with the forms of old creeds, alludes in his description of the golden branch, which Æneas had to pluck as a passport to the lower regions :—

“ As in the woods beneath mid-winter's snow,  
Shoots from the oak the fresh-leaved mistletoe,  
Girding the dark stem with its saffron glow :  
So sprang the bright gold from the dusky rind ;  
So the leaf rustled in the fanning wind.”

The Druidical priesthood were divided into three classes—the Druids, who were the philosophers and theologians; the Ouates, or Vates, who sacrificed, and pretended to foretell events; and the Bards, who were poets and musicians, and who preserved what little historical knowledge existed. The official dress of the Druid was a white flowing robe; the Vates wore a dress of light green; and the Bards were clothed in sky-blue, which was regarded as a symbol of peace. Each order appears to have carried a wand, or staff, and had what was called a Druid's egg hung about his neck, enclosed in gold. All of them, also, wore the hair of their heads short and their beards long; while the common people wore long hair and shaved their beards, with the exception of their upper lip.

The historical and philosophical knowledge of the Druids was preserved in rude verses, committed to memory. These verses amounted to many thousands, and the form in which they were composed was the Triad, of which the following is an example :—

“ Eiry mynydd, glas gwddfyd  
Naturiaeth, fawb a 'i dilyd—  
Ni bydd doeth yn hir mewn llied.”

This Triad has been thus translated :—

“ Mid the snow green plants arise :  
All are bound by nature's ties ;  
Anger dwells not with the wise.”

The Bardic traditions moulded into this form of verse were annually recited in public, and some authors have supposed that they were thus better preserved from alteration and interpolation than they could have been by transcription, the art of printing being wholly unknown.

The Druids believed in one God : this doctrine, however, was esteoric or secret, being taught only to the members of their own order. The multitude were instructed in the belief of many gods : they worshipped the sun, the moon, the stars, and the elements of fire and water, with other gods, some of whom answered to those of the classical nations of antiquity ; so many were their gods, eventually, that it might be said of them, as it was said of the gods of Greece, “ Nobody would undertake to say how many there were not.”

In the earliest ages of Druidism there were neither covered temples nor sculptured images of the gods. It is said of Jupiter, indeed, that he was represented by a lofty oak, and Mercury by a cube ; but these must be considered not as attempts to imitate the bodily forms of the gods, but only as emblematic illustrations of their attributes. At a later period material configurations of the objects of worship were formed in great numbers ; representations of some of which (as Hesus, answering to Mars, the god of war) are still in existence. Gildas relates that the ancient Britons had a greater number of gods than the Egyptians themselves, there being scarcely a lake, mountain, or wood, without its peculiar divinity.

Concerning the peculiar forms of Druidical worship, little is known. Pliny merely records, that in offering sacrifice, the officiating priest was wont to pray to the divinity for a blessing on the people ; and that at some sacred rites the women went naked, having their flesh stained with the dark juice of the *woad*.

The rites of the Druids were stained with cruelty. They offered up human sacrifices at the shrines of their deities ; and their victims endured the most shameful deaths. Sometimes they were roasted, with all descriptions of cattle and beasts, in a large image of wicker work ; at others crucified,

or shot to death with arrows. While offering them up to their senseless deities, songs and musical instruments were employed to drown the cries of the sufferers. All this marks the ferocity of the character of the ancient Britons; and it should create in us a spirit of gratitude that we are blessed with the light of Christianity to guide us through life.

The doctrines of the Druids united error with truth. They taught the immortality of the soul, in which the Bible instructs mankind; but at the same time they asserted that it passed at death from one body to another, and not either to a place of endless happiness or unalterable woe. This doctrine was inculcated by many ancient philosophers; and it is believed at this day in the East. It is called the transmigration of souls.

The authority which the Druids maintained over the people was enforced by a very singular custom. At the commencement of winter, on a certain day, every family in Britain was compelled to extinguish their fires, and to pass the night in cold and darkness. On the following day an offering was carried to the nearest Druid, and the fire procured from the consecrated altar. No evasion was allowed; and the deities, by whom the Britons were taught to believe that every object of creation was tenanted, would, it was supposed, give information of every act of disobedience to the Druids.

The Druidical hierarchy held in their hands the regulation and control of the most important part of the internal affairs of the community. If it was not superior to the civil power, it was distinctly another power, and by no means secondary to it. There was one head Druid set over the whole body, who was called the Arch-druid, and who was elected to his place of supreme authority by the suffrages of the rest; just as the pontiff of Rome is elected by the cardinals in conclave. Sometimes, if there was no single individual whose pre-eminence prevented all competition for the vacant dignity, the struggle for the primacy gave rise to a contest of arms. The Druids enjoyed both exemption from military service, and freedom from all other public burdens; whence numbers of persons came of their own accord to be trained up in their discipline, while others were sent to them by their parents and relations.

The Druidical system as established in Britain assumes the appearance of something not native, but superinduced by foreign importation upon the native barbarism. It is proba-



ble that much of it was introduced by the Phœnician settlers, and at a later period by the Romans. Like the Greeks of old, the Druids collected gods and creeds from other countries. There are many circumstances connected with their religion which lead to the belief that it was of patriarchal origin. Thus the superstitious reverence for the oak appears to have had some connexion with that holier feeling which led Abraham to erect his tent and his altar beneath the shadows of a tree at Mamre. Thus also the circles of stones mentioned as Druidical places of worship, resemble in some respects the altar and pillars erected by Moses under Mount Sinai, and the piles of great stones at Gilgal and Mount Ebal. Hence Druidism, divested of its later cruel practices, has been described rather as a corruption of the patriarchal religion, than a direct opposition thereto, like the heathen rites of Greece and Rome.

The poet Wordsworth alludes to this circumstance in one of his ecclesiastical sonnets :—

“ Screams round the Arch-druid's brow the seamew—white  
As Menai's foam ; and toward the mystic ring  
Where Augurs stand, the future questioning,  
Slowly the cormorant aims her heavy flight,  
Portending ruin to each baleful rite,  
That, in the lapse of ages, hath crept o'er  
Diluvian truths and patriarchal lore.”

It was a long time before Druidism could be entirely eradicated after the Roman conquest. The practice of its worship subsisted for centuries after the Druids as an order of priesthood were extinct. In the annals of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries there are numerous edicts of emperors and canons of councils against the worship of the sun, moon, rivers, lakes, and trees. Even at the present day some practices of the old superstition are remembered in popular sports, pastimes, and anniversary usages. The ceremonies of All-Hallowmass, the bonfires of May-Day, the virtues attributed to the mistletoe, and various other village customs, still point to the days of Druidism, and evince that the impression of its dark ritual has not been obliterated from the popular imagination by the lapse of nearly two thousand years. So difficult is it to root out errors promulgated among the people at large when once they become popular ! Although they may be rendered nugatory by the light of Christianity, they are never wholly forgotten.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE ROMAN INVASION.

THE Romans had long been extending their conquests throughout the world before they heard of Britain. The richest part of Asia was theirs; and theirs also were the best portions of Africa and the greatest part of Europe. Julius Cæsar had even conquered Gaul, or France, from the shores of which he descried some of the high white cliffs surrounding the "sea-girt isle;" and he resolved to annex Britain likewise to the Roman empire.

There were several motives which induced Cæsar to undertake the conquest of Britain. Its disjunction from the rest of the world, and the stormy but narrow sea that flows between this country and Rome, gave a bold and romantic character to the enterprise which inflamed his ambition. Then, again, Britain was inhabited by a people of the same race as the Gauls; and during his arduous campaigns on the Continent they had fought against him under the banners of their kindred, which excited his revenge. Moreover, Britain seems to have been considered a sort of Holy Land by the Celtic nations, and the great centre and stronghold of the Druids, who were the revered priesthood of an iron superstition that bound men and tribes and nations together, and inflamed them even more than patriotism against the Roman conquerors. It must be remembered, likewise, that Cæsar, in common with the whole Roman nation, bore an implacable hatred towards the Gaulish race, in consequence of their having been a scourge to Rome for centuries. From the days of the elder Tarquin, they had occasionally broken through the barrier of the Alps, and carried fire and sword into the home territories of the republic; and the war which the Gauls at this period were carrying on with Cæsar, was only a part of the long contest, which did not terminate till the mighty empire was overthrown in the fifth century of our era. Hence the Britons, as the active allies of the Gauls, could not expect to escape sharing in the deadly conflict. Apart from these motives Cæsar may have had others; such as his desire of dazzling his countrymen, and of seeming to be absorbed by objects remote from internal ambition by expeditions against a new

world; or of furnishing a pretence for prolonging his command in the province of Gaul, and keeping up an army devoted to his interest, till the time should arrive for his trampling upon the liberty of Rome, which he had long meditated. Finally, Cæsar might have invaded Britain in order to obtain possession of its valuable productions; for he could not have been ignorant of the British lead and tin which the Phœnicians had anciently imported into the Mediterranean, and in which Massilia, or Marseilles, was still carrying on a trade. All these motives seem to have weighed with Cæsar in his invasion of Britain; but his ruling motive was, doubtless, a love of conquest and glory; for Cæsar was a mighty and ambitious conqueror, who no sooner subdued one nation, than he turned his thoughts to the subjugation of other nations.

It was in the year B.C. 55 that Cæsar resolved to cross the British Channel. According to his own annals he did not *then* design attempting the conquest, but simply to take a view of the island, learn the nature of its inhabitants, and survey the coast, harbours, and landing-places. Before he sailed he sent Volusenus forward, with a single galley, to obtain some knowledge of these things; but his commander appears to have rendered him but little service. He took a distant view of the British coast, and on the fifth day of his expedition returned to head-quarters. With such information as he had, however, Cæsar embarked with about 12,000 men from Portus Itius, or Witstand, between Calais and Boulogne: the cavalry were detained by contrary winds at a port about eight miles off; but Cæsar left orders for them to sail as soon as the weather permitted.

Cæsar reached the British coasts near Dover on the 26th of August. Before he had set sail, many of the states, warned of the coming danger by some merchants, had sent over ambassadors to him with an offer of hostages and submission to the Roman authority. Cæsar received these ambassadors with kindness, and, exhorting them to continue in the same pacific intentions, sent them back to their own country, despatching with them Cominus, a Gaul, in whose virtue, wisdom, and fidelity he placed great confidence, and whom he charged to visit as many of the British states as he could, and persuade them to enter into an alliance with the Romans. But the submission the Britons had offered was intended only to retard invasion; and when they found, on the return of the ambassadors, that Cæsar still intended to visit

Britain, they made Cominus his envoy prisoner, and prepared for their defence. When the Romans looked from their ships, therefore, to the steep white cliffs above them, they saw them covered with armed Britons.

Finding that the spot to which he had sailed was not a convenient landing-place in the very face of the enemy, Cæsar proceeded about seven miles further along the coast, and prepared to land his forces on an open flat shore between Walmer Castle and Sandwich. His motions, however, were watched by the Britons, and sending their cavalry and war-chariots before, they marched rapidly on with their main force to oppose his landing. The Roman soldiers for some time hesitated to leave their ships, but at length the standard bearer of the tenth legion, having besought the gods of Rome that what he was about to do might prove fortunate for the legion, exclaimed, "Follow me, Romans, unless you will give up your eagle to the enemy! I, at least, will do my duty to the republic and our general!" As he spoke he leaped into the sea, and dashed with his ensign among the enemy's ranks, whither he was followed by his fellow-soldiers. The two armies were for a long time mixed in combat; but at length the Britons were compelled to retreat. As the cavalry of Cæsar however had not yet arrived, he could not pursue them, so that his victory was not complete.

Thus defeated the British tribes sought the advantages of a hollow peace. They offered hostages and an entire submission to Cæsar, at the same time liberating Cominus. The conqueror after reproaching them for sending ambassadors into Gaul, to sue for peace, and then making war upon him *without any just cause*, forgave them, and ordered them to send a number of hostages to his camp as security for their future good behaviour. Some of these hostages were delivered and others promised, while the several chiefs came to Cæsar's camp to offer allegiance and negotiate or intrigue for their own separate interests. Their forces seemed to be disbanded, but an event occurred which emboldened them to re-assemble them, in order to contest the victory with the conqueror.

On the day that peace was concluded between Cæsar and the British chiefs, the Roman cavalry were enabled to quit their port on the coast of Gaul. They arrived safely in the Channel, but when they neared the British coast, and were within view of Cæsar's camp, they were dispersed by a tempest and driven back to the port whence they had sailed.

This disaster spread a general consternation through the camp, for there were no other vessels to carry the troops back, and Cæsar had made no preparations for wintering in Britain. The Britons also saw the extent of Cæsar's calamity, and they devised means to profit by it. Having previously held secret consultations among themselves, the chiefs retired from Cæsar's camp by degrees, and began to re-assemble their troops. The effects were soon made visible. The Britons had everywhere gathered in their harvest except one field, and as one of the two legions that formed the expedition were employed in cutting down the corn in that field, Cæsar suddenly saw a cloud of dust rising in that direction. As the chiefs had been slow in sending their promised hostages, and had secretly retired from his camp, Cæsar suspected their fidelity, and he rushed to the spot with two cohorts, leaving orders for the other soldiers of the legion to follow as soon as possible. When he arrived he found that the legion which had been surprised in the corn-field, was surrounded on all sides by the cavalry and war-chariots of the Britons, who had been concealed in the neighbouring woods. The legion had already suffered considerable loss, but he succeeded in bringing off the remnant, with which he withdrew to his intrenched camp.

Emboldened by this partial success, the British force of horse and foot, being re-enforced from all parts, gradually drew round the camp of Cæsar. They meditated attacking him, but Cæsar, anticipating them, marshalled his legions outside of the camp, and seizing a favourable opportunity fell upon them and put them to flight. The Romans pursued the fugitives, slaughtering many of them, and setting fire to some houses and villages, after which they returned to their camp.

The Britons now again sued for peace, which Cæsar, being anxious to return to Gaul as soon as possible, granted. The conditions were that the number of hostages should be doubled; but he did not wait to receive these, for, a fair wind springing up, he set sail at midnight, and arrived safely in Gaul. One or two British states sent their hostages, and the breach of treaty which the rest committed gave Cæsar a plea of justification for a second invasion in the next year, B. C. 54.

Cæsar spent the winter in building and equipping his fleet. When he embarked he had 800 vessels of different classes, and these carried five légions and 2,000 cavalry, or about

32,000 men. He set sail from the same Portus Itius, and he disembarked apparently on the same flat between Walmer Castle and Sandwich where he had landed the year before. No enemy appeared on the beach to oppose him, but the Britons were encamped at some distance with an evident determination to contest the possession of their island with the invader. Cæsar found them well posted on some rising ground behind a river, probably the Stour, near Canterbury; the passage of which river was gallantly disputed by the confederate army with their cavalry and chariots. The Britons however were repulsed by the Roman horse, and they retreated towards the woods to a place strongly fortified by nature and art—strong barricades of felled trees being laid upon one another so as to secure the avenues. But this stronghold was taken by the soldiers of the seventh legion, who carried it by means of a mound of earth cast up in front of it, and then they drove the Britons from the cover of the woods. The evening closed on their retreat; and the Roman eagles were scarcely displayed the following morning, and the trumpets had hardly sounded the advance, when intelligence was brought that the fleet had been nearly all driven on the shore and wrecked during the night. On repairing to the coast Cæsar found that forty of his ships were lost, and the rest so damaged as to be scarcely capable of repair. Cæsar, however, set all his carpenters to work, wrote for more artisans from Gaul, and ordered the legions stationed on that coast to build as many new ships as they could. Having repaired his loss, and having caused all his fleet to be drawn upon dry land and enclosed within his fortified camp, he again marched in pursuit of the enemy. In his absence the British chiefs had appointed Cassivelaunus as supreme commander of their forces, and Cæsar found him well posted at or near to the scene of the last battle. Cassivelaunus had a reputation for skill and bravery, and on this occasion he well sustained it. Without waiting to be attacked Cassivelaunus boldly charged the Roman cavalry with his horse, supported by his chariots; and though Cæsar says that he drove the Britons to their woods and their hills with great slaughter, it is evident that the victory he gained was not complete. Soon after the British gave the Romans a severe check. Sallying from the wood they cut up the Roman advanced guard; and when two cohorts were sent to their aid, the Britons charged them in separate parties, routed them, and then retired without loss. Cæsar was

obliged to confess that his heavy-armed legions were not a match for the active and light-armed Britons. But these successes of the Britons led to their overthrow. Venturing a general engagement on the following day, they were defeated; and the auxiliary troops which had joined the standard of Cassivelaunus returned to their homes.

Cassivelaunus retired for the defence of his own kingdom beyond the Thames, whither he was followed by the Romans. Cæsar reached the right bank of the Thames at Coway-Stokes, near Chertsey, in Surrey, where the river was considered fordable. Cassivelaunus had caused sharp stakes to be driven into the water for defence, and lined the opposite shore with armed men; but Cæsar overcame these difficulties, and dispersed the enemy. The greater part of the army of Cassivelaunus was now disbanded, but with a force of four thousand war chariots he still harassed the Romans. The want of union, however, among the petty states into which the island was divided, soon began to appear, and to disconcert all the brave chief's measures for resistance. Cæsar was joined by Mandubratius, chief of the Trinobantes, who dwelt in Essex and Middlesex, while other tribes also sent in their submission. Some of these people led Cæsar to the capital of Cassivelaunus, which is supposed to have been near to the site of St. Albans, and on the spot where the flourishing Roman colony of Verulamium arose many years after. The capital of Cassivelaunus was captured, and at the news of this reverse, he sent ambassadors to sue for peace. Cæsar granted peace on such easy terms, that he seems to have been tired of the war; but he says that he wished to return to Gaul in order to quell the insurrections which had taken place in that country. The terms of the peace were that hostages should be given and a yearly tribute paid to the Romans; and having received the hostages he retired to the seacoast, and embarked again for Gaul. He had not conquered the country, for he had not erected a single fort, nor did he leave a single cohort behind him to secure the ground he had gained in the island.

After the departure of Cæsar Britain was left undisturbed by foreign arms for nearly one hundred years. Little is known of the Britons during that period, but it seems clear that, while internal wars continued to be waged, they made great advances in civilization; and especially those who occupied the maritime parts opposite the coast of Gaul. The disunion of the Britons, their constant civil dissensions, and

their want of a system of defence, laid them open to the Romans whenever they should think fit to renew the struggle. The fatal civil wars among themselves for a time checked the ambition of the Romans for foreign conquest; but at length, in the ninety-seventh year after Cæsar's expedition, (A.D. 43,) the emperor Claudius resolved to seize the island. Aulus Plautius, a skilful commander, was sent with a large army to invade it, and the Britons, who had made no preparation, at first offered no resistance. Subsequently they took the field under Caractacus and Togudumnus; but they were defeated in the inland country, and Aulus Plautius followed up his victories beyond the river Severn. After sustaining another defeat on the right bank of the Severn, the Britons retreated eastward, to some marshes on the Thames, where, availing themselves of the nature of the ground, they made a desperate stand, and caused the Romans great loss. Plautius seeing their determined spirit retreated to the south of the Thames, where he was joined by the emperor Claudius. Without fighting any battles he accompanied his army on its advance to the north of the Thames, and was present at the capture of Camalodunum, now Colchester, the capital of the Trinobantes, after which he returned to Rome. Plautius was left to pursue the conquest of the country, and while he prosecuted an undecisive warfare with the inland Britons, Vespasian, his second in command, was employed in subduing Vectis, or the Isle of Wight, and the maritime states on the southern and eastern coasts. That part of the island which lies to the south of the Thames was subdued, and also a narrow strip on the left bank of that river, but when Plautius was recalled to Rome, these territories were overrun and thrown into confusion by the Britons.

Plautius was succeeded by Ostorius Scapala. (A.D. 50.) At this time the cause of the Romans seemed almost hopeless. Their allies were falling from them, the unsubdued states were becoming more bold, and the people they had held in subjection were ripe for revolt. Ostorius, however, proved equal to the emergency. Although it was midwinter when he arrived he put himself at the head of his forces, and the Britons, taken by surprise, were defeated with great loss. After this victory Ostorius employed himself in erecting fortresses along the Banks of the Severn and the Avon, in Warwickshire, to secure his possession of the countries east and south of those rivers. It was by the gradual advance of



such lines of fortresses that the Romans brought the whole of England south of the Tyne under subjection.

Ostorius also adopted the cautious policy of disarming all such of the Britons within the line of forts as he suspected. This measure drove the Iceni, who are supposed to have dwelt in Norfolk and Suffolk, into open revolt. Having formed a league with their neighbours, they chose their ground for a decisive battle; but, though they fought obstinately, they were defeated. Ostorius subsequently conquered the Cangi, and subdued a rebellion among the Brigantes, who occupied Yorkshire, with parts of Lancashire, and other adjacent counties. Having subdued these, he marched rapidly against the Silures—the inhabitants of South Wales—who were the fiercest enemies the Romans ever had to encounter in South Britain. These people were under the command of Caractacus, whose known valour and skill in the stratagems of war increased their natural courage. Caractacus retired to the territory of the Ordovices, where he resolved to wait firmly the issue of battle. The scene of the action is supposed to have been at the foot of a lofty hill in Shropshire, near to the confluence of the rivers Colne and Tame. As the Romans approached, the chieftains of the confederated British clans rushed along the ranks, exhorting their men, and Caractacus exclaimed, "This day must decide the fate of Britain! The era of liberty or bondage begins from this hour! Remember your brave ancestors, who drove Cæsar from their shores, and preserved their freedom, their property, and the persons and honours of their wives and children." Ostorius was astonished at the arrangement of the British chief, and the spirit of the Britons; but his numbers, discipline, and superior arms, once more ensured him the victory. Having neither breast-plates nor helmets, the Britons could not withstand the Roman swords and spears, and, after a fearful carnage, they were routed. Caractacus escaped from the field of battle; but having taken refuge with his stepmother, Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, that heartless woman caused him to be put in chains and delivered up to the Romans. From the camp of Ostorius he was carried, with his wife and his family, to the foot of the throne of Claudius. The arrival of a barbarian prince, who for nine years had withstood the conquerors of the world, was considered a fit subject for a triumph. All Rome, all Italy, were impatient to gaze on the indomitable Briton; and his dignified

conduct, as he passed through the throng, gained for him universal respect. Even in the presence of Claudius he maintained a lofty bearing. While his friends and family implored mercy, he showed himself superior to misfortune. His speech was manly, his countenance unaltered: he was great and dignified, even in ruin. His magnanimous behaviour procured him milder treatment than the Roman conquerors usually bestowed on captive princes; his chains, and those of his family, were instantly struck off.

Though defeated, the Silures were not conquered. They continually attacked and harassed the Romans, till at length Ostorius sunk under the fatigue and vexation, and expired, to the great joy of the Britons: they boasted that the war had brought him to his grave.

Under Aulus Didius and Veranius, the immediate successors of Ostorius, the Roman power in Britain remained stationary. During this period, indeed, the emperor Nero, who had succeeded his father Claudius, entertained the thought of withdrawing his troops from the island. The next governor, however, Paulinus Suetonius, who arrived in Britain A.D. 50, revived the spirit of the conquerors. On his arrival Suetonius captured the island of Mona, now Anglesey, which was the chief seat of the Druids, and the refuge of the defeated British warriors, and the disaffected generally. While engaged in securing the sacred island, events took place which went far to commit the safety of the entire empire of the Romans in Britain. Exasperated at his attack on the Druids, and the groves of Mona, which he had cut down, and at the manner in which the Romans treated them generally, the Britons flew to arms. One circumstance especially incited them to revolt. Prasutagus, king of the Iceni, had recently died, leaving his possessions to be ruled jointly by the Romans and his queen Boadicea. The Romans, however, were not satisfied with the half of his dominions. They seized the whole; and when Boadicea remonstrated, Catus, the procurator, caused her to be scourged, subjected her daughters to gross treatment, and caused the relations of her deceased husband to be reduced to slavery. Boadicea was no common character; she escaped from the Romans, made known her wrongs, and an extensive armed league was formed, over which she assumed the supreme command. Thirsting for revenge, she pressed forward into the Roman province; destroyed several small divisions of the Roman

forces; captured and reduced to ashes the cities of Camalodunum, London, and Verulamium; and in a few days put to death seventy thousand Romans and their confederates. At the head of a numerous host, Boadicea approached the Roman forces, under Suetonius, who had hastened from the western part of Britain to arrest her progress, and had posted himself in a strong position near Verulamium. The Romans were rendered desperate by the ferocity which Boadicea displayed, and their courage and discipline once more prevailed. The Britons were defeated with great loss, and Boadicea slew herself after the battle in despair.

Suetonius was recalled from Britain for his cruelty, and notwithstanding his victories, his immediate successors were compelled to stand on the defensive, without attempting the extent of their dominions. At length, about A.D. 75, the Romans under Julius Frontinus recommenced their forward movements by subduing the Silures. This general was succeeded, A.D. 78, by Agricola, who was skilled in the arts of both peace and war. Agricola completed the conquest of Britain. In the course of seven campaigns he subdued the northern districts; constructed a line of forts between the Frith of Forth and the Clyde; and penetrated even further, defeating his opponents on the Grampian hills.

While Agricola was at war with the Britons, he sought to improve their manners. He endeavoured to subdue their fierceness, and change their erratic disposition, by teaching them some of the useful arts, and introducing some of the luxuries of civilized life. He persuaded them to settle in towns, to build comfortable dwelling houses, and to erect halls and temples. It was a part of his policy, also, to establish a system of education, and to give to the sons of the leading British chiefs a knowledge of polite letters. By degrees the Britons began to cultivate the beauties of the Roman language, to wear the Roman toga, and to indulge in the luxuries of baths, porticos, and elegant banquets. One great advantage resulted from his influence. Druidism was extirpated, and the last of its ministers driven from the blood-stained land.

From the conquests of Agricola, during a period of thirty years, Britain remained so tranquil that scarcely a single mention is made of it in the Roman annals. The Britons seem to have considered the Romans rather as their protectors and teachers than as their persecutors. In the

reign of Hadrian, however, the Romans were attacked all along their northern frontiers by the Caledonians, and the whole state of the island was such as to demand that emperor's presence. Hadrian visited Britain A.D. 121, at which time the conquests of Agricola north of the Tyne and Solway were lost, and his advanced line of forts between the Forth and the Clyde destroyed. Without either resigning or reconquering all that territory, Hadrian contented himself with raising a new rampart between the Solway Frith and the German Ocean. It would have been wise in the Romans to have kept to this line, but in the following reign of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 138, the governor of Britain, Lollius Urbicus, advanced from it, and again fixed the Roman frontier at the isthmus between the Clyde and Forth. It was the boast of the Romans that this fortified line was to cover and protect all the fertile territories of the south, and to drive the enemy into another island, barren and barbarous like themselves. In the reign of Commodus, A.D. 183, however, the northern tribes again broke through this barrier, and the country which lay between it became the scene of several sanguinary battles with the Romans. About the same time, also, a mutinous spirit declared itself among the legions in Britain, and symptoms were everywhere seen of that decline in discipline which led to the dissolution of the Roman empire. These wars continued for many years, and cost the lives of thousands of the civilized British subjects of Rome.

In the year A.D. 207, the Emperor Severus led an army in person against the northern barbarians, and after many arduous contests the invaders were driven back. Severus erected a strong stone wall near to the rampart of Hadrian, which was twelve feet high and eight feet thick, to which were added a number of stations or towns, eighty-one castles, and numerous castelets or turrets. As long as the Roman power lasted, this barrier was constantly garrisoned by armed men.

Severus had not finished this great work when the northern tribes resumed the offensive. He vowed their extermination, and marched northward, but he died at Eboracum, or York, in the early part of the year 211. Caracalla, his son and successor, who had been serving with him in Britain, tired of the warfare, made peace with the Caledonians; formally ceding to them the debatable ground between the Sol-

way and Tyne, and the Friths of Clyde and Forth, after which he returned to Rome.

Of the history of Britain during the seventy years which followed the death of Severus, few genuine particulars are preserved in history. The country seems to have enjoyed general tranquillity, and the people to have advanced in the arts of civilized life. That Britain was at this time a valuable province of the Roman empire is evident from many passages of ancient writers. The produce of the mines was an object of great importance; considerable sums were annually received from taxes; and British youths rendered important services in the Roman armies.

When Britain re-appears in the annals of history she was becoming the scene of a new enterprise. In A.D. 288, Scandinavian and Saxon pirates began to ravage her coasts. At this time Diocletian and Maximinian swayed the Roman empire, and to repress these marauders, the emperors appointed Carausius, a Menapian, to the command of a strong fleet, the head-quarters of which was in the British Channel. Carausius defeated the pirates of the Baltic, but he was soon accused of collusion with the enemy, and the emperors sent orders from Rome to put him to death. On discovering this, Carausius fled with his fleet to Britain, where the legions rallied round his victorious standard, and bestowed upon him the imperial diadem. The joint emperors of Rome attempted to reduce him to their allegiance, but they were defeated, and were compelled to purchase peace by conceding to him the government of Britain, of Boulogne, and the adjacent coasts of Gaul, together with the title of emperor. Under the reign of Carausius Britain figured as a great naval power. He built ships of war, manned them in part with Scandinavian and Saxon pirates, and remaining absolute master of the Channel, his fleets swept the seas from the mouths of the Rhine to the Straits of Gibraltar. But his reign was brief. He was murdered at Eboracum, or York, in the year 297, by Allectus, a Briton, who succeeded to his insular empire.

Allectus reigned about three years, when he was defeated and slain by an officer of Constantius Chlorus, who had succeeded to the Roman empire on the resignation of Diocletian and Maximinian. Constantius Chlorus died in A.D. 306, at Eboracum, and his son Constantine, afterwards called the Great, began his reign at that place. Constantine waged a doubtful war north of the wall of Severus, after

which he left the island, taking with him a great number of British youths as recruits for his army. From this time to the death of Constantine, in 337, Britain seems again to have enjoyed tranquillity.

The Roman empire was now fast decaying. The removal of its capital from Rome to Constantinople had its effects on the remote provinces of Britain. Under the immediate successors of Constantine, while the Frank and Saxon pirates ravaged the southern coasts, the Picts, Scots, and Attacots, began to harass the northern provinces, and to defy the wall of stone erected by Severus. In the year 367, it is said, that the Picts and Scots pillaged Augusta, or the city of London, and carried off its inhabitants as slaves. They were in possession of that city when Theodosius arrived as governor of Britain, and he compelled them to retreat and to relinquish the prisoners and booty they had captured. Theodosius remained in Britain two years, and did much towards restoring it to a state of prosperity. At this period, indeed, agriculture was so flourishing that Britain supplied the continent with large quantities of corn. Its mines of lead and tin were, also, worked to a great extent, and even its chalk was exported.

In 382, by one of the changes which were now becoming frequent, Maximus, the governor of Britain, assumed the title of emperor. He might have retained the island, but his ambition induced him to seek the possession of all that portion of the Western Empire which remained to Gratian. He withdrew nearly all his troops, and so many of the Britons followed him to Gaul that the island was left almost defenceless. Maximus became by the defeat and death of Gratian the undisputed master of Britain, Gaul, Spain, and Italy. He established the seat of his government at Treves; but Theodosius, called the Great, the emperor of the East, marched against him; and after being defeated in two great battles, Maximus retired to Aquileia, on the confines of Italy and Illyria, where he was betrayed to the conqueror, who ordered him to be put to death, A.D. 388.

During the absence of Maximus, the Picts and Scots renewed their depredations in Britain, but Chrysantus, the lieutenant of Theodosius, repulsed them. In the reign of Honorius they, with the Saxons, again renewed their ravages, and it was in vain that Stilicho, the guardian of the boy-emperor, sought to restrain them. The Roman power was now, in-

deed, almost broken, and the Britons knowing this, permitted the soldiery to elect one Marcus emperor of Britain. But Marcus was soon dethroned and put to death by the same soldiery who had exalted him, as was also one Gratian, whom they had set up in his stead. Their third choice fell on Constantine, who, like Maximus, aspired to the empire of the West, and, like Maximus, fell in the attempt to secure it, A. D. 411. After the death of Constantine, Honorius twice sent over troops for the recovery and protection of Britain, but danger at home obliged him to recall them, and about the year 420, nearly five centuries after Cæsar's first invasion, the Roman emperors abandoned the island. A mutual friendship subsisted some time after between the Britons and Romans, and the emperor Honorius, in a letter addressed to the states of Britain, seemed formally to release them from their allegiance, and to acknowledge the national independence.

The domination of the Romans over the Britons lasted for about four hundred years. After the period of transition and conflict was over, their rule was on the whole a happy one for Britain. Under it civilization rapidly gained ground. Order and magnificence, arts and literature, took the place of the imperfect government, the internal wars, the ignorance, the mud hovels, the towns in the woods, and the generally rude accommodations of the Britons. The country assumed a new aspect; it looked as if a new and brighter day dawned upon it. Cultivation was improved and extended, forests were swept away, roads were formed, and towns arose which exhibited piles of regular, stately, and decorated architecture. The Roman stations and towns exceeded three hundred; and many of these may yet be traced with some degree of precision. Roman foundations and remains still abound; and coins, pottery, urns with the ashes of the dead, and various instruments, are frequently discovered, on the soil being turned up below the common depth of cultivation. The state of Britain under the Romans is forcibly depicted by the orator Eumenius in a panegyric on Constantine the Great. "Oh, fortunate Britannia," he exclaims, "thee hath nature deservedly enriched with the choicest blessings of heaven and earth. Thou neither feelest the excessive colds of winter, nor the scorching heats of summer. Thy harvests reward thy labours with so great an increase, as to supply thy tables with bread, and thy cellars with liquor. Thy woods have no sa-

vage beasts ; and there are no serpents there to harm the traveller. Innumerable are thy herds of cattle, and thy flocks of sheep, which feed thee plentifully, and clothe thee richly. As to the comforts of life, the days are long, and no night passes without some glimpses of light." There is reason to believe that, at least, throughout the whole of the second and third centuries of the Roman dominion in Britain, it was as flourishing and as happy a province as any other in the empire.

As great a change took place under the Roman domination in the spiritual as in the moral condition of Britain. It is a matter of uncertainty who first disseminated Christianity in the British isles. Eusebius asserts that it was some of the apostles, which is confirmed by Theodoret, who, after having mentioned Spain, says that St. Paul brought salvation to the isles which lie in the ocean. Clement, who wrote before the end of the first century, and who was a fellow-labourer with the great apostle of the Gentiles, says, that being a preacher both in the east and west, he taught righteousness to the whole world, and went to the utmost bounds of the west. This testimony in favour of St. Paul's visiting Britain is far stronger than the traditional testimony concerning St. Peter, St. James, Simon Zelotes, Philip, and Joseph of Arimathea ; but whether Christianity was introduced into the island by any of these holy men ; or whether, after the persecution and death of Stephen, by some of the Syrian Christians, who were scattered abroad ; or by the devout soldiers of the same nation, whom a famine had driven into the armies of Claudius ; or by some of the Jewish converts, dispersed over the world, when Claudius "commanded all Jews to depart from Rome," cannot be clearly ascertained. It must suffice to know that the island was early blessed by the dissemination of Christianity, and that before the end of the second century the Britons had generally received the gospel.

"The Julian spear,  
A way first opened, and with Roman chains  
The tidings came of Jesus crucified :  
They came—they spread ; the weak, the suffering hear,  
Receive the faith, and in the hope abide."

WORDSWORTH.

So well grounded in the Christian faith were the early Britons, that, in the third century, when "Diocletian's fiery sword" worked "busy as the lightning," many were found



willing to offer up their lives for the sake of the gospel. In that persecution, Alban, "England's first martyr," perished at Verulamium, now St. Albans; and Julian, Aaron, and others shared his fate. This persecution was stopped in the reign of Constantius Chlorus, and when his son Constantine the Great assumed the empire, the British church was in a flourishing condition. That it was an independent church is proved by the fact that British bishops attended the council of Arles in 314, of Sardica in 347, and of Ariminum in 359; and also by the many ecclesiastical councils held in Britain subsequently to the Roman domination. The particulars concerning the national ecclesiastical councils in England are meagre, but they prove that the British church was zealous for the truth, and that it was independent. But a change was coming over the social, moral, and spiritual condition of the people.

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### CHAPTER III.

#### THE INVASION OF BRITAIN BY THE SAXONS.

FOR some years after the departure of the Romans, great uncertainty exists as to the state of Britain. It would appear that the free municipal government of the cities was quickly overthrown by military chiefs, who were principally of British, but partly of Roman origin. In a few years all traces of popular government were lost, and a number of petty chiefs reigned absolutely and tyrannically as kings over kingdoms less in extent than a modern county of England. These kinglings, instead of uniting for their general safety against the Picts and Scots, who still harassed the country, made wars upon each other, and never thought of forming any great defensive league, until it was too late. It was not the object of the Picts and Scots to occupy the country and settle in it as conquerors. Their expeditions were forays; they came to plunder and destroy; and the booty they carried off, season after season, was a less serious loss than the slaughter and devastation that marked their advance and retreat.

At this crisis the more southern and least exposed parts of the island were occupied by two factions : the Roman party, which was headed by Aurelius Ambrosius, a descendant of one of the emperors ; and the British who rallied round the notorious Vortigern. Dissension between these parties was inevitable, and it would appear that Aurelius Ambrosius took upon himself to implore the aid of the Romans. In the year 441 an abject prayer, entitled "The Groans of the Britons," was addressed to the consul Ætius, which stated :—"The barbarians chase us into the sea ; the sea throws us back upon the barbarians ; and we have only the hard choice left us, of perishing by the sword or by the waves." But Ætius was then contending with Attila, "the scourge of Rome," and he could not afford a single cohort to the supplicants. The ravages of the Picts and Scots continued. Germanus, of Auxerre, a Gallic bishop, who had been sent over to Britain to decide a religious controversy, and who had been a soldier before he became a priest, sallied out with a number of Britons, and to the shouts of hallelujah cut up a party of Picts, who were plundering the coast ; but this victory was far from being sufficient to stay the march of the invaders : they still plundered the country, and destroyed its inhabitants.

At length, in the year 449, Vortigern took a memorable step by calling in the Saxon freebooters of the Baltic and northern Germany. At this time three chiules, keels, or long ships, were cruising in the British Channel, under the command of two brothers, distinguished warriors among the Saxons, who are called Hengist and Horsa. It was on the deck of these marauding vessels that the Saxons received the invitation, which was readily accepted, and which eventually led to the conquest of Britain. Vortigern appointed his willing guests to dwell in the east part of the land, and gave them the Isle of Thanet for their residence.

The Saxons appear to have derived their origin from the Scythians, and they first entered Europe about the year 700, B.C. At the period when Vortigern implored their aid against the Picts and Scots, they were a ferocious and cruel people, who plundered and destroyed without remorse. Their vessels were for the most part frail barks, framed of wood, and covered with skins ; but with these they fearlessly traversed the seas, and attacked any country whither they were wafted by the winds. Every warrior among them had his

dagger, his spear, his battle-axe, and sword, all of steel. They also had bows and arrows, and their champions wielded a ponderous club, bound and spiked with iron; probably a copy from the Scandinavian type of Thor's "mighty hammer." The battle axe and the hammer, wielded by the nervous arms of the Saxons, were the dread of their enemies, and by their bards they were represented as cleaving helmets and brains with blows that nothing could withstand. These were a dangerous people to invite into a country torn by factions, and weakened by invasions.

In the first instance Hengist and Horsa appear to have fulfilled their engagement, by marching against the Picts and Scots, and driving these invaders from the kingdom. Soon after this, tradition relates that Vortigern formed an alliance with Rowena, the fair daughter of Hengist. This is not an authenticated fact in history; but either from Vortigern's marriage with Rowena, or from his gratitude for martial services rendered to him, the Saxon leaders were permitted to fortify the Isle of Thanet, and to invite over fresh forces. Other Saxons arrived in succession; but when the Scots and Picts were defeated, the Britons wished for the departure of their allies. The Saxon adventurers, however, had observed the fertility of Britain, and resolved to take possession of it. The sword was soon drawn, and the Saxons, united with the Scots and Picts, spread death and destruction around them.

Vortigern, it is said, was deposed, and his son Vortimer elected in his stead. A partial league was then formed between the Roman faction and the Britons, and several battles were fought by their united forces with the Saxons. After a time, the common story reports, the two nations agreed to terminate their contention, and a meeting was held, at which the chief personages of both were mixed together, when on a sudden Hengist commanded the Saxons to unsheath their swords, on which each drew a short sword, or knife which he had brought concealed in his hose, and slew all the Britons, Vortigern only excepted. This story is apocryphal; but it is certain that in the end, Eric, the son of Hengist, remained in possession of all Kent, and became the founder of the Kentish, or first Saxon kingdom in our island.

The success of this first body of Saxons induced others to follow their example. In the year 477, Ella, with his three sons, landed in the ancient territory of the Regni, now Sussex, and after a slow progress of eight years, established the

kingdom of that name. In 495 another, and a more powerful body of Saxons, arrived under Cerdic, who, by conquering Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, founded Wessex, or the kingdom of the West Saxons. The next descent was to the north of the estuary of the Thames, where Ercewine, about A.D. 528, took possession of the flats of Essex with some of the adjacent county, and formed the state of the East Saxons. Other tribes carried their arms in this direction as far as the Stour. About the year 547, Ida, at the head of a large body of Angles, landed at Flamborough Head, and settled between the Tees and the Tyne, a country which now includes the county of Durham, and this conquest obtained the name of the kingdom of Bernicia. Other invaders came in between the Tees and the Humber, and after a fierce struggle, founded the kingdom of Deira. Subsequently two great divisions of the Angles, called the Southfolk and the Northfolk, rushed in between the Stow, and the Great Ouse and Wash, and their conquest—all Suffolk and Norfolk—was called the kingdom of East Anglia. Other Angles advanced from beyond the Humber, and fresh tribes arrived from the peninsula of Jutland and Holstein, and these combining seized upon the territory now forming Lincolnshire, between the Wash and the Humber: the only chasm that existed in the Saxon line of coast from the Avon in Hampshire, to the Tyne in Northumberland. This line was extended as far north as the Frith of Forth by the Saxons of Bernicia and Deira, who, about the year 617, were united under one sceptre with the the name of Northumbrians. All the western coast, from the Frith of Clyde to the Land's End in Cornwall, and the southern coast from the Land's End to the confines of Hampshire still remained in the hands of the Britons. Such had been the security of Cornwall, that, while the states of the south were becoming a prey to the Saxon invaders, in the year 470, twelve thousand armed Britons left its shore to assist Anthemius, who reigned in Italy, against the Visigoths.

The breadth of the Saxon territories was long uncertain and wavering. Under the name of Mereia, a branch of the Saxons penetrated into the heart of the island, and founded a kingdom that extended over all the midland counties from the Severn to the Humber. At one period the Mercian Saxons spread to the south and east, till they reached the Thames. London was included in their dominion, and a kingdom was formed, which was one of the last of the Hep-

tarchy to be overthrown. During their power, the Mercians sought to conquer the bold mountaineers of Wales, but they were never able to effect their object. The Anglo-Saxons, who seized the dominions of the Mercians in the ninth and tenth century, were equally unsuccessful: though the country was reduced to its present limits of Wales and Monmouthshire, Cambria was never conquered by the Saxons. The people of Strathclyde and Cambria, whose territories extended along the western coast from the Frith of Clyde to the Mersey and the Dee, also, successfully resisted the Saxons. Lower down on the western coast, however, the Saxon arms were more successful. By the year 647, the inhabitants of Dunmonia, or Devonshire, submitted to the Anglo-Saxons, who may now be called the English, after having fought many battles to sustain their independence.

Few authentic particulars of the events which happened during the Saxon conquest have been preserved. All details of the British champions, not excepting those of the famous King Arthur, indeed must be omitted, as unworthy of belief. It is doubtful whether such a person as Arthur even lived, and if he did, the stories related of him savour more of romance than of history. If he lived, he was a chieftain in some part of south-west Britain, who indulged in deeds of violence and blood within a narrow sphere, probably never exceeding a hundred miles from the centre of Somersetshire. Were his knights and his courtiers to be tried by the laws of man only, every one of them would be found deserving to be ranked among felons and the outcasts of society.

The history of the heptarchy is also more than half fabulous. Some writers have supposed that there was always a lord paramount, or a sort of emperor of England, over the seven separate and independent states or kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons. This ascendant monarch is called the Bretwalda, a Saxon term, which signifies the ruler of Brit, or Britain. According to Bede, and the Saxon chronicle, seven or eight of the Saxon princes in irregular succession bore this proud title. This is not certain, although the names of those are mentioned who are said to have enjoyed this dignity.

The first Bretwalda was Ella, the conqueror of Sussex, and the founder of the kingdom of the South Saxons. Ella died about the year 510, and after a long interval Ceawlin, king of Wessex, who began to reign about 568, assumed the dignity. His claim was disputed by Ethelbert, fourth king of Kent,

who claimed it in right of his descent from Hengist, the brother of Horsa. The dispute led to hostilities, and Ethelbert was twice defeated; but in the year 593 he acquired the dignity for which he had fought, by the death of his rival.

In the reign of Ethelbert a remarkable incident occurred. By the conquest of the Saxons, the ecclesiastical as well as civil government was overturned, and their barbarity spread such devastation throughout the land that Christianity was chiefly confined to those mountainous districts where the Britons still retained their liberty. A second and a darker shade of Pagan night prevailed in England. The storm burst with equal violence upon tower and temple. Churches were destroyed, and ecclesiastics murdered, so that at length the Christianity of the country was chiefly to be traced by heaps of ashes and tokens of devastation. Still it must not be supposed that all the British Christians were exterminated. There is direct testimony that some continued in the land under the Saxon rule, and that by them the light of the gospel was preserved in almost every part of the country. The British church was "cast down but not destroyed:" it bowed before the Tartaric idolatry of the north, but was not wholly swept away. But the time was come when even the Pagan conquerors of Britain were to become converted to the Christian faith.

Before Gregory the Great was elevated to the pontificate he saw a number of comely Saxon youths in the slave market at Rome. Struck with their appearance he inquired who they were, and on being told that they were called Angles, he exclaimed, "Angels they truly are, and ought to be joined to the angelic company." On being further told that they came from the province of Deira, he replied, "Ay! *de ira* indeed; from the wrath of God they must be plucked, and brought unto the grace of Christ." His passion for quibbling was still unsatisfied. When he learned that Ella was the name of their king, he rejoined, "Alleluia! alleluias must be chanted by them in the dominions of their sovereign." The design which was thus quaintly expressed was never dropped from the mind of Gregory, and when he was advanced to the Papal throne he despatched forty monks to England to put it into execution, at the head of which mission was Augustine.

The enterprise of Augustine was greatly favoured by the circumstance that Bertha, the wife of Ethelbert, who was a

Frankish princess, was passionately devoted to the Christian faith. After the arrival of Augustine and his fellow missionaries, Ethelbert was informed that certain strangers, habited in a foreign garb, and practising several mysterious ceremonies, wished to be admitted into his presence, in order that they might communicate to him and his people tidings of importance to their eternal welfare. He granted them an audience in the Isle of Thanet, surrounded by his nobles, and seated in the open air, conformably to an ancient superstitious notion that if they practised enchantments they would be less potent under the canopy of heaven than within the walls of a building made with hands. Augustine and his companions approached in procession, bearing a silver crucifix, and the figure of our Saviour painted upon a banner, and chaunting the solemn litany of the Church. On approaching Ethelbert, they stated to him the object of their mission, and having received a favourable reply, in which they were permitted to fix their residence at Canterbury, they retired and commenced their labours. Their success was rapid and decided. Under the protection of Ethelbert the new religion prevailed: the Saxon priesthood themselves, in many instances, setting the example of conversion. It is related that on the first preaching of the gospel in Northumberland, the Saxon pontiff mounted a horse, which was an abomination to his order, and burst into the consecrated precinct, where he hewed that idol in pieces to whose service his life had been devoted. That the religion of the Cross was embraced by the Saxon populace with fervid zeal, is clear from the change which took place in society. The asperities of savage life were gradually softened down, and the passionate devotion to war and bloodshed tamed. A milder spirit insinuated itself into the social mass, until at length the monastic system obtained predominance throughout the realm, and powerfully advanced the work of civilization. Thus at the opening of the seventh century were laid the foundations of the Anglo-Saxon church.

Ethelbert's reign was a very long and happy one. He died in the year 616, and was succeeded, as king of Kent, by his son Eadbald. Eadbald married his step-mother Bertha, and, as the Christians reprobated such marriages, he returned to the Teutonic idolatry. The people of Kent turned with him, and again the rude altars of the Scandinavian idols were set up. Laurentius, the successor of Augustine, however, prevailed on Eadbald to put away his step-mother and return

to his fold; and no sooner had the king done so, than all his subjects returned with him without a murmur.

Eadbald laid claim to the dignity of Bretwalda, but this was disputed by the other princes, and the dignity was conferred on Redwald, king of East Anglia. Redwald had been converted to Christianity some years before Ethelbert, but his wife and people were attached to the old idolatry, and yielding to their importunities he re-opened the temples, at the same time placing a Christian altar by the side of the statue of Woden. During his reign Redwald was engaged in war with the Northumbrian king Edilfrid. A battle was fought between them on the banks of the river Idel, in Nottinghamshire, and Edilfrid was defeated and slain.

Edwin succeeded Edilfrid in his kingdom, and to the dignity of Redwald as Bretwalda. So successful was this prince in his wars that he raised Northumbria to a superiority over all the Saxon kingdoms; thus transferring the ascendancy from the south to the north of the island.

Edwin had been instructed when a child in the Christian faith, but he still retained an attachment to Pagan superstitions. Soon after he commenced his reign, however, he was converted by the preaching of Paulinus, a Roman missionary, and the influence of his wife, Edilburga, who was daughter of Ethelbert. The happiest effects are said to have followed the conversion of Edwin. It was a common saying that in his reign a woman with a babe in her arms might travel without a protector, without experiencing either insult or injury. But his reign was brief. About the year 633, Penda, the Saxon prince of Mercia, rebelled against his authority as Bretwalda, and forming an alliance with Cadwallader, the king of North Wales, he fought a great battle at Heathfield, near the river Trent, in which Edwin was defeated and slain.

The confederated armies of Penda and Cadwallader committed a horrible slaughter, sparing neither age nor sex. Cadwallader remained in the territory of Northumbria, but Penda marched into Norfolk, against the East Angles. Sigebert, the king of the East Angles, had lately renounced his crown to his cousin Egeric, and retired into a monastery; but at the approach of Penda and his Pagan host he left his retirement, and joined Egeric at the head of his army. Penda was again successful; both Sigebert and Egeric fell in battle.



In the year 634, Oswald, the nephew of Edwin, raised his banner in Northumbria, and he surprised Cadwallader and his Welsh forces near Hexham. The Anglo-Saxons this time prevailed. On their part the battle began with prayers : it ended on the part of the Welsh in their defeat and the death of Cadwallader. Oswald was recognized by the two Northumbrian states of Bernicia and Deira ; recovered all that his uncle Edwin had lost ; and was acknowledged as Bretwalda. He shewed his gratitude by endeavouring to establish Christianity throughout the north, in which he appears to have been successful. As Bretwalda, Oswald exercised an authority over the Saxon nations and provinces equal to that of his uncle Edwin, and he is said to have compelled the chiefs of the Scots and Picts to acknowledge themselves as his vassals. But Oswald's reign was brief. He was slain in battle in the year 642, by the fierce and still unconverted Penda, king of Mercia.

Oswald was succeeded by his brother Oswy ; but about the year 651, his kingdom was re-divided into its two ancient independent states : whilst Oswy retained Bernicia, Odelwald reigned in Deira. Penda was still anxious to obtain the dignity of Bretwalda, and after having driven the Christian king of Wessex from the throne, in the year 652, he again advanced into Northumberland. Oswy entreated for peace, which he obtained by means of presents, hostages, and an arrangement of intermarriage. But as long as Penda was alive, there could be no lasting peace in the country. Having desolated East Anglia in 654, he returned into Northumbria, and this time gifts and offers were of no avail. Oswy was compelled to fight, and he was victorious. Penda perished by that violent death he had caused so many princes, and many of his chief captains were slain with him. After Penda's death, Oswy overran the country of his old enemies the Mercians ; attached all the territory north of the Trent and the southern part of Mercia to his kingdom ; and assumed the rank of Bretwalda.

There was soon another Bretwalda. In 656 the nobles of Mercia rose up in arms, expelled the Northumbrians, and gave the crown to Wulfare, one of Penda's sons, whom they concealed from the search of Oswy. Wulfare extended his dominions by conquest in Wessex and the neighbouring countries, and then proclaimed himself king of all the "Austrian regions," or Bretwalda in all those parts of the island

south of the Humber. About this time a sickness, called the yellow, or the yellow plague, ravaged the country. Kings, archbishops, monks, and nuns were among the victims of this pestilence. It lasted for twenty years, and during its progress, Oswy, who is generally considered the last of the Bretwaldas, died, though not of the disease, A. D. 670.

Oswy was succeeded by his son Egfrid, who had scarcely ascended the throne when the Picts, seated between the Tyne and the Forth, revolted. They were defeated, and again reduced to a doubtful obedience, after which Egfrid, ambitious of obtaining all the possessions his father had once held, invaded Mercia. A battle was fought in the year 679, and great slaughter took place on both sides, when peace was restored by the mediation of a bishop. Egfrid was slain in 685, in a war with Brude, king of the Picts, and the kingdom of Northumbria then became the scene of wretchedness and anarchy. In the course of a century six kings were murdered; five were expelled by their subjects; two became monks: and one only died with the crown on his head.

On the decline of Northumbria, its old rival Mercia assumed the ascendancy. By the year 737, Ethelbald, the Mercian king, ruled with paramount authority over all the country south of the Humber, Wales excepted. The superiority of Mercia, however, was more successfully asserted by Offa, between the years 757 and 794. After subduing parts of Sussex and Kent, he invaded Oxfordshire, and took all that part of the kingdom of Wessex that lay on the left of the Thames. Subsequently he drove the kings of Powis from Pengwern, now Shrewsbury, beyond the river Wye, and planted strong Saxon colonies between that river and the Severn. He caused a ditch and rampart to be drawn all along the frontiers of Wales, remains of which still exists, which are called Offa's Dyke. This work was scarcely finished when the Welsh filled up part of the ditch, broke through the rampart, and slew many of Offa's soldiers while enjoying the festivities of Christmas. Offa took a terrible revenge. Encountering the mountaineers at Rhuddlan, the king of North Wales, and the pride of the Welsh youth and nobility were slain. The last exploit of Offa was the defeat of a body of Danish invaders: a people that were designing the future conquest of England. Offa died in the year 796, when the great power of Mercia began rapidly to decline, and Wessex to obtain the ascendancy.

At the time of Offa's death the kingdom of Wessex was ruled by Beortric. The right of Beortric to the throne of Wessex was unquestionable, but he prevailed over his rival Egbert, who repaired to the court of the emperor Charlemagne. Beortric married Eadburgha, the daughter of Offa, who was a woman of a most depraved character, and possessed the most cruel nature. Eadburgha had prepared a cup of poison for a young nobleman who was her husband's favourite, and the king drank of it, with the intended victim, and died a horrid death. Eadburgha fled and took refuge with Charlemagne, who assigned her a residence in a convent, but she was expelled from thence for vicious conduct, and she ended her days at Pavia, in the garb of a mendicant.

The death of Beortric took place A.D. 800, and he was succeeded by his old rival Egbert. Early in his reign, Egbert had to meet the hostility of the Mercians, who invaded Wessex, but he defeated them, and attached Mercia and all its dependencies to his kingdom. Egbert established *sub. reguli.*, or under kings, in Kent and East Anglia, and in the year A.D. 825, he subdued the Northumbrians, and Eanred their monarch became his vassal and tributary. The kingdoms of the Heptarchy were now united under one sovereign; but Egbert did not assume the title of king of England. He contented himself with the style of king of Wessex, to which he added the dignity and authority of Bretwalda. This authority was sometimes disputed, but there were none who could withstand his power, and during the last ten years of his reign he ruled over more territory than any Saxon monarch that preceded him. At one time he even coerced and kept Wales in a dependent state. But no sooner had England made some approaches to union, and the blessings of a regular government, than the Danes, or Northmen, appeared on the coasts, and began to throw everything into confusion. The land was again to become a prey to foreign and barbarous invaders.

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE INVASION OF THE DANES.

THE Danes were a people inhabiting Norway, Denmark, and Sweden. They were divided into several states, and were continually engaged in mutual warfare. Nor was their martial prowess confined to their own shores. Habituated to the use of arms, they were accustomed to navigate the seas, and to commit acts of piracy upon the neighbouring nations. War was their trade, and was followed universally by the sons of noble families, who were provided with ships and followers, and then sent to sea to pursue their fortunes. For a long time the warfare of these hordes of savages was confined to the shores of the Baltic and the adjoining coasts. At the close of the eighth century, however, they began to sail further from home, and in their onward progress they invaded the coasts of England.

In the year 832, when Egbert was in the plenitude of his power, a number of Danes landed in the Isle of Sheppey, and having plundered it, escaped to their ships without opposition. The next year the marauders again landed on the coasts, and were encountered by Egbert, at Charmouth, in Dorsetshire. Some accounts relate that Egbert was defeated, and it is certain that after a desperate battle the Danes maintained their position for a while, and again retreated to their ships without hindrance. In cruising along the English coasts they formed an acquaintance with the people of Cornwall, which ended in an alliance. In the year 834, the Danes, with these allies, marched into Devonshire; but Egbert met them with a large army at Hengsdown-hill, and defeated them with great slaughter. This was his last exploit: he died in 836.

## ÆTHELWULF.

Egbert was succeeded by his eldest son Ethelwulf. One of the first acts of Ethelwulf was to give the kingdom of Kent, with its dependencies, Sussex and Essex, in separate sovereignty, to his son Athelstane. About the same time Mercia revolted and re-established its independence, and thus,

when union was becoming more necessary than ever, jealousy and discord prevailed.

In this state of things the Danish pirates returned to England, and having ravaged all the southern coasts of the kingdom, they sailed up the Thames and the Medway, and stormed and pillaged London, Rochester, and Canterbury. Their ravages induced Ethelwulf, and Barhulf, king of Mercia, to unite their forces, and some energetic measures followed their union. Barhulf was slain, but Ethelwulf and his son Ethelbald, gained a complete victory over the Danes at Okeley, in Surrey. Soon after, they were defeated by Athelstane, the king of Kent, at Sandwich, and they were also beaten by the men of Devon, at Wenbury. These checks, together with the disordered state of France, which favoured their incursions in that direction, induced the marauders to suspend their attacks on England; but such was the apprehensions they still inspired, that every Wednesday was appointed as a day of public prayer, to implore the Divine assistance against them.

Ever since their conversion the Saxons of superior condition had been accustomed to make pilgrimages to Rome: princes and kings had told their orisons before the altar of St. Peter. Ethelwulf, finding his kingdom was tranquil, followed the example of his predecessors: crossing the Alps and the Apennines, he arrived at Rome, where he remained nearly one year. On his return, though an old man, he espoused the youthful daughter of Charles the Bald, king of the Franks, with great solemnity, in the cathedral of Rheims, where he placed her by his side, and caused her to be crowned as queen. The constitution and the laws of Wessex had for ever abolished the queenly dignity, in consequence of the crimes of Eadburgha, and on hearing of this event prince Ethelbald, Adelstane, bishop of Sherborn, and the thanes and men of Wessex, joined in a plot to dethrone Ethelwulf. On his return to the island with his young bride, he found a formidable faction in arms, and though he had still many friends, he shrunk from a civil war with his son, and consented to a compromise. He retained to himself the eastern part of Wessex, but resigned all the western, which was considered the richest and best portion, to Ethelbald. Ethelwulf did not long survive this partition: he died in the year 857.

## ETHELBALD.

At the time when Ethelwulf died, Athelstan, his eldest son, was dead also, so that Ethelbald succeeded to the whole of his father's kingdom. He married his father's young widow, but this union could not be tolerated by the Romish church, and its bishops obtained his consent to a divorce. Some authorities, however, relate that the marriage was only dissolved by his death, and that both priests and people attributed the shortness of his reign, to his sinful marriage, which had drawn down God's vengeance upon his head. He died A.D. 859.

## ETHELBERT.

Ethelbald was succeeded by his brother, Ethelbert, in the kingdom of Wessex. Ethelbert's brief reign was greatly troubled by the Danes, who made inroads in almost every part of the island. They burned Winchester, his capital, and established themselves in the Isle of Thanet, which they made the key of their conquests, as the Saxons had done before them. Ethelbert died in the year 866 or 867.

## ETHELRED.

Ethelbert was succeeded by his brother Ethelred, who in the first year of his reign had to fight nine battles with the Danes. While thus engaged in resisting the invaders, the chiefs of Mercia and Northumbria withdrew from their alliance, and the men of Wessex were left to maintain the struggle alone. During the first six years of Ethelred's reign it is said that the destruction of the Danes was great; but their loss was constantly supplied by fresh forces from the north. In most of the conflicts Alfred fought along with Ethelred, his brother, and at Aston, or Ashenden, in Berkshire, he mainly contributed to a great victory, while the king was engaged at prayers, and his division was inactive. The victory of Aston was followed by the defeats of Basing and Mereton, and soon after Ethelred died, leaving his crown to Alfred. A.D. 871.

## ALFRED.

Alfred was twenty-two years of age when he commenced his reign. At that time the Danes held the Isle of Thanet,

which gave them the command of the river Thames and the coast of Kent and Essex. They had also conquered Northumbria; planted strong colonies at York; desolated Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk; ranged through the whole length of the island on this side the Tweed, with the exception of the western counties of England; and had established fortified camps between the Severn and the Thames. The Anglo-Saxon standard had retreated towards the south-western corner of the island, which includes Somersetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall, and which now became the scene of warfare.

Surrounded by enemies Alfred did not despair. He had been already tried in many battles, and though his enemies were fierce and powerful, he did not fear them. He had scarcely been a month on the throne when a battle was fought at Wilton, in which the Danes suffered so severely that they were obliged to conclude a treaty and to evacuate his kingdom of Wessex. The invading army withdrew to London, where they wintered; and in the following spring, having been joined by fresh hosts, they marched into Lincolnshire, which they desolated. From Lincolnshire they marched to Derbyshire, and there, at the town of Repton, took up their winter quarters.

In the next year, A.D. 875, one army of Danes, under Halfdane, conquered Northumbria, and divided the mass of its territory among his followers, who, settling among the Anglo-Saxons there, and intermarrying with them, became so mixed as almost to form one people. While Halfdane was thus employed, another army, commanded by three kings, marched upon Cambridge, which they fortified, and made their winter quarters. At this period the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of Northumbria, Mercia, and East-Anglia were obliterated, and the contest lay between the Danes and Alfred's kingdom of Wessex.

In the year 876, the Danes that had wintered at Cambridge, took to their ships and carried the war into Wessex. They landed on the coasts of Dorsetshire, surprised the castle of Wareham, and desolated the neighbouring districts. In the interval of the peace, however, Alfred had conceived an idea which may be considered as the commencement of the naval glory of England. On establishing themselves in the country the Saxons had neglected sea affairs, but Alfred renewed them. He set afloat a small flotilla, and in its very first encounter with the enemy it proved victorious: attacking a

Danish squadron of seven ships, one was taken, and the rest put to flight. The Danes now again treated for peace, and swore by their golden bracelets, which with them was a solemn form of oath, that they would evacuate Wessex. Alfred insisted that they should swear upon the relics of some Christian saints, and they made this double oath; but the very next night they fell upon Alfred unexpectedly near Winchester. Alfred had a narrow escape; the horsemen who were in attendance upon him were nearly all dismounted and slain, and the Danes, seizing their horses, hastened towards Exeter. Their plan now was to take Alfred in the rear of his stronghold in the west of England, and again to rouse the people of Cornwall against the Saxons. A formidable Danish fleet sailed from the Thames to reinforce the troops in Devonshire, but a storm which arose caused the wreck of half his fleet, and the other half was destroyed by the Saxon fleet that blockaded the Exe. By this time Alfred had invested Exeter with his land-forces, and Guthrun, the Danish king, who held that town, capitulated, gave hostages and oaths, and then marched into Mercia.

By the old writers the Danes were called "truce breakers," and they well deserved the name. No sooner had Guthrun retreated from Exeter than he began to prepare for another war. He fixed his head-quarters at the city of Gloucester; the broad and fertile lands around which he distributed among his warriors. A winter campaign was hitherto unknown among the Danes; but on the first day of January, 878, Guthrun gave orders to his warriors to meet him at an appointed place. Alfred was then at Chippenham, a strong residence of the Wessex kings, and on the feast of the Epiphany, or twelfth-night, when the Saxons were celebrating that festival, he heard that Guthrun and his Danes were at the gates. Thus surprised, he could offer but a feeble resistance; many of his followers were slain; the foe burst into Chippenham, and Alfred, with a little band, escaped to the fastnesses of the moors. The Danes now rode over the kingdom of Wessex in triumph: no army was left to oppose them, and while numbers of the population fled to the Isle of Wight, the rest submitted to the conquerors.

Alfred sought refuge in Somersetshire; but although the people of that country generally remained true to his cause, he was obliged to hide in fens and coverts, for fear of being betrayed to his enemy, Guthrun. His hiding-place was



near the confluence of the rivers Thone and Parret, in a tract of country still called Athelney, or the Prince's Island. This tract was then covered by a dense wood, and was the secluded haunt of deer, wild boars, wild goats, and other beasts of the forest. The sustenance of Alfred and his little band in this wild place depended upon hunting and fishing, and the spoils they could make by sudden forays among the Danes. Several incidents are related as having occurred to Alfred while in this seclusion. In one of his excursions, says the monk Asser, he took refuge in the cabin of a swineherd. One day the herdsman led his swine to pasture, and the king remained in the hut. On this occasion the wife of the swain prepared to bake her loaves of bread among the ashes on the hearth. Alfred was busied by the fire, making ready his bows and arrows, when on a sudden the woman beheld her loaves burning. She ran hastily and removed them, and reproaching Alfred for his negligence, exclaimed, "You man! You will not turn the bread you see burning, but you will be glad enough to eat it." The king submitted with a good grace to the reproof, and afterwards became more attentive to the duties of the family where he found shelter.

From his retreat in Athelney, Alfred maintained a correspondence with some of his faithful adherents, and by degrees some bold warriors gathered round his standard in that islet. Between the Easter and Whitsunday following his flight, he saw hopes of emerging from his obscurity. The men of Somersetshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Hampshire resorted to him, and Alfred was soon able to contend with his foes. An important event favoured his cause. Hubba, a Danish king, in attempting to land in Devonshire, was slain, with many of his followers, and their magical banner, a raven, fell into the hands of the victorious Saxons.

Emboldened by this event, Alfred determined to commence decisive operations. To this end he sought to know the precise force and condition of the army under Guthrun. To obtain this information he put himself in great jeopardy. The Danes had formed a permanent camp at Yatton, near Westbury, and into this he entered in the habit of a wandering minstrel. As he amused the Danes with songs and interludes, he noticed their sloth and negligence, and heard much of their councils and plans. On his return to Athelney, he sent messengers to all quarters, requesting the trusty

men of Wessex to meet him in arms at Egbert's stone, which was on the east of Selwood Forest. The summons was obeyed, and in a general battle at Ethundune, now Yatton, which ensued, the Danes were defeated.

Guthrun retreated with the remnant of his army to a fortified position, but in fourteen days he was compelled to accept the conditions offered by Alfred. These were liberal and enlightened conditions. Guthrun was to evacuate all Wessex, and be baptized; on consenting to which, an extensive cession of territory was to be made to him and the Danes. These terms were accepted; Guthrun was baptized, Alfred answering for him at the baptismal font, and he and his followers were allowed to settle in the eastern part of England as peaceable colonists. Whatever were the inward convictions of Guthrun, or the sincerity of his conversion, he was certainly captivated by the merits of his conqueror, and ever afterwards continued Alfred's faithful friend and ally. The Danes assumed habits of industry and tranquillity, and they gradually adopted the manners and customs of more civilized life.

About the time that Alfred effected the conquest of his old enemy, he invited Asser, the monk of St. David's, to his court or camp, that he might profit by his learning. Arrangements were made between them, that Asser should pass half his time in his monastery and the rest of the year at court. With Asser the king conversed and read all such books as he possessed, and their friendship continued unbroken till death. When Alfred died, the honourable testimony was read in his will, that Asser was a person in whom he had full confidence.

It was some time before Alfred could give himself up to quiet enjoyments, and to the improvement of his people. Guthrun was faithful, but hosts of marauding Danes continued to cross from the continent and infest our island. In 879 a large army came and wintered at Fullanham, or Fulham; but finding no encouragement from their kindred, in the spring they passed over to Flanders. In the year 885, while the Danes were besieging the city of Paris, Alfred rebuilt and fortified the city of London, which he committed to the care and custody of his son Ethelred. For seven years his country reposed, and during this time he was employed in strengthening his kingdom and bettering the condition of his people. In the year 893, however, the Danes

once more turned the prows of their vessels towards the British shores. A famine raged in Flanders, where they had been employed, and they longed for the corn and fatted beeves which then abounded in England.

The Danish fleet, which came from Flanders, consisted of two hundred and fifty ships, every one of which was full of warriors and horses. The invaders landed near Romney-marsh, in Kent, and they proceeded to Apuldre, or Appledore, where they intrenched themselves in a strongly-fortified camp. About the same time, Hasting, the commander-in-chief of the expedition, entered the Thames with another division of ships, and landed at Milton, where he threw up strong entrenchments. For some time the Danes contented themselves with scouring the country in foraging parties, and Alfred, who had made every exertion to meet the danger, could not bring them to a battle. Alfred took up his position between Hasting and the other division of the Danes. By this means he kept asunder the two armies, and watched for an opportunity of attacking either, should they quit their entrenchments. The Danes were by his vigilance finally confined to their camp, and Hasting at length resolved to make his escape. By a sudden manœuvre he passed Alfred and penetrated into Surrey; but he was defeated at Farnham, and the remains of his forces fled for refuge to the Isle of Mersey. In this position the Danes remained blockaded for some time, but Alfred was called away from them by an invasion of the Danes of East-Anglia, who with two fleets had proceeded to the coast as far as Devonshire, and laid siege to Exeter. Alfred, leaving a part of his army on the confines of Essex, mounted the rest on horses and hastened to the west. Victory followed him; the Danes were driven to their ships with great slaughter.

During Alfred's absence, Ethelred, his son-in-law, laid siege to the Danish fortified post of Benfleet, in Essex, broke into it, and took captive the wife of Hasting and his two sons. Alfred, on his return, was advised to put them to death, but, acting with Christian magnanimity, he set them at liberty, and sent them to the Danish chief. Hasting did not appreciate this magnanimity. By this time he had thrown up another intrenchment at South-Showbury, in Essex, and being re-enforced, he sailed up the Thames, and thence spread the mass of his forces into the heart of the kingdom. From the Thames he marched to the Severn, and

fortified himself at Buttington. Here he was surrounded by Alfred, who was joined by the men of North Wales, and in a brief time the supplies of the Danes were cut off. Famine stared them in the face, and Hasting was compelled to issue from his intrenchments and meet his enemy. A terrific battle took place, and the Danes were defeated: hundreds were slain in the attempt to break through Alfred's lines; many were drowned in the Severn; and the rest, headed by Hasting, effected their escape, and took refuge in their ships on the coast of Essex.

During the winter that followed his defeat on the Severn, Hasting was again re-enforced, and in the spring he burst into North Wales. After ravaging part of that country, he was met by a royal army, and compelled to march to the north-east. After traversing Northumbria, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk, he regained his fortified post at South-Showbury, in Essex, where he wintered. Early in the spring he drew his ships up the river Lea, securing them by a fortress erected about twenty miles to the north of London. Here he successfully resisted the attacks of Alfred during the summer, but in the autumn Alfred contrived to turn the channel of the Lea, and Hasting's fleet was left aground and useless. Hasting fled, and while the citizens of London seized his grounded fleet, Alfred followed him. Alfred found his enemy in a fortified position at Quatbridge, in Shropshire, and he was compelled to leave him there during the winter. By this time Hasting had learned that his power was of no avail against the arms of Alfred. In the following spring of 897 he abandoned his camp; and while some of his followers sought shelter among their brethren in Northumbria, or Norfolk, or Suffolk, others sailed for the Scheldt and the mouth of the Rhine, while others, adhering to Hasting, passed over to France. A small fleet was equipped on the eastern coast, and the humbled chieftain crossed the Channel without profit or honour.

After the departure of Hasting, the Danes of Northumbria and East-Anglia resumed piratical enterprises. In these they were defeated by the Saxons, who, under the direction of Alfred, constructed larger vessels than those of the enemy. By this means he conquered the sea-kings, as the Danes were called, on their own element; and was the first British monarch who possessed an efficient navy. At the end of his reign his fleet exceeded the number of one hundred sail. The

ships were divided into squadrons, and stationed at different ports round the island, while some kept constantly cruising round the coasts.

During the excursions of Hasting, England suffered greatly from his ravages. Nor were these the only calamities which the country endured at this period. "For three years the land was vexed with three manner of sorrows:—with war of the Danes, pestilence of men, and murrain of beasts." The pestilence carried off great numbers, and among them many of the chief thanes, or nobles, of the Saxons. It continued some time after the departure of the Danes, and on its cessation the country enjoyed peace and prosperity.

The remainder of Alfred's life was spent with as much comfort as his declining health would permit. Even the Britons sought to be at peace with him. His latter years were marked by efforts for the benefit of his people, which were continued till his death, which happened A.D. 901.

The advantages which England derived from the rule of Alfred were many and great. Apart from his delivering his people from the power of the ferocious Danes, he conferred other and lasting benefits on them. Thus a code of laws was enacted by him, founded in many respects upon Scripture principles, and enforcing Scripture morals. He also endeavoured, by liberality and kindness, to attract to England all such foreigners as could give information on sea affairs, geography, and the discovery of unknown countries, and were otherwise qualified to illuminate the national ignorance. He taught the people how to build better houses; founded or rebuilt many towns; erected fortifications; and established schools. His desire that his people should become educated was shown both by precept and example. Although actively engaged from his youth in war, he not only learned to read Anglo-Saxon, but also Latin, which was extraordinary for a prince of the ninth century. He was accustomed to say that he regretted the neglected education of his youth, more than all the hardships, and sorrows, and crosses that befell him in after life. As one of his great impediments had been the Latin language, he recommended, in an address to the bishops, that all good and useful books should be translated into Anglo-Saxon, so that the youths of England might be able to read them. He procured the translation of parts of the Bible into the Saxon language, by which means the ministers of religion and the people at large were greatly improved.

His own literary works—for Alfred was a writer—consisted chiefly of translations from the Latin into the Anglo-Saxon. How he could find time for these laudable occupations, may excite surprise; but Alfred was steady and persevering in his habits, and a great economist of time. He devoted eight hours of each day to the affairs of government; eight to study and prayer; and eight to sleep and meals. Clocks and watches were then unknown in England, and he marked his time by the constant burning of wax torches, which were notched in the stem at regular distances. These torches or candles were twelve inches long; six of them, or seventy-two inches of wax, were consumed in twenty-four hours; and thus, supposing the notches at intervals of an inch, one inch would mark the lapse of twenty minutes. At that time a palace was more exposed to the weather than the cottage of a peasant at the present day, and to defend his candles from the currents of air which passed through his palace, he invented a horn lantern. Asser says, that the king having found that white horn could be rendered transparent as glass, he, with that material and wood, made a case for his candle, which kept it from wasting or flaring. Alfred not only apportioned his time, but he regulated the attendance of his officers, and the expenditure of his revenue, with equal care. A considerable part of his revenue was employed in works of charity and public utility, particularly for the promotion of education. He is supposed to have been the founder of the university of Oxford, and it is certain that he erected several educational establishments. Another of his plans was designed to put an end to the system of slavery which then prevailed; but his efforts were not successful. In his regulations for promoting justice and security he succeeded better: he established so excellent a system of police that, towards the end of his reign, it is asserted that golden bracelets and jewels might have been hung in the public highways and cross-roads, and no man would have dared to touch them for fear of the law. Towards arbitrary, unjust, or corrupt administrators of the law, he was inexorable; and those who were ignorant or careless he reprimanded and suspended. All appeals were heard by him with great patience; and in cases of importance, he revised all law proceedings with the utmost industry. The system of trial by jury may be traced to him; which system has proved a blessing to succeeding generations. His history and example, indeed, should be impressed upon the mind of every royal and

noble youth: ten talents were committed to his charge, and he studiously improved them. For the age in which he lived, he was a great, a wise, and a pious monarch.

#### EDWARD THE ELDER.

On the death of Alfred, the succession to the throne was disputed between his son Edward and his nephew Ethelwald, a son of Ethelbald, one of Alfred's elder brothers. Each party armed; but Ethelwald, finding himself the weakest, fled to the Danes in the north of England, and was hailed by them as their king. In the year 905 Ethelwald made an incursion through Mercia and the midland counties; but, being repulsed, he returned to Lincolnshire, where he perished in a battle with the forces of Edward. The Danes still continued a desultory warfare, but in the year 911, Edward obtained a decisive victory over them, by which his power was established. The spirit of Alfred, however, seemed more particularly to survive in his daughter Ethelfleda, who had been married to Ethelred, who ruled over Mercia. Her brother Edward took possession of London and Oxford, but she resolutely defended the rest of Mercia against all her enemies. At her death, which took place in the year 920, Mercia was united to Wessex; after which Edward took most of the Danish towns between the Thames and the Humber, and forced the Danes north of the Humber to acknowledge his supremacy. The Welsh, the Scots, and the men of Galloway, are also said to have done him homage, and to have accepted him as their "father, lord, and protector." Edward is said to have founded the university of Cambridge, by removing thither some professors from Oxford. He died A.D. 925.

#### ATHELSTANE.

The death of Edward was followed in a few days by that of his eldest son Ethelwald, when Athelstane was called to the throne. Athelstane established a more brilliant throne, and made a still nearer approach to the sovereignty of all England than his father had done. He reduced all Wales to tranquillity, if not to vassalage; the Welsh were bound to send gold, silver, beeves, and their best hounds and hawks, to his court. He next turned his arms against the old tribes of Cornwall, who had made encroachments in Devonshire, and he reduced them to obedience and good order beyond the Tamar.

This increase of Athelstane's power induced a general confederacy of the Danes and neighbouring princes against him. In the year 934, Anlaf, a Danish prince, who had already been settled in Northumbria, and who made considerable conquests in Ireland, sailed into the harbour with a fleet of six hundred vessels. Anlaf was joined by Constantine, king of the Scots, the people of Strathclyde, and Cumbria, and the northern Welsh. This was a formidable coalition, but it was utterly destroyed at Brunnaburgh: Athelstane gained a great victory; five Danish kings and seven earls fell in the contest. Anlaf fled to Ireland; and after this event Athelstane reigned in peace. It was at this time that Athelstane assumed the title of "King of the Anglo-Saxons," or "King of the English."

The fame of Athelstane, both as a monarch and a man of learning, excited the attention of foreign princes, and brought England into closer alliance with them. Three kings were nurtured at his court: Alan of Bretagne, Louis of France, and Haco of Norway. His sisters were bestowed in marriage to the first sovereigns of that period; and he enjoyed a respect among foreign courts, unsurpassed by any living sovereign. As a monarch, his conduct seems to have been without reproach. He revised the laws, promulgated new ones, made provision for the poor, and encouraged learning. Like Alfred, he was fond of the Bible, and he promoted the translation of it in the language of the people. His life, however, was brief: he died A.D. 940, being then forty-seven years of age.

#### EDMUND THE ELDER.

Athelstane was succeeded by his brother Edmund, who was not quite eighteen years old. Edmund had scarcely ascended the throne, when Anlaf, invited by the Northumbrians, again sailed for Ireland, and the result of the war was that Edmund was obliged to resign to him, in separate sovereignty, the whole of the island north of Watling-Street. Anlaf, however, shortly after died, and then Edmund repossessed himself of the ceded territory. About the same time the people of Cumbria rebelled, and Edmund marched against them, defeated their king Dunmail, and having captured his two sons, barbarously put out their eyes. Edmund did not long survive this atrocious deed. At the festival of



St. Augustine, as he was carousing with his nobles and officers, a banished robber, named Leof, dared to mingle with the company. Leof was ordered to depart, but he refused; and when Edmund seized hold of him he stabbed the king mortally with a dagger. A. D. 946.

#### EDRED.

Edred, a younger brother of Edmund, succeeded to the throne. He was not twenty-three years old, but he was afflicted with a disease which had brought on premature old age. Soon after his accession the Danes of Northumbria, being joined by Eric and other princes from Denmark, Norway, Ireland, the Orkneys, and the Hebrides, once more tried the fortune of war with the Saxons. They were unsuccessful; the forces of Edred defeated them, and the Danes in Northumbria were brought under subjection. Edred died soon after the reduction of Northumbria, and was succeeded by the son of Edmund, his brother and predecessor. A.D. 955.

#### EDWY.

Edwy was fifteen years old when he began to reign. One of the first acts of his government was the appointment of his brother Edgar to be vassal-king of a part of England; probably the old kingdom of Mercia, where he was to acknowledge Edwy's supremacy. Edwy had no armed enemies to oppose, but he had to contend with a body more powerful than the Danes, and who fought with a weapon more deadly than the sword.

The commotions which rent the kingdom in the reign of Edwy were stirred up by papal craft and papal ambition. The spirit which presided over them was Dunstan, that master-mind, who turned

“ The instruments of good to ill,  
Moulding the credulous people to his will.”

Dunstan was born in the year 925. He received his early education in Glastonbury Monastery, and was subsequently introduced at the court of Athelstane, by his uncle, Adhelm, archbishop of Canterbury. Disgusted with the manners of the court, however, he returned to Glastonbury: and having, in early youth, received the tonsure, he built for himself a cell,

or hermitage, with an oratory. In this hermitage he employed his time partly in devotional austerities, and partly in making crosses, censers, vestments, &c., for the service of the church. His mode of life gained the favour of Edmund, and he was appointed abbot of Glastonbury, with full power to draw funds from the royal treasury for its restoration.

Dunstan employed the funds placed at his disposal to further the ends of his ambition. On the accession of Edwy he was determined to subject the young monarch to his rule. An opportunity soon presented itself for the display of his power. On the day of his coronation, Edwy left the feast where his nobles were carousing, and resorted to the apartment of Elgiva, his wife, whom he had recently privately married. His absence was remarked by Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, who ordered some one to follow him, and to bring him back to the offended company. None moved but Dunstan, and he rushed to the inner apartment, dragged the young king from the side of Elgiva, and thrust him into the banquetting-hall by main force. Nor was this the only insult he put upon Edwy. While in the chamber Dunstan addressed the queen and her mother, who was present, and threatened the latter with infamy and the gallows.

Dunstan's bold and outrageous conduct naturally excited the wrath of Edwy and his bride. He had been treasurer to Edred, the preceding sovereign; and Edwy, who had suspected his integrity, charged him with peculation in his office, sequestered his property, drove out the monks of Glastonbury, and put in the secular clergy; and finally banished Dunstan from the kingdom. Dunstan fled for the monastery of St. Peter's, in Ghent; but the king found a more powerful enemy in Odo. After Dunstan's flight, the king made himself the protector of the secular, or married clergy, and incensed at this, Odo pronounced a divorce between the king and queen; seized the queen and branded her in the face with a red-hot iron, to destroy her beauty, and then hurried her to the coast, whence she was transported to Ireland. Elgiva was cured of the cruel wounds inflicted; her scars were obliterated; and she found means to return to England with her beauty unimpaired. It is not clear whether Elgiva had joined her husband, but it is certain that she was seized, near Gloucester, by her monkish persecutors, who caused her to be mangled and hamstrung, which in a few days caused her death. Edwy did not long survive his wife: he died in the following year from grief. A.D. 958.

## EDGAR.

During the latter part of Edwy's reign, Edgar, his brother, had taken up arms against him, and he now succeeded to all his dignities. Edgar had recalled Dunstan, and, as he was but fifteen years of age, he became a passive instrument in the hands of that designing monk and his party. Dunstan ruled absolutely; and was enabled to give the Romish see a jurisdiction over the clergy before unknown. In order to effect this object, the secular clergy were excluded from their livings, and the monks were appointed to supply their places. In this attempt Dunstan was supported by Edgar, and he overpowered the resistance which the country had long maintained against papal dominion, and gave to the monks an influence, the baneful effects of which were seen and felt till the Reformation.

It cannot be denied, however, that Dunstan and the monks ruled the kingdom with vigour and success. At this period the detached states were consolidated into compacter integrity and union than had ever been known before. The fleet of Edgar consisted of about four hundred ships, and these ships were so well disposed that the sea-kings were prevented from landing and troubling the country. Tutored by Dunstan, who had become archbishop of Canterbury, the king accustomed himself to visit in person every part of his dominions annually, which made him acquainted with all the nobles and principal men of the kingdom, and this had the effect of insuring their obedience.

Edgar assumed the title of Basileus, or Emperor, of Albion, king of the English, and of all the nations and islands around. From the circumstance that there were no wars during his reign he was also styled the Peaceable, or Pacific. But Edgar was a licentious and cruel character. Several instances of his licentiousness and violence are recorded, one of which requires to be noticed.

Hearing of the beauty of Elfrida, a daughter of Ordgar, earl of Devonshire, he sent Athelwold, one of his nobles, to ascertain if the report were true. Athelwold himself became enamoured of the beauty, married her, and then represented to the king, that though rich she was not beautiful. Edgar either suspected or was told the truth, and he insisted on paying her a visit. Her husband was allowed to precede him, and he besought Elfrida to disguise her beauty. This was

refused; the visit was made; the king was captivated; and soon after Athelwold was found murdered in a wood, when Edgar married his widow. This union, began in crime, led to the murder of Edgar's son; and under Ethelred, the only son he had by Elfrida, the glory of the house of Alfred was eclipsed for ever. Edgar himself did not long survive his marriage: he died at the early age of thirty-two, and was buried in the abbey of Glastonbury. A. D. 975.

Edgar with all his vices possessed some popular qualities. He showed great anxiety for the welfare of his people. By his fleets he protected their coasts; he reformed the coinage, and had new coins issued over all the kingdom; and he commuted a tribute he received from a part of Wales into three hundred heads of wolves annually, in order to extirpate those ravenous animals. Edgar deserves credit for these actions; but they were greatly sullied by his private character. Even the monks who upheld him as a godly virtuous prince have recorded actions which prove him to have been the most profligate of all the Saxon monarchs.

#### EDWARD.

Edward, commonly called the Martyr, was Edgar's son by his first marriage. On his accession he was only fourteen years of age, and his rights were disputed by Elfrida, who was an ambitious and remorseless woman, in favour of her own son, Ethelred. Edward was crowned and supported by Dunstan; and Elfrida then gave the weight of her son Ethelred's name to the secular clergy, who were headed by Alfer, the powerful governor of Mercia. Dunstan prevailed; but the ambition of Elfrida was not to be thwarted. She soon found herself at the head of a powerful confederacy of nobles, who were resolved her son should reign, and Dunstan be deprived of his power. Before this confederacy was fully arranged, Edward placed himself in the power of Elfrida. As he was hunting one day in Dorsetshire, he quitted his company and attendants to visit his half-brother, Ethelred, who was living with his mother at Corfe Castle. Elfrida came forth with her son to meet him, bade him welcome with a smiling face, and invited him to dismount. The king declined this invitation from fear he should miss his company, but he craved a cup of wine, which he might drink in his saddle to her and his brother. The wine was brought, and

as Edward was lifting the cup to his lips, one of Elfrida's attendants stabbed him in the back. The wounded king put spurs to his horse, but soon fainting from loss of blood, he fell out of his saddle, and was dragged by one foot in the stirrup through woods and rugged roads until he was dead. His companions traced him by his blood, and on finding his disfigured corpse, they burned it, and then buried its ashes at Wareham, without any pomp or regal ceremonies. A. D. 978.

#### ETHELRED.

Ethelred, who was only ten years of age, had no part in the guilt which gave him a crown. It is related, indeed, that he dearly loved his half-brother, and wept on hearing of his death, for which Elfrida, seizing a large torch at hand, beat him with it with a severity that nearly proved fatal. The death of Edward brought such odium, both on Elfrida and her son, that an attempt was made to exclude him from the throne, by substituting Edgitha, Edgar's natural daughter. Edgitha was a nun, and she resolutely refused to exchange the tranquillity of the cell for the dangers of the throne; and, as there was no other pretender to set up, the prelates and thanes were compelled to crown the son of Edward's murderess. Ethelred was crowned by Dunstan at the festival of Easter, A. D. 979, in the old chapel of Kingston, then the usual crowning-place of the Saxon monarchs. It is said that Dunstan, in the very act of crowning the young monarch, pronounced a bitter malediction on his head.

Ethelred commenced his reign with the unluckily name of Unready. During the first part of his minority, Elfrida enjoyed great authority; but as he advanced in years her influence declined, and she at length retired from court to expiate her sins in building and endowing monasteries. The king himself was vicious and indolent, and civil discords became rife in the country, in the midst of which Dunstan died. About the same time the Danes began again to plunder the coasts; and Siric, Dunstan's successor, unable to excite the nobles to arm in the defence of their country, persuaded Ethelred to purchase their retreat, by the payment of ten thousand pounds. The sea-kings departed for a while; but in the course of the following year, A. D. 992, they again returned. A powerful fleet was now fitted out to attack them, and among the leaders appointed were two bishops. The

chief command was given to Alfric, duke of Mercia; and he proved a traitor. Alfric gave the Danes notice of the measures concerted against them, and joined their fleet with his own ship. The Danes retired, but being met by a part of the English fleet, Alfric's vessel was captured, and he himself escaped with difficulty.

In the year 993, the Danes again invaded England. Landing in the north, they took Bamborough Castle by storm; and the Danish chiefs, who had been appointed to command their natives, threw down the standard of Ethelred, and ranged themselves under the raven. In the following year Sweyn, king of Denmark, and Olave, king of Norway, ravaged all the southern provinces of the island, and they were also bought off with money: sixteen thousand pounds of silver were exacted, and paid. By a clause in the treaty, Olave and some chiefs were bound to embrace the Christian religion; and Olave, at least, regarded the oath which he took at the font, never again to molest the English, for he never returned. But it was not so with the other Danish chiefs. During the four following years they continued their invasions, and on their next returning in force, A.D. 1001, they ravaged the whole kingdom from the Isle of Wight to the British Channel. A large sum was again paid to purchase peace: twenty-four thousand pounds were raised for them by direct taxation upon land.

In the year 1002, Ethelred married Emma, sister of the duke of Normandy. The rejoicings of this marriage were scarcely over, when an atrocity was committed which covered the land with blood and horror. In many instances the Danes were living peaceably among the Saxons, and on the festival of a Saxon saint, named Brita, which was kept on the 13th of November, by the orders of Ethelred, they were attacked by surprise, and massacred without distinction of quality, age, or sex. Gunhilda, the sister of Sweyn, king of Denmark, who had embraced Christianity and was married to an English earl, was beheaded, after witnessing the execution of her husband and son.

Sweyn prepared for a deadly revenge. He assembled a numerous fleet, and with the choicest warriors of his nation embarked for England. The first place where he landed was Exeter, which was plundered and dismantled; and Sweyn then marched through the country into Wiltshire, his forces committing every excess that a thirst for vengeance and ra-

pine could suggest. At length he was met by an Anglo-Saxon army. But this army was headed by Alfric, the Mercian, who had been restored to favour and employment, and he again proved a traitor. Pretending to be seized with a sudden illness, he called off his men when they were about to engage, and permitted Sweyn to retire with his army through Salisbury to the sea-coast.

In the following year the Danes captured Norwich, which was plundered and burnt; and the same fate befell almost every town in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and Lincolnshire. In the year 1004 he returned to the Baltic, but his revenge and rapacity were not yet satisfied. Returning two years afterwards, he carried fire and sword over a great part of the kingdom, and he was only induced to leave the country by the payment of thirty-six thousand pounds in gold. The frequent raising of these sums exhausted the people, whose doors were almost constantly beset by tax-gatherers, or Danish marauders. Yet in the year 1008, Ethelred found means to build a large fleet, and to raise a large army for the defence of the kingdom. But this fleet was rendered useless by treachery at home. Ethelred was governed by one Edric, who had obtained one of the king's daughters in marriage, and had obtained one of the highest offices in the kingdom. Brihtric, the brother of this favourite, conspired against Earl Wulfnoth, and the earl fled and carried twenty of the new ships with him, with which he plundered all the southern coasts of England. Brihtric pursued him with eighty other ships; but these were wrecked in a storm on the coast, and then the rest of the fleet dispersed in anarchy and confusion. The last hope of England thus perished.

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## CHAPTER V.

### THE DANISH CONQUEST.

THE Saxon dynasty drew near to a close. No sooner had the intelligence of the destruction of Ethelred's fleet reached the Baltic, than "Thurkill's host," set sail for England. For three years this host devastated the country, and at the end

of that time the Danes had made themselves masters of a large part of the kingdom. Truces were sold by them to the Saxons for gold, but they never evinced any intention of leaving the island. Ethelred's difficulties were great, for he had not a single officer on whom he could depend. All were base and cowardly, and the only instance of courage and firmness recorded occurred in the person of a churchman.

The Danes laid siege to Canterbury, and that city was defended by Alphege, the archbishop. For twenty days he preserved it from their power, but at the end of that time, its gates were opened by a traitor. Alphege was made prisoner, and loaded with chains. The Danes pressed him to purchase his liberty and life with gold. A sum was mentioned, and when he refused to obtain it from the people, they proposed to take a smaller, if Alphege would engage to advise the king to pay them a further amount as a largess. The noble archbishop still refused, and when the Danes, more covetous of money than blood, renewed their demands, he remarked, "You press me in vain: I am not the man to provide Christian flesh for pagan teeth, by robbing my poor countrymen, to enrich their enemies." The Danes at length lost their patience. One day, when at a drunken banquet, they caused him to be dragged before them, and, as they gathered round him in menacing attitudes, they exclaimed, "Gold, bishop; give us gold! gold!" Alphege still refused, and the Danes, running to a heap of bones, horns, and jaw-bones, the remains of their sensual feast, they threw them at him until he was almost dead. A Danish pirate then, whom Alphege had baptized with his own hand, seized his battle axe, and put an end to his life.

This noble example had no effect upon Ethelred; for he still continued to pay gold. Thurkill demanded and received forty-eight thousand pounds, and the cession of several counties, when he took the oaths of peace, and became, with many of his chiefs, Ethelred's ally. Sweyn, the Danish king, affected to consider this compact as treason to himself, and he prepared a fresh expedition, resolving on the conquest of our island. His fleet sailed up the Humber, and he landed in the vicinity of York. The Danes advanced into the country, escorted by fire and sword; and they were joined on every hand by the Danish settlers, and even by the Anglo-Saxons. Leaving his fleet to the care of his son Canute, Sweyn marched to the south, and Oxford, Winchester, and other important towns opened



their gates to him. The determined valour of the citizens of London obliged him to retire from thence, and he then turned to the west, where he was received with open arms. His head-quarters were at Bath, and thither all the nobles of Devonshire repaired to do him homage as their sovereign. London at length revolted; and in this general defection, Ethelred, who had taken refuge in that city, fled to the Isle of Wight, and thence to the court of the Duke of Normandy at Rouen, leaving Sweyn master of his kingdom, A.D. 1013.

Sweyn was acknowledged "full king of England;" but he did not long enjoy his conquest. In about six weeks after his final triumph he died suddenly, and Ethelred was invited by the Saxon nobles and prelates, by whom he had been "abandoned, deserted, and betrayed," to return and take possession of his kingdom. Before venturing himself, Ethelred sent his son Edward, with solemn promises and assurances. Pledges were then given for the faithful performance of the compact between the king and the people; and a sentence of outlawry pronounced against every Danish chief. Before the end of Lent Ethelred was restored to his dominions. In the meantime the Danish army in England had proclaimed Canute king of the country, and prepared to support his pretensions. A sanguinary war ensued; and Ethelred was fast falling before the power of his enemy, when he died, A.D. 1016.

#### EDMUND IRONSIDE.

On the death of Ethelred, setting aside his legitimate children, the Saxons chose for their king his natural son Edmund, surnamed Ironside. Edmund had given many proofs of his courage in the field, and wisdom in the council; but the country was too much worn out and divided to permit his restoring the independence of the Saxon power. After fighting five battles, and twice relieving London when besieged by Canute, Edmund proposed that he and his rival should decide their claims in a single-combat. Canute declined the duel, and said that it would be wiser and better for them to divide England between them. This proposal was received with joy by both armies, and it was agreed that Canute should reign over the north, and Edmund Ironside over the south, with a nominal superiority over the Danes' portion. But Edmund did not long survive this treaty. About two

months after he died suddenly ; but whether his death was natural, or he was cut off by assassination, is not certain.

## CANUTE.

On the death of his rival, Canute called a great council of the bishops and nobles, at London, and before them appealed to those who had been witnesses to the convention between him and Ironside, and called upon them to state upon what terms the compact was concluded. Intimidated by force, or won by promises, they all testified that Edmund never intended to reserve any right of succession to his brothers, and that it was even his wish that Canute should be the guardian of his own children. All took an oath of fidelity to Canute, as king of England ; and he in return swore to be just and benevolent, and he clasped their hands with his naked hand in token of sincerity.

Canute promised a full amnesty, but the words had scarcely passed from his lips, when he began to proscribe those whom he had promised to cherish. All the Saxon chiefs who had formerly opposed him, and the relations of Edmund and Ethelred were banished or put to death. The witenagemot, or parliament, which had recently passed the same sentence against the Danish princes, seconded his measures. They declared Edwy, the brother of Ironside, an outlaw, and when he was murdered, by the command of Canute, they acknowledged the justice of that execution. The two infant sons of the deceased, Edmund and Edward, were sent to Canute's ally and vassal the king of Sweden, with a request to dispose of them in such a manner as should remove all uneasiness on his part on their account. Canute meant that they should be destroyed ; but the Swedish king, moved by their innocence, sent them to the king of Hungary, who had them brought up with affectionate care.

There were yet two princes whose claims to the crown might some day disquiet Canute, but they were in Normandy. These were Edward and Alfred, the sons of king Ethelred, by Emma. Their uncle, the duke of Normandy, demanded on their behalf the restitution of the kingdom, but though his power was great, he adopted no measures to induce Canute to surrender it, and shortly after he entered into close friendship with him, and even the mother of his nephews, and his own sister in marriage. Canute was married to

Emma, the wife of Ethelred, whose throne he had subverted.

Having thus disposed of all who could give him fear or umbrage, Canute assumed a mild tone towards his new subjects, and to some extent succeeded in obtaining their goodwill. They followed him willingly to foreign wars, in which they fought bravely for the enslaving of other nations. Canute's last expedition was against the Cumbrians and Scots, who refused to do him homage, on the ground that he was a usurper, but they were compelled to submit to his power. A. D. 1017-19.

Surrounded with peace, Canute reigned with milder sway. The latter part of his reign was marked with no acts of cruelty, and the people were happier than they had been since the days of Alfred and Athelstane. He was cheerful and accessible to all his subjects, without distinction either of race or nation: for he held, or pretended to hold the crowns of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, besides that of England. Perhaps the means by which he gained the greater part of his popularity, was the patronage of the scalds, minstrels, and gleemen, who were the poets and musicians of that time. He took pleasure in songs and ballads, of which both Danes and Saxons were passionately fond, and a ballad of his own composing continued for a long time to be a favourite with the English peasantry.

Yet Canute was not a happy monarch. The blood he had shed and the crimes he had committed filled him with remorse; and, to appease his conscience, he became a friend of monks, and a founder of churches and monasteries. In the year 1030 he determined to make a pilgrimage to Rome, and he started on his journey with a wallet on his back and a pilgrim's staff in his hand. Returning from Rome, where he resided for some time, he visited Denmark to settle differences in that country. He returned to England about the year 1032, and three years after his return from Rome he died at Shaftesbury, and was buried at Winchester, A. D. 1035.

The power of Canute as a monarch is well illustrated by an often-repeated incident. When at the height of his power, and all things seemed to bend to his lordly will, Canute, one day disgusted with the flattery of his courtiers, determined to read them a practical lesson. He caused his throne to be conveyed to the verge of the sea as the tide was rolling in

with resistless might, and seating himself, he exclaimed: "Ocean! the land on which I sit is my dominion, and thou art part of my dominion—therefore, rise not; obey my commands, nor presume to wet the edge of my robe." The sea still rolled on its course; succeeding waves broke nearer and nearer to his feet, till at length the skirts of his garment and his legs were bathed by the waters. Rising from his seat, and turning to his courtiers, Canute exclaimed: "Confess now how frivolous and vain is the might of an earthly king, compared to that great power who rules the elements, and who alone can say unto the ocean, 'Thus far shalt thou go, and no further.'" It is added by the chroniclers, that Canute took off his crown, and depositing it in the cathedral of Winchester, never wore it again.

## HAROLD I.

On his decease Canute directed that Harold, his natural son, should reign in England; Sweyn in Norway; and Hardicanute in Denmark. Sweyn and Hardicanute were both in the north of Europe when their father died, and apparently in possession of power. The powerful earl Godwin and the Saxons of the south wished to choose one of Ethelred's sons as king; or at least Hardicanute, who was the son of Emma, and therefore connected with the old Saxon line. A civil war seemed imminent, when it was determined that the matter should be settled by parliament. That assembly met at Oxford, and determined that Harold should have all the provinces north of the Thames, with London for his capital, while Hardicanute should rule south of that river.

Hardicanute showed no anxiety to leave Denmark, and his mother and earl Godwin governed in his behalf, having their court at Winchester. Harold, however, took measures for attaching the provinces of the south to his dominions. Two fruitless invasions from Normandy favoured his design. The first of these invasions was headed by Edward, the eldest son of Ethelred, who landed at Southampton; but was opposed by his own mother Emma, and compelled to return to Normandy. Soon after this Alfred, the second son of Ethelred, disembarked opposite to Canterbury, probably about Herne Bay, from whence he marched to Guildford. It would appear that Alfred was supported by earl Godwin, but he with his followers were seized, at Guildford, by the forces

of Harold, and, with the exception of every tenth man, they were all massacred. Alfred was hurried away to London, and from thence to Ely, where he was arraigned before a mock court as a disturber of the peace, and condemned to lose his eyes. He died a few days after from the anguish he endured. Shortly after his death Emma was either sent out of the kingdom by Harold, or retired as a voluntary exile.

Harold was now proclaimed "full king" over all the island. Great opposition, however, was offered by the church to his pretensions. Ethelnoth, the archbishop of Canterbury, declared that he would not crown him, and that no bishop should consecrate him on his throne. It is said, that on this, Harold put the crown on his own head; but other authorities assert that he never was crowned at all. But he did not reign long over England. He died after ruling four years, and was buried at Westminster. A. D. 1040.

#### HARDICANUTE.

When Harold died, Hardicanute was at Bruges, and on the point of invading England. He had been but a short time at Bruges, when a deputation of English and Danish thanes arrived to invite him to ascend the throne of England. Hardicanute readily consented, and the thanes were soon made to repent inviting him over. He brought with him a great number of Danish chiefs and courtiers, and an expensive Danish army and navy, to support which he resorted to oppressive levies on all classes of people. These levies were collected by his household troops, which caused frequent commotions.

Hardicanute was a monarch who indulged in gluttony and intemperance. The authority of his government was divided between earl Godwin and Emma, the queen-mother, who were in friendly alliance with him. While they ruled he enjoyed the things he most prized in life—his banquets by day, and his carousals at night. His death was in keeping with the tenor of his life. At the marriage-feast of one of his Danish thanes, at Clapham, as he stood up to pledge the company, he fell down senseless, with the cup in his hand. He was removed to an inner chamber, where he died. He was buried in the church of Winchester. A. D. 1042.

## EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

The people of England were now tired of the Danish princes. They chose for their sovereign, Edward, the surviving son of Ethelred. During his brief reign, Hardicanute had recalled Edward to England, and had treated him with honour and affection. On the death of Hardicanute he was assisted to the throne by the "king-maker" of the age, earl Godwin, who induced him to marry his daughter Editha. The fair Editha, who appears to have been endowed with many excellent qualities, became queen of England, but Edward was never a husband to her. He first neglected and then persecuted her, as he did the queen-mother, Emma. To the latter he behaved with great harshness to the day of her death, which happened in the year 1052.

In the second year of Edward's reign a feeble attempt was made by Magnus, king of Norway and Denmark, to re-establish the Scandinavian supremacy in England. Edward, however, assembled a great fleet at Sandwich, and Magnus being overawed, was induced to declare that he should let Edward enjoy his crown, and content himself with the kingdoms which God had given him.

Edward reigned, but he was still only a king in name. At this period England was, for the most part, governed by a few nobles. Godwin ruled in the southern counties; his son Harold in Essex, and that part formerly called East-Anglia; Sweyne, another son, governed some of the central counties, and Leofric, earl of Leicester, the rest; while Seward, earl of Northumberland, ruled in the north. These rulers were men of ability, and as the mild and equitable proceedings of Edward made him popular, all was for some time peaceable throughout England.

There were, however, circumstances which neutralized Edward's popularity, and gave the favourable colour of nationality and patriotism to the conduct of Godwin whenever he chose to pick a quarrel with the king. Edward was only thirteen years of age when he was sent to Normandy, and he had imbibed an affection for the Normans, many of whom resorted to his court. This gave rise to an accusation of favoritism, and as the French language and manners were introduced at his court, it was said that he loved French, or "Romance," better than Anglo-Saxon. The charge against Edward seems to have been just, for many Normans were promoted to the

highest offices both in church and state. Some Saxon nobles, who hoped to prosper at court, learned to speak French, and to imitate the manners, dress, and fashions of the Normans. All this, however, was distasteful to the Saxon people, and earl Godwin especially was irritated by it. An opportunity only was wanting for Godwin to break with the king, and that soon offered itself.

Among the foreigners that visited Edward, was Eustace, count of Bologne, who had married Goda, a daughter of Ethelred, and sister to Edward. Eustace was hospitably entertained at the court of Edward, and seeing everything French and foreign preferred before Saxon, he was led to despise the Saxons as a people already conquered. On his return home, Eustace and his followers entered Dover, armed in coats of mail, marched insolently through the town, and took free quarters among the citizens without asking permission. One of the townsmen repelled a retainer from his threshold; on which the stranger drew his sword and wounded him. In the fray which followed, the Frenchman was slain, and on hearing this count Eustace and his troop surrounded the house, and some forcing their way in, murdered the Englishman on his own hearth. On retiring, they assaulted all who came in their way, and these outrages roused the spirit of the citizens. They armed themselves, met Eustace and his followers in a mass, and after a fierce conflict nineteen Frenchmen were slain.

Eustace, and those who escaped the slaughter, fled to Gloucester, to lay their complaints before the king; and Edward sent directions to Godwin, in whose government the city lay, instantly to chastise with the sword those who had dared to attack his relations. "It ill becomes the king," replied Godwin, "to condemn the men whom it is his duty to protect, without a hearing." Instead of chastising the burghers, Godwin took their part; and Edward summoned him to appear before his court, at Gloucester, on pain of banishment and confiscation. Godwin replied by arming, and by marching at the head of all the forces south of the Thames against Edward. He was joined by his sons Harold and Sweyn, and their forces concentrated near Gloucester, then the royal residence. He demanded that Eustace and his companions should be given up to the justice of the nation; and, to gain time for resistance, Edward opened a negociation. Godwin granted the delay required; and Edward, who had secured the goodwill of

Siward, earl of Northumberland, and Leofric, earl of Mercia, applied to them for protection. They came with forces superior in number to those of Godwin, and the two armies marched to battle. But the people had improved in wisdom. Old animosities between the Anglo-Danes and the Saxons had departed, and both armies mutually determined not to draw their swords. An armistice was concluded between the king and Godwin, and it was agreed to refer all differences to an assembly of the legislature to be held at London in the following autumn.

In the mean time the king published a ban for the levying of a royal army all over the kingdom. A large body of forces were collected within and about London, and the chief commands in it were given to the Normans. At the appointed time, earl Godwin was summoned to appear before parliament without any military escort, but he refused to attend unless proper securities were given for his safety. This demand was refused, and Edward and the assembly then decreed that the earl and his family should quit England for ever within five days. Godwin was then at Southwark, with a small force, but this was thinned by hourly desertion, and he with his family fled for their lives. With his wife and three sons he sailed for Flanders; but Harold and his brother Leofwin crossed the sea to Ireland.

Edward took a severe and unjust revenge. All the property of Godwin and his sons was confiscated, and with their governments and honours, distributed chiefly among foreigners. His revenge extended itself to his wife, the daughter of Godwin. He seized her dower; took from her all her jewels and money, and confined her in the monastery of Wherwell, where "in tears and prayers she expected the day of her release and comfort."

The Normans were now more favoured than before. Shoals of them flocked over to make their fortunes in England, and William, their reigning duke, who already entertained projects on the country, at the invitation of Edward, visited his court with a large retinue. The throne seemed open to him, for the king had no children, and the only heir to it was a youth in Hungary. He was, moreover, connected with Edward by the ties of marriage, as well as of friendship. Duke William received a hearty welcome, and after his departure the Normans in England assumed a superiority over the Saxons still more haughtily than before.



Preparations were in progress, however, for the interruption of the Norman domination. Ever since his flight, earl Godwin had been preparing for his triumphant return, by raising troops and by negotiations with the Saxons at home. In the year, 1052, having got together a number of ships, he fell upon the southern coast, where many Saxons gave him a hearty welcome. Hosts of people took up arms, binding themselves by oath to live or die with him. On the Sussex coast he was met by his sons Harold and Leofwin, with ships from Ireland. They sailed together to the Isle of Wight, and thence to Sandwich, where they landed part of their forces, and with the rest doubled the North Foreland, and sailed up the Thames, towards London. As they advanced the popularity of their cause was made manifest. The troops of the king went over to them, and the burghers and peasants supplied them with provisions. On arriving at Southwark everything was thrown into confusion: the court party soon saw that the citizens of London were well affected to Godwin. The earl sent a message to the king, requesting the reversion of the sentence of exile, and the restoration of his confiscated territories, honours, and employments. Edward sternly refused to comply, and menaced Godwin with a considerable army on the opposite bank. The Normans pressed him to give the signal for attack, but the royal troops refused to fight; and the arguments of the priest, Stigard, and some Saxon nobles, finally induced the king to yield. The Normans now fled, with what property they could collect, in all directions; a national council was summoned; and Godwin solemnly made oath that he was guiltless of the crimes laid to his charge. The property, honours, and employments of himself and his sons were restored; and a sentence of exile was pronounced against all the Normans and French. As a completion of his triumph, Editha, his daughter, was removed from her monastic prison, and restored to the court, and her honours as queen.

Godwin did not long survive this victory over his sovereign. A short time after their feigned reconciliation, as Godwin sat at table with Edward, at Windsor, the king reproached him with his brother Alfred's murder, of which he had been always suspected. It is said that Godwin took a piece of bread, and desired that it might choke him if he were guilty; on which he fell speechless to the ground. He was borne by his sons to an inner chamber, where he lingered for

three days in great agony of body and mind, and then departed to stand before the Judge of all men.

Godwin was succeeded in his territories and commands by his son Harold, and he became even more powerful than his father had been. His power was soon made manifest. The command of East-Anglia, which he had vacated on succeeding to his father's earldom, was bestowed upon Algar, the son of Leofric, the hereditary enemy of the house of Godwin. Algar was driven by Harold into the moors and morasses of Wales, but he still showed himself so powerful that Harold was obliged to treat with him. Algar was allowed to return; but the jealousy of Harold being again excited, he was once more driven from his territories. This time he fled into Ireland, whence he soon returned, and was again enabled to recover his earldoms, which he held, in defiance of Harold, till his death, which happened about a year after. A.D. 1059.

About this time Harold's power was augmented by the death of Siward, Earl of Northumbria, whose territories were given to Tostig, the brother of Harold. It was also further increased by a successful campaign against the Welsh, who had inflamed the hatred of the Saxon people by recent forays and cruel murders. In 1063 Harold was commissioned to carry extreme measures into effect against the Welsh, and he gained a succession of victories which reduced the mountaineers to such despair, that they slew their king Griffith, and sent his head to Harold, in token of submission. Hostages were given to Edward and Harold, and the victorious earl returned, in a sort of Roman triumph, to his sovereign.

The reign of Edward drew near to a close. He had long suffered from bodily infirmities, and these daily increasing, it soon became evident that the hand of death was upon him. He died early in January, 1065, and all that remained of the last Saxon king of the race of Cerdic and Alfred was interred with great pomp and solemnity, on the festival of the Epiphany, within the walls of St. Peter, at Westminster, which he had recently rebuilt.

There were many amiable and excellent traits in the character of Edward the Confessor. In an age when war was considered the noblest occupation of a king, he was a constant lover of peace. He was an enemy to all violence and oppression, and sought to govern his people by the mild empire of the law. The laws he compiled were selected from

the codes of his predecessors, and these were esteemed by the nation at large. One of his most popular measures was the abolition of the tax called "Danegelt," by which he lightened the load which had so long oppressed the people. It is said he could not look on a heap of gold or silver without melancholy reflections on the manner in which it had been wrung from his subjects. One day, when looking into his treasury, his imagination was so affected by the money that had just been collected, that he fancied he saw some evil spirit leaping exultingly about it, and ordered it to be restored to the people. Much of his time was devoted to religious observances; but these, though well intentioned, were chiefly acts of will-worship or superstition. These, with his charities, a large portion of which were bestowed on the church and the clergy, procured him the appellation of Confessor. They also obtained him canonization from the Church of Rome.

#### HAROLD II.

As Edward the Confessor was childless, it had been his intention to appoint his only surviving nephew, Edward, the son of Edmund Ironside, as his successor to the throne of England. With this view he had sent for his nephew from Hungary, but he died soon after, leaving a son, Edgar Atheling, who was a weak-minded youth and unfit to reign. There being no rightful heir to the throne, Harold was proclaimed king in a vast assembly of the chiefs and nobles, and of the citizens of London, and he was solemnly crowned king of England.

There was, however, a competition for the kingdom. On his dying bed, some writers say, that Edward, in the presence of Harold, asserted that he had bequeathed his kingdom to William, duke of Normandy; while others say, that he named Harold his successor. A story also is related that previous to the death of Edward, Harold went into a fishing-boat for recreation, with but few attendants, and that he was driven by a storm to the coasts of Normandy. He was wrecked, or stranded, near the mouth of the river Somme, in the territory of Guy, count of Ponthieu, who seized the wreck as his right, and made the passengers his prisoners, until they should pay a ransom for their release. Harold made known his condition to William, duke of Normandy, and he instantly demanded that Harold should be released

and sent to his court. But this good act arose neither from friendship nor compassion. He demanded, as the price of his mediation for his release, that Harold should, on the death of Edward, assist him in obtaining the throne of England. - Being in the power of William, Harold, it is said, took an oath to that effect before a grand council of the barons and head men of Normandy. The sanctity of an oath in those days was so frequently disregarded, that sundry plans had been invented, such as swearing upon the host, or consecrated wafer, and upon the relics of saints and martyrs, which it was thought would render oaths more binding. Harold would not have taken such an oath as this, but William resorted to a device, by which such an oath might pass Harold's lips. He caused the bones and relics of saints in all the churches and monasteries in the country to be deposited in a large tub, which was placed in the council-chamber, and concealed under a cloth-of-gold. The missal on which Harold took the oath was laid upon this cloth-of-gold, and on the conclusion of the ceremony the missal was removed, and the cloth taken off, when Harold saw that his promise had been made upon the relics and bones of saints. It is said that he was alarmed, but he durst not retract; and William, having, as he thought, made surety doubly sure, loaded Harold with presents, and permitted him to depart.

Harold, however, made no scruple in breaking this promise, and he, on the death of Edward, ascended the throne of England. He obtained the crown, but he soon found that it was lined with thorns.

When William heard of the death of Edward, and the accession of Harold, he was in his hunting-grounds at Rouen. On a sudden he was observed to be very pensive, and giving his bow to one of his followers, he hurried to his palace, where he strode the apartments with such energy, and looked so fierce and agitated, that for some time no one dared to approach him. At length an officer of rank, who had long enjoyed his confidence, advanced towards him, and thus addressed him: "My lord, where is the use of hiding your news from us? It is reported that the king of England is dead, and that Harold has seized his kingdom, regardless of his oath to you." "It is true," replied the duke; "my spite comes from the death of Edward, and the wrong that Harold has done me." "Well, sire," rejoined the courtier, "for the death of Edward there is no help; but there is one

for the wrongs of Harold. Justice is on your side, and you have good soldiers: undertake boldly; a thing well begun is half done." William recovered from his reverie, and agreed that ambassadors should be sent forthwith to England.

An embassy was sent to Harold demanding the crown, reminding him of his solemn oath, and threatening to invade the kingdom. Harold, however, refused to vacate the throne to which the people had called him, and made no scruple about his oath: it was extorted, he replied, and therefore could not be binding. William now proceeded to collect troops; offering good pay to every tall, robust man who would serve him with the lance, the sword, or the cross-bow. Multitudes flocked to him from all parts; from Maine, Anjou, Poitou, Bretagne, Flanders, Aquitaine, Burgundy, Piedmont, and from the banks of the Rhine. Of these, some were knights and chiefs, and others foot-soldiers—some demanded regular pay in money; others merely their passage across the Channel, and all the booty they might make. William was aided in his preparations for war by the church of Rome. The pope sent a bull, justifying the expedition, and a consecrated banner, which was to float over it; and the matrons of Normandy sent their sons to enrol themselves under it for the health of their souls. This licence from the pope to invade England was obtained on the condition, that the Norman duke, when he had conquered it, should hold it as a fief of the church.

The first storm of war that fell upon England in the days of Harold did not proceed from Normandy. While William was making preparations, Harold had to encounter Tostig, his own brother. Tostig had been expelled from the government of Northumbria for his rapacity and cruelty, and Harold, convinced of his crimes, had agreed with the Northumbrians that Morcar, the son of earl Algar, should govern them. This inflamed the resentment of Tostig, and being assisted by the duke of Normandy, he commenced hostilities with a few ships on the coasts of Sussex and Lincolnshire. He was defeated by the earls of Mercia and Northumbria, and took refuge in Scotland. He endeavoured to persuade the king of that country to aid him, and failing in this, he sailed to the Baltic, to invite Sweyn, the king of Denmark, to the conquest of our island. Sweyn declined; but Harold Hadrada, king of Norway, accepted the invitation, and set sail with a fleet consisting of about five hundred ships.

The king of Norway and Tostig landed their forces at Riccall, or Richale, not far from the city of York. They were joined by many in that part of the country, and were enabled to defeat the northern earls in a battle on the banks of the Ouse. The invaders entered York but a few days after their landing: Harold advanced to oppose them. Hadrada drew up his forces at Stamford Bridge, and a fierce battle was fought, in which the arms of Harold prevailed. Hadrada fell with nearly all his chiefs, and the greater part of his men, and Tostig also was slain. The Norwegian fleet fell into the hands of the conqueror.

Three days after this victory the Normans landed in the south. Harold received this news as he was sitting at table with the citizens of York, and he was soon on his way for London. His forces had greatly suffered in the recent battle, and in his route it was further weakened by desertion and the fatigues of the march. This was unfavourable for his cause, as the enemies he now had to encounter were most formidable.

William set sail for England with three thousand vessels, of which several hundreds were of a superior order. This fleet came to anchor on the Sussex coast without meeting with any resistance. Harold's ships, which had long cruized on that coast, had been called elsewhere, or had returned into port through want of pay and provisions. Thus favoured, William landed and marched to Hastings, near to which town he traced a fortified camp, and established his army. From his camp detachments were sent into the neighbouring country, which pillaged and burned the houses. Irritated by the ravages committed by the invaders, Harold, who had received some re-enforcements, marched for the Sussex coast by night, only six days after his arrival in London. His forces were inferior in numbers to those of William, but he hoped that he should be able to fall upon his enemy suddenly, and thus gain a victory. But William was too much on the alert to be taken by surprise, and when the English army arrived at Senlac, since called Battle, Harold found that his approach was known to the enemy.

Harold now changed his plan. He surrounded his camp with ditches and palisades, and there waited the attack of his rival. A whole day was passed in fruitless negociation: William required that Harold should do one of three things, resign the crown, submit to the arbitration of the pope, or

decide the quarrel by single-combat. Harold refused his assent to either of these proposals; and subsequently he refused an offer from William of all the country beyond the river Humber.

A battle was inevitable. The night preceding it was spent by the two armies in a very different manner. While the English feasted and rejoiced, singing their old national songs, and emptying their horn cups, the Normans looked to their arms and their horses, and passed the night in acts of devotion. Morning dawned, and the leaders prepared for battle. William arranged his troops, wearing round his neck some of the relics over which Harold had taken his oath. The whole army was divided into three columns of attack: the third, composed of Normans, and including many nobles, being headed by the duke in person. Preparations being made, William animated his soldiers by an impressive address, and then led them forward to battle. The Normans shouted, "God is our help;" while the watchword of the English was, "The holy cross." The English infantry were armed with battle-axes, and were arranged in a compact and wedge-like body. On these the Norman bowmen and cross-bowmen made no impression, and when their cavalry charged, the battle-axe of the English broke the lances, and cut the coats of mail, on which the Normans relied, and they were obliged to retire. The duke then threw forward all his archers, and supported them by a charge of cavalry; but though the English line was at first broken, the assailants were thrown back to a trench covered over with bushes and grass, where numbers perished. For a moment there was a general panic; a cry was raised that the duke was killed, and a flight commenced. William, however, restored order, and as he could not hope to break the line of English infantry by a direct attack, he had recourse to stratagem. A body of cavalry charged and feigned to retreat, and the English, leaving their positions to follow them, were surprised in their disorder, and assailed on every side by swords and lances. This stratagem was repeated in another part of the field with the same success, and many hundreds of the English were slain. Still the main body retained its position behind the stakes and palisades on the ridge of the hill; and such was their courage, that the Normans were obliged to try the stratagem the third time. Again they succeeded; and when the English were disordered, the Norman horse and foot

burst into the enclosure, and broke the line in several points. But still the victory was undecided. Harold was surrounded by the remains of his broken phalanx, which defied all the power of the Normans. As a last effort, William directed his archers to point their arrows upward that they might fall upon the heads of the English. This was fatal to Harold : he was struck by an arrow, which entered his left eye and penetrated his brain. The English then gave way ; but they only retreated to their standard, which they sought to defend. Desperate efforts were made by the Normans to seize the banner, and at length a band of twenty threw themselves into the ranks, and succeeded, after ten of their number had perished. At this rallying point, Gurth and Leofwin, the brothers of Harold, perished, and after this the English troops, broken and dispirited, dispersed through the woods which lay in the rear of their position. The Normans followed them by the light of the moon, but the English slew many of their pursuers, and they soon gave up the chase.

Such was the battle of Hastings, which decided the fate of Saxon-England. By this battle, indeed, William did not gain a fourth part of England ; his wars for the conquest of the west, the north, and the east, were protracted for seven long years. The battle, though lost, was nobly fought on the part of England. All the Norman writers express their admiration of the valour of the foe ; and most of them confess that the great superiority of his forces alone enabled William to obtain the victory. But it is not always by numbers that victory is obtained ; and it would rather appear that a special Providence opened the way for William to succeed to the throne. The arrow which entered the eye of Harold was as surely charged with a commission, as the Syrian shaft that struck Ahab. His days were numbered.

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## CHAPTER VI.

## THE GOVERNMENT, LAWS, ETC., OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

*The Government, &c.*—The annals of the Saxons are so imperfect that it would be impossible to define exactly the prerogatives of the crown, or the privileges of the people, after their settlement in Britain. The Anglo-Saxon government, which would seem to have been an aristocracy, might be somewhat different in the several kingdoms of the heptarchy, and might be liable to change. It is certain, however, that the laws were made by the king and a national assembly, or parliament, composed of the nobility, dignitaries of the church, and freeholders possessing a certain portion of land. This was called the Witenagemot, or “the meeting of the wise men.”

In the earlier period of the Saxon domination, the kings were elected by the chiefs and priests. By degrees attention to hereditary succession became general, but a son or a nephew was frequently set aside for a chief possessing greater power. At the coronation of the Saxon kings the public service had many references to Scripture history and principles, and they distinctly sought the blessing of God, by whom alone kings reign. They had considerable privileges and powers, but they were supreme chiefs among other rulers, and not such monarchs as now rule over Europe. Their authority gradually increased, being supported by popes, but it varied with their personal characters; and down to the latest period they were consulted by influential noblemen.

*Castes.*—Like the other Teutonic nations, the Anglo-Saxons were divided into various castes. The highest of these was that out of which their kings were taken; and this race were said to have been the descendants of the first monarch of the Asi, Odin, or Woden. The second caste among the Anglo-Saxons were the nobility who bore the title of eorls or thanes. These were a numerous body of men, comprehending all the considerable landholders in England. They were the descendants and representatives of the ancient German companions of their princes. In times of war they constituted the flower of the armies, and in times of peace they swelled the trains of their monarchs, or resided on their estates. From this body all the chief officers, both civil and

military, were taken. The third caste was composed of the remainder of the people, and consisted of the *ceorls*, or *villains*. The distinctions between the *eorl* and the *ceorl* were distinctly marked. Thus, the declaration of one *eorl* was equal to that of six *ceorls*; and the life of one *eorl* was equal in value to that of six *ceorls*. The *ceorl*, or *villain*, was a tenant of the *glebe*; one who, performing *prædial* or agricultural services, was unable to depart from the land which he held, and who had acquired a definite and recognised estate in the soil. The *ceorl* was in some sense free; he could be given and bequeathed, bought and sold, but he could not be separated from his land: those who bought the *ceorl*, must purchase the estate on which he resided. So long as he performed his services he could not be removed; nor was a higher rent or a greater proportion of labour to be exacted from him than what was usual. That the rights of the *thane* over the *ceorl* were limited and certain, is proved by the fact that he could purchase his own freedom, and that of his wife and children: he therefore had the means of acquiring wealth.

There were slaves among the Saxons. These were called *theowes*; (the *Servi*, of *Domesday*;) and they were destitute of political rights. Their condition was similar to that of a negro slave. Some of these *theowes* were the offspring of British *serfs*; but the greatest portion of them were freemen ~~who~~ forfeited their liberty by crimes. Slavery continued so long as the Saxons were heathens, and for they were converted to Christianity. Slaves formed a numerous class in the community; but they did not oppress the people.

*The Country*.—Little is known of the territory of the Anglo-Saxons. It seems certain, however, that the division of the country into counties, hundreds, &c. goes back to the time of the settlement of the land. Over each of these divisions there presided a *magistrate*: over the county, a count, *earl*, or *alderman*; over the hundred, a *centenary*, or *hundreden*; and over the tithing, a *decanus*, or *tithing-man*. Each of these officers held a court, in which justice was administered, and the affairs of the district discussed and settled. These courts were subordinate to one another: from the decision of the tithing there was an appeal to the hundred; and from that of the hundred an appeal to the shire.

*Laws.*—The criminal laws of the Anglo-Saxons were very mild. The leading principle in the Saxon legislature was that of pecuniary compensation, rather than bodily inflictions, for the punishment of crimes. A compensation in money or kind was sufficient for murder of any species, and for the life of persons of any rank, not excepting the king, or the archbishop, whose life, by the laws of Kent, was estimated higher than the king's. It was considered by them that the death of a man could not repair the evils he had occasioned, and it was a common maxim among them, "Unwillingly offend, willingly amend."

The general principles of the Saxon laws display great justice and equity. Among them were laws enforcing mercy to animals, and the observance of the Sabbath as a day of rest from worldly labours. Trial by jury originated among them, and was applied to civil as well as to criminal cases. Twelve men of honest and good report were chosen to decide disputes after hearing the statements of both parties. The witnesses were examined upon oath, and the punishment for perjury was very severe. Some questions were decided by the Witenagemot, or parliament, and others by the courts above mentioned. Before the trial by jury was established, persons were tried by ordeals. The usual course was for the accused person to plunge his hand into boiling water, or to carry a hot iron a certain distance. The hand was then bound up, and the man was adjudged innocent or guilty according to its appearance at the end of three days. But these fiery ordeals were gross impositions on the credulity of the people, and often enabled the presiding priests to use many deceptions in favour of the accused.

*Guilds.*—Among the Anglo-Saxons were guilds, or clubs, which appear to have been associations of individuals with rules mutually agreed upon. From these the companies and corporations of later date seem to have originated. Guilds were also a sort of friendly societies; and they generally manifested that inclination for festive enjoyments which is at the present time characteristic of such associations. At that period, however, guilds were useful in promoting commerce, and in checking the power of the nobility. Union was then necessary for mutual protection, and to supply the capital needed for enterprise.

*Trades.*—Trades among the Anglo-Saxons were pursued by the servants of a family, by travelling artisans, and by those who settled in certain places to carry on trade on their

own account. Smiths, carpenters, and workers in leather, were very common; but the artisans employed in more elegant works were comparatively few. The art of working in gold, silver, iron, lead, and jewels was frequently practised by priests. Dunstan, who governed both church and state with absolute sway, was the best blacksmith, brazier, goldsmith, and engraver, of his age. He was the founder of church bells; and many trinkets manufactured by him were preserved by the church as precious relics. It is said that king Edgar required that every priest should know how to practise some handicraft.

Spinning, weaving, embroidery, and dying were practised in domestic occupations. The skill of the Anglo-Saxon ladies in needlework and embroidery with gold was so remarkable, that their performances were called *Anglicum opus*, or English work.

*Commerce.*—The Anglo-Saxons paid great attention to foreign trade. Irish merchants sold cloth at Cambridge, and purchased slaves at Bristol. Glass and whale-oil were articles of commerce; but commercial intercourse was limited, as appears from the laws, which made housekeepers responsible for their guests, whether traders, or merely wayfaring men. Every traveller, at one time, seems to have been an object of suspicion as a smuggler; for a regulation was made that whoever travelled through a wood, or out of the common road, should blow a horn, or else be deemed a thief. Smuggling was common; and foreign articles were often concealed under the pilgrim's garb.

There is a volume of Saxon Dialogues in the British Museum, which gives an account of a Saxon merchant's occupation and way of life. In answer to a question, the merchant says, "I am useful to the king, and to ealdermen, and to the rich, and to all people. I ascend my ship with my merchandise, and sail over the sea-like places, and sell my things; and buy dear things which are not produced in this land, and I bring them here to you with great danger over the sea: sometimes I suffer shipwreck, with the loss of all my things, scarcely escaping myself." The merchant is then asked what he brings to England; on which he replies:—"Skins, silks, costly gems, and gold; various garments, pigment, wine, oil, ivory, orichalcus, (perhaps brass,) copper and tin, silver, glass, and such like." The principle of commercial dealings is stated in answer to the next question. He is asked whether he would sell the things here as he bought them there; to which

he replies, "I will not; because what would my labour benefit me? I will sell them here dearer than I bought them there, that I may get some profit to feed me, my wife, and my children." Foreign commerce was greatly encouraged by some of the Saxon monarchs, especially Alfred, Athelstan, and Ethelred. The Anglo-Saxons had not much to export except wool: it is probable that the mines of the different metals yielded something for exportation; but it seems certain that horses were exported; and it is quite clear that slaves were in great abundance. The mission of Augustine to England was the result of the exposure of a group of Angles for sale as slaves in the slave-market at Rome.

*Agriculture.*—The great bulk of the Anglo-Saxon population were engaged in agricultural pursuits. A considerable portion of each estate was woodland, which furnished timber for building; farms were divided into meadow, pasture, arable, and woodland. The boundaries of property were defined by a ditch, a brook, a hedge, a wooden mark, or some other prominent object. The arable portion of an estate was generally situated nearest to the dwelling-house. It produced but a small quantity of corn, but still sufficient for the wants of the population. Bread was made of barley, as well as wheat. The Anglo-Saxons, however, were rather graziers than ploughmen; for almost three parts of the kingdom were set apart for cattle. They possessed large flocks of sheep, as well as herds of neat cattle and swine. There are many regulations concerning the pasturing of cattle in the Anglo-Saxon laws. In Wales, and probably, also, in England, the common lands were pastured by cattle belonging to several owners, under the direction of a neatherd and his assistants. Goats, geese, and fowls were likewise bred in great abundance. The price of cattle was very low; but the value of money was greater at that period than it is at the present day.

*Coinage.*—The money of the Anglo-Saxons consisted of farthings, pence, shillings, and pounds. They had two sorts of pennies, five of the large being equal to a shilling. Both sorts of pennies were silver coins, and of these there are many varieties in existence. Gold was a medium of exchange in an uncoined state: no Saxon gold coins are indeed known; but a foreign gold coin was current. The value of the several coins, or denominations of money, is uncertain: almost the only thing known concerning them is, that the pound was always understood to be a full pound of silver. This, however, was

not the common troy pound, but another measure, known in Germany by the name of the Cologne pound, and which was three quarters of an ounce less than the pound troy. Out of this amount of silver it was usual to coin two hundred and forty silver pennies.

*Manners and Customs.*—Of the manners and customs of the Anglo-Saxons there are many particulars on record. The respect paid to women and the influence which they enjoyed were very remarkable. Instead of being slaves, as they were in some countries, they exercised a permanent influence over men, and occupied the position of their associates and equals. It was rare that a woman took part in the labours of the field, even those of the lightest kind: men only were employed. The shepherd who tended his flock also milked the ewes and made cheese. Their superior condition does not appear to have arisen from the refined manners of the Anglo-Saxon women; but rather from the performance of their duties as mothers and housewives. Women were possessors of land, slaves, and other property, and they could make wills and bequeath possessions. All this must be considered as a tribute to the virtue and superior chastity of the Anglo-Saxon females.

*Houses.*—The habitations of the Saxons appear to have resembled the old cottages and farmhouses still common in England. They were framed of timber, and the walls were covered with plaster or clay. In the houses of the rich the rude workmanship of the carpenter was concealed by hanging of needlework or painted cloth, which were often very expensive. The furniture was rudely constructed; but it often consisted of expensive materials and costly workmanship, and was sometimes ornamented with silver, gold, and ivory. A table is said to have been made in the reign of Edgar, by an artist named Athelwold, which was of the value of three hundred pounds. The tables were covered with tablecloths, and furnished with knives, spoons, drinking-horns and cups, bowls and dishes, but no forks. The vessels used at table were often very costly; but drinking-horns, some of which were richly carved and ornamented, were more common than cups of gold and silver. Glass vessels were rare in the early periods, but they became more common towards the Norman conquest. Illuminated manuscripts represent Anglo-Saxon bedsteads; and in some instances they have posts and curtains; but more generally they slept in a species of box or

trough, filled with straw, and cloths or coverlids, which were sometimes made of skins of animals.

*Dress.*—The garments of the Anglo-Saxons, both men and women, were loose and flowing, and chiefly made of linen, adorned with broad borders, woven or embroidered colours. Woollen and skins of beasts were also used for clothing. The undermost part of the male attire consisted of a linen shirt, above which they wore a tunic of linen or woollen, according to the season, descending to the knee, and plain or ornamented round the collar, according to the rank of the wearer. This was generally confined by a girdle or belt around the waist. Linen drawers, stockings of linen or woollen were worn by the better orders, and shoes of some description were worn by all classes. The Saxon shoe is generally painted black, and drawn with an opening down the instep, which is secured by two thongs. They also wore a sort of shoe or buskin; and a half-stocking or sock was sometimes worn over the hose, which, however, was usually bandaged from the knee to the ankle with strips of cloth, linen, or leather. Coverings for the head are rarely seen, except upon the figures of warriors: the cap was their helmet, and its shape was generally conical. Silk was very little known; but it sometimes formed the mantle of sovereigns and princes: furs were likewise used for the lining and ornamenting of garments. The female costume generally consisted of a long and ample garment with loose sleeves, worn over a closer-fitting one, which had high sleeves, reaching to the waist. Their shoes were similar to those worn by the male sex, and they wore a head-dress formed of a veil, or long piece of linen or silk, wrapped round the head and neck. The Anglo-Saxon ladies paid great attention to their hair: in an Anglo-Saxon poem called *Judith*, she is described as “the maid of the Creator with twisted locks.” They appear to have painted the cheek; and both men and women were adorned with ornaments of various kinds. Mention is made of a golden fly, beautifully adorned with gems; of gold vermiculated necklaces, golden head-bands, earrings, a neck-cross, bracelets, brooches, belts of gold and silver studded with jewels, and other ornaments of great value.

*Food.*—The food of the Anglo-Saxons consisted of both vegetable and animal substances; but the latter was the prevailing food. Their modes of preparing it was by boiling, baking, and broiling; the former being the most common.

Herbs of various kinds were used to season their food ; but their principal vegetable ingredient was colewort. Both sexes assembled round the table, and their manners were what would now be considered rude. After a feast, bones and other remains were to be seen scattered on the floor. Both males and females indulged in the pleasures of eating ; and the former were still more addicted to the love of drinking. Excessive drinking was the common vice of all ranks of the people : even the festivals of the church were disgraced by intemperance. Ale was the national drink ; and there were several sorts of this liquor. Wine was used as a foreign luxury ; and mead was a favourite beverage. Mention is made likewise of other favourite and choice liquors : as pigment, which was a wine enriched with honey and spices ; morat, made from honey, with the juice of mulberries ; and cider, the produce of apples. The guests usually drank from the same cup ; and as disputes often arose as to the quantity which each person had taken, Edgar caused the drinking-cups to be marked, so that no one might take more than his share. The harp, as well as the drinking-cup, was handed round at festive meetings, and each individual was expected to sing and play on the instrument in his turn.

*Salutations.*—The mode of salutation among the Anglo-Saxons appears to have been similar to that which several continental nations still observe : namely, kissing each other. When a stranger entered a house, it was customary to bring him water to wash his hands, and warm water for his feet. The use of warm baths was very general ; and they were held in such estimation, that the deprivation of them, together with a soft bed, was inflicted by the church as a penance. On the other hand, cold-bathing was imposed as a mortification ; and at the same time the penitent was not to pay any attention to his personal ornament or comfort : the iron was not to touch his hair or his nails.

*Children.*—Among the Anglo-Saxons the desertion of children sometimes occurred. This practice was common to their ancestors ; but the influence of Christianity soon caused it to be considered as a crime, and a law was passed for its repression. Those who found and fostered a deserted child, were paid a sum which increased yearly and according to the appearance of the child. From the birth, until after the period of childhood, children were under the care of females. Cradles were used, and women generally nursed their own children.



*Travelling.*—The common method of travelling among the Anglo-Saxons was on horseback. They had carriages, but they were of rude construction, and not common. Their wheel-carriages, called chariots, were light two-wheeled cars, and also four-wheeled vehicles, carrying four or six persons, in a kind of hammock. The trappings of their riding-horses were very splendid; and the nobles had numerous retainers.

*Amusements.*—In their pagan state, the Saxon amusements were brutal, and often bloody; but as they advanced in civilization, they adopted more innocent sports and pastimes. Hunting and hawking were the favourite amusements of the kings and nobles; and jugglers' tricks and postures, requiring skill and dexterity, were the delight of the whole population.

*Literature, Language, Science, and the Fine Arts.*—When the Saxons invaded England they were in a state of barbarism. King Alfred states, that on his accession to the throne, all learning and knowledge were extinguished in the English nation; insomuch, that none on the south of the Thames, and few south of the Humber understood the common prayers of the church, or were capable of translating a single sentence of Latin into English. By Alfred's exertions a better state of things was brought about; but even then literature was not of an exalted character.

In the dark ages preceding Alfred's reign, however, there were some who prevented the total extinction of literature in our island. Among them was Gildas, the historian, who is the only British author of the sixth century whose works are published. Gildas obtained the appellation of "The Wise," though his works do not seem to entitle him to that distinction: his history is only valuable for its antiquity. The immediate successor of Gildas, among our historians, is Nennius, said to have been one of the monks of Bangor, from the massacre of whom, in 613, he escaped, after which he wrote his "History of the Britons." Contemporary with him was the Irish saint, Columbanus, who was distinguished for his missionary labours among the Gauls and the Germans. Of the Latin writers among the Anglo-Saxons the most ancient is Adhelm, abbot of Malmesbury, and afterwards bishop of Sherborn, who died in 709, and who wrote various works in prose and verse. The Anglo-Saxon name, however, most distinguished in literature, is that of Bede, or Bede, upon whom the name of "Venerable" has

been justly bestowed by posterity. Bede, who died in 735, wrote the "Ecclesiastical History of England," and many other works, as commentaries on most of the books of the Old and New Testaments, and the Apocrypha, two books of Homilies, and a Martyrology. Contemporary with Bede were St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, and Eddius, surnamed Stephanus, the author of the Latin Life of Bishop Wilfrid. Alcuin, abbot of Canterbury, flourished as a philosopher, orator, and divine, about seventy years after Bede: he composed many treatises on various subjects in an elegant and easy style. The most learned man in Europe, about the middle of the ninth century, was Johannes Scotus Erigena, who was a native of the town of Air, in North Britain. He wrote many works, the chief of which is his work "On the Division of Nature." The reign of Alfred is a memorable period in the annals of literature: inspired with the love of learning himself, he sought to encourage its growth among his people. Learning flourished under his auspices; and the measures commenced by him for effecting the literary civilization of his subjects were probably pursued by his successors. After his death, however, the torch of science, which he took such pains to relume, was almost extinguished. He and a few others were but as meteors that flash on the surrounding gloom, are gazed at for a moment with wonder, and are then lost in the darkness of returning night. "The succeeding age, for its barbarism and wickedness, may be called the age of iron; for its dulness and stupidity, the age of lead; and for its blindness and ignorance, the age of darkness."

The Anglo-Saxon language, the basis on which the present English language is founded, is one of the dialects of the ancient Gothic. It has been divided by philologists into three dialects: the first, that in use from the arrival of the Saxons till the irruption of the Danes; the second, which prevailed from the Danish to the Norman invasion, called the Dano-Saxon; and the third, which was then in a state of transition to the English, called Normanno-Saxon, which extends as low as the time of Henry II. These were rather successive stages of the language, than different dialects; for no clear traces are to be met with of anything that can properly be called a variation of dialect. The oldest branch of Anglo-Saxon literature was poetry, of which there are several manuscripts and fragments extant. The other branches of

Anglo-Saxon literature are commentaries, homilies, injunctions to the clergy, lives of the saints, or biography, theology, moral philosophy, civil and ecclesiastical history, laws, charters, accompanied by what are termed land books, or exemplifications of the boundaries of land, medical botany, and romance literature. In all these branches of literature there are still some works, or fragments of works, extant.

Poetry was much admired and cultivated among the Anglo-Saxons. The greatest princes were no less ambitious of the laurel than of the crown. Alfred was a good poet for his age, and employed his poetic talent to enlighten the minds and civilize the manners of his subjects. The poets of the north were especially celebrated, and much caressed by the Anglo-Saxon monarchs. "I know a song," says one of them, "by which I soften and enchant the arms of my enemies, and render their weapons of none effect. I know a song, which I need only to sing, when men have loaded me with bonds; for the moment I sing it, my chains fall in pieces, and I walk forth at liberty. I know a song, useful to all mankind; for as soon as hatred inflames the sons of men, the moment I sing it they are appeased. I know a song of such virtue, that were I caught in a storm, I can hush the winds, and render the air perfectly calm." To the cultivation of poetry was added that of music, vocal and instrumental. To be ignorant of this art was accounted a disgrace. Besides the harp they played the small pipe, the bagpipe, the flute, and the tabor. A sort of organ seems also to have been used. Bede describes an organ as a kind of tower made of a number of pipes, from which, by the blowing of bellows, sounds issued, modulated by keys pressed by the player's fingers.

The art of painting was practised by the Anglo-Saxons, chiefly for religious purposes. Most of the churches were adorned with portraits of saints, or with representations of events recorded in Scripture history. Some of the representations of this period are still in existence, and, though deficient in perspective and proportions, are sufficiently faithful to convey an idea of the objects intended. Sculpture was also cultivated; but, like painting, it was for the most part employed in ornamenting churches.

The useful art of architecture was carefully studied by the Anglo-Saxons. Before their conversion to Christianity they erected temples for their pagan worship; but of their form or materials nothing is known with certainty. After their con-

version they erected churches. These were in the first two centuries built with wood ; but towards the end of the seventh century masonry was restored in England, and some other arts connected with it. Of all the buildings erected by the Anglo-Saxons, however, whether abbeys, churches, or houses, not one stone remains upon another to inform us of their character or extent. It is only from the scanty notices of them in chronicles and records of the time that any judgment can be formed of them ; and from these it would appear that some of their buildings were of considerable solidity and magnificence. Thus the abbey of Ramsay, in Huntingdonshire, which was completed in 974, is described as having two towers raised above the roof ; one at the west end, and the other, which was larger, supported by four pillars, in the middle of the building, where it divided into four parts, being connected together by arches, with other adjoining arches, which prevented them giving way. This is a clear description of a church with transepts, and a tower at the intersection. It may safely be inferred that the architecture of the Anglo-Saxons was identical with that of the Continent, as far as the Christian religion had spread a taste for Roman art ; an inference confirmed by the analogy of later styles, even down to the fourteenth century.

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## CHAPTER VII.

### THE PERIOD FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST TO THE DEATH OF KING JOHN.

#### WILLIAM I. SURNAMED THE CONQUEROR.

AFTER the battle of Hastings the Normans exhibited sensations of triumph and joy, almost amounting to a delirium. They are represented as making their horses prance and bound over the dead bodies of the Anglo-Saxons, and as feasting on the field of battle. William vowed that he would erect a splendid abbey on the spot ; and in process of time this vow was accomplished. The exterior walls of this abbey embraced the whole of the hill where the bravest of the English fell ; and all the surrounding country became the pro-

perty of the holy house, which was called the Abbey of Battle. Monks, invited from the great convent of Mar-montier, near Tours, took up their residence in the new edifice; and, endowed with the property of the English who had died in the battle, they prayed alike for the repose of the souls of those victims, and for the prosperity and long life of the Normans who had killed them.

After the battle of Hastings the Conqueror did not march straight to London, as was expected, but made a retrograde movement. He retired to Hastings, where he hoped that the population of those parts would resort to make voluntary submission. No one, however, asked for peace, and William, having received reinforcements from Normandy, resumed his march. He kept close to the sea-coast, marching from south to north, and spreading devastation in his route. Romney was destroyed by fire, and the inhabitants massacred; and Dover, with its strong castle, was captured. He remained there some days; and, encouraged by the submission of the people of Kent, he then marched towards London. Assembled there were all the thanes and chiefs of the neighbouring counties, with their servants and followers; and William, fearing to attack them, after setting fire to Southwark, marched away with a determination of ravaging the country around it, and destroying the property of the absent thanes. The people of Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire, and Berkshire, were made to feel his revenge; and this done, he proceeded across Buckinghamshire into Hertfordshire, slaying the people till he came to Berkhamstead, where he took up a position in order to interrupt all communication with London from the north.

On the death of Harold the Saxon Witan had assembled in London, and had proclaimed Edgar Atheling, the imbecile son of Edmund Ironside, king of England. A few acts of legal authority were performed in his name, and the command of the army was given to Earls Edwin and Morcar. These two sons of Alfgar probably hoped to be able to maintain themselves in the north; but they showed little zeal in the command of a weak and as yet unorganized army. After some time, indeed, they returned from the north to London, and it was agreed that a deputation should be sent to Berkhamstead to offer William the crown. King Edgar himself, the primate, Stigand, the earls Edwin and Morcar, with many prelates and chiefs, composed this deputation.

They were received with an outward show of moderation and kindness, and while Edgar made a verbal renunciation of the throne, the rest swore allegiance to the Conqueror; the bishops swearing for the clergy, the chiefs for the nobility, and the citizens for the good city of London. Having taken oaths of fidelity and peace, the Saxon deputies left hostages with the Conqueror, who on his part promised to be mild and merciful to all men.

William and his Normans now marched towards London; but he did not enter it until a fortress had been erected for his reception. This fortress which was built on the site, and probably included part of a Roman castle, grew gradually, in after times, to the Tower of London. As soon as this stronghold was finished, William, who had encamped at some distance from the city, took possession of it, and the coronation was fixed for a few days after.

The coronation, which took place on Christmas-day, was accompanied by accidents and circumstances highly irritating to the people. The new abbey of Westminster was chosen as the place for the coronation, and the suburbs, the streets of London, and all the approaches to the abbey were lined with double rows of soldiers, horse and foot. The crown was placed on his head by Aldred, archbishop of York, and in doing so, he asked the English if they would have William the Norman for their king. A reply was given by acclamation in the affirmative; but the troops took the confused noise for a cry of alarm raised by their friends, and they immediately attacked the crowd, and plundered and set fire to the neighbouring houses. The greater part of the assembly in the abbey hastened away, struck with consternation; but the archbishop, Aldred, and some terrified priests, of both nations, remained and completed the ceremony. This conduct of the Norman soldiery, which was with difficulty repressed, exasperated the people, and diminished their confidence in their new monarch. It was a bad augury for the peace of his kingdom.

William at his coronation took an oath to govern with equity, and to treat the English people as well as the best of their kings had done. For a short time he respected this oath. He granted privileges to the city of London, forbade all violence on the part of his soldiers, regulated the administration of justice, and encouraged agriculture and commerce. At the same time he manifested his distrust of his

new subjects, by conferring all places of trust and power on the Normans, and erecting castles, in which he placed garrisons of Norman soldiers. These operations were distasteful to the English; and they were further irritated by seeing proud foreign lords fixed among them, and married to the widows and heiresses of the chiefs who had fallen in the battle of Hastings.

In the spring of 1067 William returned to Normandy, carrying with him many of the English nobility. His reason for taking this step is uncertain. Some have supposed that he left England in the hope that the people would break out into insurrection, which would give him a pretext for further exerting the right of conquest. If this was his motive, he ably seconded it by leaving England under the rule of his half-brother, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and William Fitz-osborne, one of his favourites. Both of these were arbitrary and severe characters, and well calculated to vex and rouse the English. The rule of Odo soon pressed hardly upon them, and their complaints and cries for justice were despised. All classes of people were plundered, and the cup of misery and degradation was filled up by violence offered to the women. But the English spirit was not yet so depressed as to tolerate such wrongs. Partial insurrections took place on every hand, and many a Norman, caught beyond the walls of his castle or garrison town, was cut to pieces. These partial insurrections were soon followed by extensively combined movements. A grand conspiracy was formed, and William's throne was made to totter before it was nine months old. At this time, Eustace, count of Boulogne, who had caused such a stir at Dover in the time of Edward the Confessor, was at enmity with William the Norman; and the people of Kent, forgetting their old grievances, sent a message to him, promising to put Dover into his hands, if he would make a descent on the coast, and assist them against their Norman oppressors. Eustace obeyed the invitation, and on landing near Dover, he was joined by a host of Kentish men; but on attacking the castle, he was repulsed, and he fled to his ship, and returned home. In the west, Edric the Forester took up arms, and forming an alliance with two Welsh princes, he shut up the Normans within the walls of a garrison in the city of Hereford. At the same time the two sons of king Harold appeared in the west, with a considerable force from Ireland; but they were defeated by the English themselves,

who looked upon them as common enemies, and they returned to Ireland. Other insurrections took place in Shropshire, Nottinghamshire, and various parts of the kingdom ; and it appeared to be the general intention of throwing off the conqueror's yoke. Letter after letter was sent into Normandy informing William of the state of the country ; and at length, on the 6th of December, he embarked at Dieppe in haste, and set sail for England. On arriving in London, with a crafty prudence, he applied himself to soothe the storm, by promising the people that no one should for the future do them wrong ; but his first act after making such a promise, was to impose a tax, which was made more and more burdensome as his power increased.

Discontent still existed, and war became inevitable. In the spring of 1068 the people of Devonshire, who were supported by their hardy neighbours of Cornwall, refused to acknowledge his government, and prepared for resistance. William marched against them, and some of the thanes who commanded the insurgent forces, proved traitors, or cowards ; but the men of Exeter were resolute in the defence of their city. For eighteen days they boldly defied his power ; and when the city surrendered, it was because their chiefs had again betrayed them. After this conquest, William established his authority in Devonshire, Somersetshire, and Gloucestershire, and made himself master of Oxford, and other fortified cities, which he had left in his rear, when he advanced into the west. Wherever he imposed his dominion, the mass of land was given to his lords and knights, and fortresses and castles were erected by Normans and other foreigners, who continued to cross the Channel in search of employment, wealth, and honours. The very meanest of these adventurers considered himself entitled to treat all classes of Englishmen with contempt, as slaves and barbarians.

In one of his conciliating moods, William had promised Edwin, earl of Mercia, one of his daughters in marriage ; and flattered by the prospect of such a prize, this powerful nobleman had rendered important services to the Norman cause. When Edwin, however, asked his reward, he not only refused the fair bride, but insulted the suitor. Thus disappointed, Edwin with his brother Morcar fled to the north, there to join their incensed countrymen, and to make a grand effort for the recovery of their ancient liberties. No foreign soldier had as yet passed the Humber ; and with thousands of



hardy warriors, who swore they would not sleep under the roof of a house till the day of victory, Edwin and Morcar fixed the great camp of independence on the banks of that river. They were joined by some allies from the mountains of Wales; but the Conqueror came upon them before they were prepared, and after a severe battle they were defeated. A great number of the English perished; the rest fled to York, pursued by the Normans; and being expelled from thence, they turned to the north, and landed in the country of the Scotch, or in the territory near their borders. In this expedition William took Warwick, Leicester, Derby, Nottingham, Lincoln, and York; in the latter of which places he built a strong citadel, which became the advanced post and bulwark of the Normans towards the north.

The people of the north were still hostile to the Normans; and fearing to be besieged in their turn, they collected all the provisions they could, and stored them up in the citadel. At this crisis, Aldred, the archbishop of York, who had crowned and favoured William, came to his cathedral to celebrate a religious festival. Soon after his arrival, he sent to his lands, situated near the city, for provisions; but as they entered the gate, they were seized by the Norman governor of York, who caused them to be carried to his magazines in the castle. On hearing this, Aldred immediately resorted to the camp of the Conqueror in the south, before whom he presented himself in his pontifical robes, holding his pastoral staff in his hands. William rose to offer him the kiss of peace; but Aldred stood at a distance, and exclaimed:—"Listen to me, king William! Thou wast a foreigner; and notwithstanding that, God, wishing to punish our nation, thou obtainedst, at the price of much blood, this kingdom of England. I consecrated, blessed, and crowned thee with mine own hand, but now I curse thee—thee and thy race—because thou hast made thyself the persecutor of God's church, and the oppressor of its ministers." The Norman nobles who were present, drew their swords, and would have slain the bishop, but they were prevented by their master; and he was allowed to return to York, where he shortly after died.

Although William triumphed in the north, his throne was still threatened. The country was agitated from one end to the other. The English nobles who had hitherto adhered to his cause, fell from him in great numbers, and took refuge with Malcolm, king of Scotland; and these emigrants with

others that arrived at a later period, became the stocks of a principal part of the Scottish nobility. It is probable that William did not regret the loss of these English thanes, but he was soon vexed by the departure of some of the Norman chiefs, and many of the soldiers of fortune that had followed him from the Continent. These warriors were wearied by the constant attacks of the English, who carried on a species of guerilla warfare; and seeing no term to the strife, re-crossed the Channel. William punished this desertion by confiscation of their possessions in the island; and at the same time he invited fresh adventurers from nearly every country in Europe; and, allured by his brilliant offers, bands flocked to him from the banks of the Rhine, the Seine, the Loire, the Garonne, and the Tagus, from the Alps, and the Italian peninsula beyond the Alps.

In the year 1069 the strong garrison which the Conqueror had left at York was in such danger from the natives around the city, that he was obliged to march thither again for its defence. He subdued the revolt; but he had no sooner done so, than he found himself threatened in other quarters. The sons of Harold threatened the south with an Irish fleet; while the Danes landed on the east, and penetrated as far as York. On the approach of William, the Danes retired to the Humber, when they were induced to embark by the payment of a sum of money. About the same time Robert de Comines undertook an expedition to Durham, where he committed many excesses, but the English took a terrible revenge on him and his followers: as they lay buried in sleep they were suddenly attacked, and of all those engaged in the expedition only two escaped. Robert de Comines himself perished.

Two years passed away without any important struggle, and William employed himself during that period in erecting castles in various parts of the kingdom. But the English, though quiet, were not subdued. They had been negotiating with Sweyn Estridsen, king of Denmark, and that powerful monarch now despatched a fleet, consisting of two hundred and forty sail, to their aid. The army embarked in this fleet was composed of Danes, Holsteiners, Frisians, Saxons, Poles, and adventurers from other countries, and was under the command of his brother Osbeorn. The Danes sailed up the Humber, as their ancestors had done; and on landing they were joined by the emigrants from Scotland, and by the people from all parts of the country. Operations were com-

menced by the capture of York : the Norman garrison were slain almost to a man, and the greater part of the city, with the minster, or cathedral, was destroyed by fire. Such parts of the city as escaped the conflagration, were occupied by Edgar Atheling, who had arrived from Scotland, and who assumed the royal title, and exercised the rights of sovereignty. A rapid advance to the south might have ensured the confederates signal success ; but Malcolm, king of Scotland, who had promised to aid them, did not appear, and at the approach of winter the Danes retired to their ships in the Humber, or took up quarters between the Ouse and the Trent.

When William first heard the news of the capture of York, he was hunting in the forest of Dean, and he swore that he would utterly exterminate the Northumbrian people. He performed his deadly vow. He took the field with a large army in the spring ; and although insurrections arose in his rear, he advanced steadily towards the north. By this time the Danes had abandoned the north Saxons, and were sailing away to the south ; but, though left to themselves, they made an obstinate resistance, nor was York re-captured, until many hundreds of English and Normans lay dead together. Edgar Atheling again fled to Scotland ; and William, elated by his victory, then continued his march northward. All the country between York and Durham was laid waste, and left without a human habitation. The inhabitants were either driven away or massacred : more than one hundred thousand perished. A havoc more complete and diabolical was never committed by human agency ; and its horrors were succeeded by pestilence and famine. As a completion to this picture of horror, some of the English, to escape death by starvation, sold themselves, with their wives and children, to the Norman soldiery, who were well provided with food from the Continent, purchased with gold and goods, robbed from the English.

Confiscation now became general, and William avowed his determination to despoil and degrade the natives. All property in land began to pass into the hands of the Normans and other foreigners ; and they were even enriched by the spoils of the church. Much plate and many costly jewels had been deposited in the monasteries, in the hope that these sanctuaries would be respected by men professing to be Christians ; but these, together with the church ornaments, and the vessels of silver and gold attached to the service of

the altar, were carried away by the spoilers. The Normans also removed or destroyed all deeds and documents, charters of immunities, and evidences of property. The spoils of the Normans were immense. Whole counties were granted to some chiefs, while numerous manors and villages fell into the hands of others.

The insurrections which broke out in William's rear, during his march to York, were partially suppressed by his lieutenants; but the whole of the north-west was still insecure, and William was compelled to march thither in person. Chester, which had not yet been touched by the Normans, was captured, and a strong castle was erected there, while detachments of his army reduced the surrounding country. To retain the newly-conquered province in the north-west, William left a strong body of troops behind him under the command of a Fleming named Gherbaud, who became the first earl of Chester. Subsequently he was succeeded by Hugh d'Avranches, who, for his fierceness of character, was surnamed *The Wolf*. The new earl repeated the fearful tragedy of Northumbria in the districts around Chester, and the conquered territory was apportioned as in the north.

On the eastern coast there were still disturbances demanding attention. In that part Hereward, "*England's darling*," a Saxon leader, made a successful resistance. His power extended along the eastern sea-line, over the fine country of Lincolnshire, Huntingdon, and Cambridge, and English refugees of all classes repaired to his camp for refuge. The jealous fears of the king increased his danger. Edwin and Morcar remained quiet, but he dreaded them on account of their popularity, and resolved to seize their persons. The two earls received timely notice of his intention, and Morcar effected his escape to Hereward, but Edwin, who fled towards the Scottish border, was betrayed by his attendants, and was slain by the Normans. At length William moved forward against Hereward with a formidable army. The gallant chief was in a fortified station in the Isle of Ely, and William proceeded against him by blockade: his army was so stationed as to block up every road that led into the fens by land, while his fleet, in the Wash, watched every inlet from the sea. In order to approach the fortified camp, William commenced a wooden causeway, two miles long, with bridges over the beds of the rivers; but these operations were so frequently interrupted, and in a manner so murder-

ous, sudden, and mysterious, that the Normans conceived Hereward was in league with some demoniacal power. A sorceress was employed, in order to neutralize or defeat the spells of the English. She was placed with much ceremony on the top of a tower, at the head of the works; but Hereward, watching his opportunity, set fire to the dry reeds and rushes, and the tower with the sorceress, workmen, and soldiers were consumed. But at length famine favoured William. The monks of Ely, whose profession and vowed duties included fasting, became impatient under privation; and under their guidance the Normans found their way across the fens into the Isle of Ely. A thousand English were slain, and the rest laid down their arms; but Hereward fled to the swampy lands in Lincolnshire, and William was, after all, glad to purchase his submission, by restoring his estates. The exploits of this last hero of Anglo-Saxon independence, formed a favourite theme of tradition and poetry; and long after his death the people of Ely delighted in showing the ruins of a wooden tower, which they called the castle of Hereward.

The ambition of William was not confined to England. In the year 1072, he marched against Malcolm, king of Scotland, whom he compelled to acknowledge his authority. At the same time Malcolm refused to deliver the Saxon refugees into the conqueror's power.

At this period, England, with the exception of Wales, was conquered. The people had fought bravely against his power, but William was finally victorious. Not long after his return from Scotland, however, circumstances demanded his presence in his continental dominions. There were insurrections in the country of Maine; and, collecting a body of English forces, William proceeded thither, where he committed as much mischief as he had perpetrated in his wars in England. While on the Continent, Edgar Atheling, assisted by Philip, king of France, again set sail to invade England; but he had scarcely gained the sea when a storm arose, and drove his ships on the coast of Northumberland. Some of his followers were drowned, and others taken prisoners by the Normans; but he and a few friends were enabled to return to Scotland. After this misfortune, on the advice of Malcolm, he sought and obtained a reconciliation with William: an apartment in the palace of Rouen was allotted him, with a pound of silver a day for his maintenance; and there the

descendant of the great Alfred passed the latter part of his life, occupying himself with dogs and horses.

The condition of an usurper is always uncertain and unsafe. William had been called into Normandy to repress insurrection, and he was recalled to England by another of a much more threatening nature. This new insurrection in England was of a different description from any that had before taken place: it was not planned by the English, but by Norman barons. At this time the earldom of Hereford was held by a young nobleman named Robert Fitz-Osborn. The young earl was negotiating a marriage with Ralph de Gaël, a Briton by birth; but for some reason the king prohibited it. All parties were enraged at this prohibition, and resolved not to regard it. The wedding took place, and at the feast, when all were heated with wine, Hereford complained of the king's conduct, with regard to the marriage; asserting that it was an insult offered to the memory of his father, to whom the bastard owed his crown. By degrees the lips of other barons were opened in invective against William, and they finally agreed to conspire against his throne. Their great object was to gain over earl Waltheof, who was present, and whose warlike qualities, and great popularity with the English, were well known. Waltheof had been rewarded for his fidelity with the hand of Judith, the king's niece; but he either promised to aid them, or else took an oath of secrecy. The conspiracy was disclosed by him to his wife, and this proved the cause of his own ruin. Roger Fitz-Osborn and Ralph de Gaël were hurried into action before the scheme was ripe: the former was taken prisoner, and the latter obliged to leave the country, and scarcely one of the guests at the marriage escaped with life. Waltheof, himself, although he had taken no active part in the conspiracy, was first confined in the citadel of Winchester, and then executed. His great possessions proved his ruin, rather than treason; for there were many Norman barons who had cast the eyes of affection on his honours and estates.

William's crown was still surrounded by thorns; from the year 1077 to 1079, he was wounded by the sharp tooth of filial disobedience. When he received the submission of the province of Maine, he promised the inhabitants to make his eldest son, Robert, their prince; and before departing for the conquest of England, he stipulated, that in case of success, he would resign the duchy of Normandy to the same son.

When he was firmly seated in his conquest, however, he showed his determination of keeping and ruling both his insular kingdom and his continental duchy. When Robert claimed what was his right, he was informed by his father, that he was wont to throw off his clothes only when he went to bed. Robert was brave, ambitious, and impatient of command; and being surrounded by men ambitious as himself, he was soon led to rebel against his father. The immediate cause of his revolt was a quarrel with his brothers, occasioned by their throwing water upon his head, in sport, from a balcony. Irritated by this act, Robert drew his sword and ran up-stairs, vowing that he would wipe out the insult with blood. A tumult followed, and the king had much difficulty in quelling it; and that very night Robert and his companions fled to Rouen, fully determined to raise the standard of revolt. His character, however, was unsteady and impetuous, and his efforts were unsuccessful; till at last, in the year 1079, he obtained aid from the French king, who wished to weaken the power of William, by divisions among his subjects. He established himself in the castle of Gerberoy, on the confines of Normandy; and, burning with rage, the king crossed the Channel with a formidable English army, and laid siege to it. William lost many men in fruitless operations, and from sorties made by the garrison, and he was obliged to relinquish the siege in despair. It is said that one day during a vigorous sally, Robert, observing a knight in close armour, encountered and brought him to the ground. In the voice of the fallen warrior he recognised his father, and he generously stayed his hand, and dismounting, assisted him to rise, and seated him on his own horse. Subsequently a reconciliation was effected, and Robert returned with his father to England; but his disorderly conduct soon renewed the quarrel, and he again left the court. He never saw his father's face again; and his departure was followed by a paternal malediction, which was never revoked.

In the reign of William the Conqueror, bishops became soldiers, as well as priests. Several instances are on record of their wielding the lance as well as the crosier; but the most remarkable is that of Odo, the king's brother, who was bishop of Bayeux, in Normandy, and earl of Kent in England. The bishop of Durham, who was equally skilful in repressing rebellion by the edge of the sword, and reforming the morals of the English by eloquent discourse, had been

recently slain in a tumult at Gateshead, by the people of Durham, and Odo was intrusted with the duty of avenging his death. Odo found no force to resist him; but he treated the whole province as insurgent, and without employing judicial forms, beheaded or mutilated all the men he could find in their houses. By this exterminating expedition, Odo obtained the reputation of being one of the greatest dominators of the English. But this title was not sufficient for him: profane crowns were out of his reach; but he aspired to a sacred one—the tiara. To this end he opened a correspondence with the eternal city, by means of English and Norman pilgrims; bought a palace at Rome, and sent rich presents to the senators. His hopes were inflamed by Italian astrologers, who predicted that he would be the successor of Gregory VII., the reigning pope; and encouraged by the fact, that Robert Guiscard, one of twelve Norman heroic brothers, ruled over all the country now included within the kingdom of Naples. A great number of Norman chiefs, also, entered into his views, and a secret expedition was formed for the conquest of Italy. William was in Normandy when he heard of this design, and being determined to stop it, he set sail for England. He surprised the aspirant at the Isle of Wight, seized all his treasures, and summoned him before a council of Norman barons. At this council he ordered Odo to be taken into custody, but no one moved. William then sprang forward and seized him; and when Odo exclaimed against this violence to a bishop, he replied, that he was arrested as earl of Kent, and as a vassal whose duty it was to give an account of his government. Odo was carried forthwith to Normandy, where he was shut up in the dungeon of a castle.

About this time England was again threatened by an invasion of the Danes, under Canute, the illegitimate son of Sueno, who had recently died. A fleet of about one thousand sail was prepared for the expedition; but it was delayed by bad weather, contrary winds, and inauspicious omens, and was eventually abandoned. The known intention of Canute kept William in a state of anxiety for nearly two years, during which period he revived the odious Dane-gelt, by which he drained the country of its treasures, for the purpose of raising an army to meet the coming danger. To complete the miseries inflicted upon England at this time, William ordered all the land lying near the sea-coast to be laid waste, that the Danes might not find food or forage.



No single act of the conqueror, however, inflicted more misery within the limits of its operations, than his seizure and wasting of the lands in Hampshire, to make himself a hunting-ground. He depopulated that country to the extent of thirty miles, and having turned out the inhabitants, destroyed all the villages, plantations, houses, and even churches, which stood within that district, he reserved it for the habitation of wild beasts, and distinguished it by the name of New Forest. At the same time he enacted new and severe laws, by which he prohibited hunting in any of his forests: the killing of a man might at this time be atoned for by payment of a moderate fine; but whoever killed a stag or a deer was to have his eyes torn out. The Saxon chronicle says, that "this savage king loved wild beasts as if he had been their father."

Towards the close of the year 1086, William met all the chiefs of the kingdom, both lay and churchmen, at Salisbury, who again took the oath of allegiance to him. This was preparatory to his passing over to the Continent, taking with him a great mass of money, for some great attempt. The enterprise contemplated was a war with France for the possession of Mantes, with the territory situated between the Epte and the Oise. At first William entered into negotiations for this territory; but Philip, the French king, after amusing him with quibbles, suddenly marched troops into the country, and ordered some of his barons to make incursions on the frontiers. During the negotiations, William fell sick and kept his bed. His hatred of the French king was intense, and he was driven to frenzy on hearing that Philip, in allusion to his corpulency, had remarked, that there would be a fine churching when he was delivered. In reply to this coarse jest, William swore, by the most terrible of oaths, that he would be churched in Notre Dame, the cathedral of Paris, and that he would present so many wax-torches, that all France should be set in a blaze. About the end of July, 1087, he proceeded to the performance of his declaration: Mantes was captured and destroyed by his forces; and, as the Conqueror rode to view the ruin they had made, his horse put his fore feet on some hot embers which caused him to plunge so violently that the rider was thrown on the high pommel of his saddle, and seriously bruised. He was carried in a litter to Rouen, where, after lingering in great pain, till the ninth of September, he died.

The death of William was the signal for a general flight and

scramble. All by whom he had been surrounded mounted their horses and returned to their several homes, to look after their property and interests. For three hours the corpse of the mighty conqueror lay unheeded on the bare boards. The citizens of Rouen were in great alarm: they fled from their houses, and concealed their property, fearing a general pillage. At length the clergy and the monks thought of the interment of their sovereign: forming a procession, they went with the crucifix, burning tapers, and incense, to pray over the dishonoured corpse for the peace of its soul. It was ordained by the archbishop of Rouen that the body should be interred at Caen; but even now there were none to do it honour. The mighty monarch's son and all his friends had fled; and an obscure country knight was the only man who could be found to undertake the charge of burying him. The body was conveyed by the Seine and the sea to Caen, where it was buried in a church which William had founded. But even the last burial service did not pass undisturbed. The ceremony had scarcely commenced when Asseline Fitz-Arthur exclaimed, that the man whom they praised was a robber, who had deprived him of the ground on which they stood, and, with a solemn appeal to God, forbade the interment of the corpse in his glebe. The priests and people were astonished; but the statement of Fitz-Arthur was correct, and the bishops present were compelled to pay him sixty shillings for the grave, and engage to procure the full value of his land. Then, without a coffin, this mighty monarch was lowered into the tomb, and the assembly dispersed.

During his reign William established the feudal system in England. He also caused a minute account of all the landed property in England to be taken and recorded in what is called "The Domesday Book." His laws with respect to the English constitution proved upon the whole beneficial. But William was rather a warrior than a legislator: no prince of the time equalled him as a general; and he surpassed them all in the difficult art of ruling a turbulent nobility: their obedience, however, arose from fear rather than love. William's temper was of the most fiery description, and to offend him was to ensure either death or disgrace. That he was not loved is shown by the scene after his death: though a few days before he could command the obedience of a hundred thousand knights, not one so loved him as to be induced to honour his remains. He departed without being desired.

## WILLIAM II., SURNAMED RUFUS.

While on his death-bed William the Conqueror summoned some of his chief prelates and barons around him, and declared in their presence that he bequeathed the duchy of Normandy, with Maine, and its other dependencies, to his eldest son Robert. "As for the crown of England," he remarked, "I bequeath it to no one, as I did not receive it, like the duchy of Normandy, in inheritance, but acquired it by conquest and the shedding of blood. The succession of that kingdom I leave to the decision of God, only desiring most fervently that my son William, who has ever been dutiful to me in all things, may obtain it, and prosper in it."

William was at the bedside of his dying father when he made this declaration, and he instantly set out for England to look after his crown. He was on the point of embarking at Wissant, near Calais, when he was informed of his parent's decease; but he neither halted nor looked back: his only desire was to obtain the crown he had in view. On arriving in England, his cause was espoused by Lanfranc, the primate, and he was readily chosen king. There was a strong feeling among the nobles against his election; but no opposition was made to it, and he was crowned at Westminster by Lanfranc, on Sunday, the 29th of September, the seventeenth day after his father's death, A.D. 1087.

When Robert heard of his father's death he was living as an exile at Abbeville, or, according to other accounts, in Germany. He soon appeared in Normandy, where he was joyfully received, and recognised as reigning duke by the prelates, barons, and other chief men. Normandy, however, was not sufficient to satisfy the mind of Robert: he wanted the crown of England likewise; and his great barons, having possessions in this country, fostered his desires. His uncle Odo, the bishop of Bayeux, especially inflamed his ambition; and a war between the brothers became inevitable.

William, who was surnamed Rufus, from the colour of his hair, at the festival of Easter, 1088, kept his court at Winchester. He invited thither all his great lords; and Odo, who was present, took this opportunity of arranging his plans for his dethronement. From the festival Odo, with other bishops and chiefs, departed to raise the standard of Robert in their

several fiefs and governments in the east, west, south, and north. A dangerous rising took place simultaneously in many parts of England; but the insurgents lost time, and injured their cause by acts of depredation. Robert had promised to come over with an army to support Odo, but this army was slow in making its appearance. In the mean time Rufus was not idle. Hearing of the preparations in Normandy for the invasion of England, he permitted his subjects to fit out cruizers; and these adventurers did him great service. Calculating that there was no royal navy to oppose them, the Normans began to cross the Channel in small companies, and so many of them were captured that the attempt at invasion was abandoned. Rufus was also greatly indebted to another measure which he adopted at this crisis. As the Normans were generally arrayed against him he had recourse to the native English; and when he proclaimed his ban of war in the old Saxon form—"Let every man who is not a man of nothing, whether he live in burgh, or out of burgh, leave his house and come," thirty thousand stout Englishmen ranged themselves under his banner.

The most dangerous enemy of Rufus was Odo, bishop of Bayeux and earl of Kent; and against him he first turned his arms. Rochester Castle, which the warrior bishop had fortified, and where he was surrounded by barons and soldiers, was besieged; and he was obliged to surrender this strong hold to his nephew, on condition that he should be allowed to leave the kingdom for ever. Having disposed of his uncle, Rufus found no difficulty with the other conspirators. Some were detached from the confederacy by peaceful negotiations; others were won over by blandishments. The bishop of Durham was defeated by a division of the king's army; and the rest either submitted on proclamation, or escaped into Normandy. A few received pardon; but the greater part were attainted; and Rufus bestowed their estates on such of the English barons as had done him best service.

Robert, duke of Normandy, was good-natured and brave, but he was indolent and vicious, and so easily ruled by others that he lost the respect of his subjects. By the year 1090 his country had fallen into a state of complete anarchy through his imprudent conduct, and the friends of William resolved to drive him out of Normandy. Several Norman fortresses were taken by bribery or treachery, and forthwith garrisoned for Rufus; and Rouen itself was in danger. In

these difficulties Robert claimed the assistance of his brother Henry, to whom his father had bequeathed five thousand pounds of silver, without any territory. Henry joined his brother at Rouen, and greatly contributed to put down the conspiracy, and to repulse the troops by which that city was threatened. In the following year Rufus himself appeared in Normandy at the head of an English army, and Robert called in the French king, by whose mediation a treaty of peace was concluded at Caen. Rufus was a great gainer by this treaty, for he retained possession of all the fortresses he had acquired in Normandy, together with the territories of Eu, Aumale, and other places; and in addition, the renunciation, on the part of Robert, of all claims to the English throne.

Robert and William had no sooner made up their quarrel than they turned their arms against their brother Henry, his known abilities and decision of character having excited their jealousy. Henry was obliged to retire to the castle of St. Michael's Mount, and in this position he was besieged by his brothers. During the siege Rufus was riding one day alone near the fortress, when he was attacked by two soldiers in Henry's pay, and dismounted. One of the soldiers raised his arm to slay him, but on his exclaiming that he was the king of England he stayed his hand, and assisted him to rise and to remount his horse. In the end Henry was obliged to capitulate, and he obtained permission to retire into Brittany. He was despoiled of all he had, and wandered from place to place for two years, when he was invited by the people of Damfront to govern that city.

Lanfranc, the primate, died in 1089, and the see of Canterbury was kept vacant till 1093, when Anselm was appointed archbishop. Anselm was one of the first men of his day in point of learning, but he lacked prudence. Soon after his appointment, he demanded not only the lands possessed by Lanfranc, but also other lands which had formerly belonged to the see, and which had for many years been the property of others. This request was refused, and the dispute thus commenced between the king and the archbishop continued through this reign. In the midst of it Anselm set out as a pilgrim for Rome, and the revenues of his see were seized by the monarch, nor were they restored during his life.

On the return of Rufus from Normandy he was accompanied by his brother Robert. In the treaty of Caen, William had engaged to indemnify his brother for what he had re-

signed in Normandy, by an equivalent of territory in England. During his stay in England Robert repeatedly claimed this promised indemnity; but he returned to Normandy without having his claims satisfied. Messenger after messenger was despatched from the Continent; but still William would give up none of his domains. At length, in 1094, Robert sent two heralds, who having found their way into the presence of Rufus, denounced him before his chiefs as a false and perjured knight, with whom his brother would no longer hold friendship. Rufus followed the two heralds to Normandy to defend his honour, and the dispute was submitted to twenty-four barons, who decided against him. William now appealed to the sword, and Robert applied for assistance to the king of France, who once more marched with an army into Normandy. Philip, however, was bought off by English gold; and it is probable that Rufus would have conquered Normandy had he not been recalled to England by important events.

During his first war in Normandy the Scotch king, Malcolm Caenmore, had invaded England; and, on his return, William made war upon him, and reduced him to submission. This time the Welsh had taken advantage of the variance of the two brothers, by invading the country, taking booty of cattle, and destroying the people. Before Rufus could reach the scene of action they had overrun several counties, and had reduced the Isle of Anglesey. To chastise them he determined to follow them through their own country; but he was compelled to retreat with great loss. In the summer of 1095 he again entered the mountains with a numerous army, and was again forced to retire with loss and shame; so that he turned from Wales in despair. About the same time, however, he quelled a conspiracy in the north of England, at the head of which was Robert Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, and the country was restored to peace.

In the reign of Rufus, the Romish clergy, taking advantage of the chivalrous temper of the people, urged them to invade Palestine, in order to recover the holy sepulchre from the hands of the infidel Turks. Kings and princes responded to their exhortations; and Robert, duke of Normandy, was one of the most eager to engage in this adventure. Wanting money, he mortgaged Normandy to his brother William for three years, as security for the repayment of ten thousand marks which he borrowed to defray the charges of his expedition.

Robert departed for Palestine, flattering himself with a splendid futurity; and William sailed to the Continent to take possession of Normandy and its dependencies. By the Normans he was received without opposition; but the people of Maine burst out into universal insurrection. They were defeated; but William, being wounded while laying siege to a small castle, returned suddenly to England.

Rufus returned to die. A short time before, Richard, an illegitimate son of duke Robert, was killed by an arrow while hunting in the New Forest. This was the second time that the blood of William the Conqueror had been shed in that place; and men said it would not be the last time. Nor was it. On the 2nd of August William, with many lords and knights, hunted in the forest, and Sir Walter Tyrrel, his special favourite in these sports, remained constantly near him, their dogs hunting together. Towards the evening a hart came bounding by, and the king shot at it without effect. His bowstring broke, and being unprovided with a second, he called to Sir Walter, who stood concealed in the thickets, to shoot, fearing to lose the prey. Tyrrel drew his bow, and the fork-head arrow, glanced aside by an intervening tree, pierced the heart of his master: with one groan, and no word or prayer uttered, Rufus expired. Tyrrel, on discovering the catastrophe, mounted his horse, galloped to the sea-coast, and embarked for Normandy. Later in the evening the body of the king was found by a charcoal-burner, who carried it in a cart to Winchester, where it was buried.

Such is the generally-received account of the death of Rufus; but though it is certain that he was shot by an arrow in the New Forest, some doubts may be entertained as to the precise circumstances attending his death. Some have supposed that the ambition of his brother Henry, who was hunting with him, might have prompted the murder; and others, that the shaft was shot by some desperate Englishman who had wrongs to revenge. The most charitable construction, however, is that the party was intoxicated with the wine of the feast which had preceded the hunt, and that in the confusion consequent on drunkenness the king was struck by a random arrow. When he died he was full of health and vigour, being then only forty years of age.

## HENRY I., SURNAMED BEAUCLERK.

A.D. 1100. At the earliest report of his brother's death, Henry hastened to Winchester castle, and imperiously demanded the keys of the royal treasury. He was opposed in his demand by William de Breteuil, the royal treasurer, who asserted Robert's right not only to the treasury but to the crown of England. Henry was not to be thwarted in his design. Drawing his sword, he threatened immediate death to all who should oppose him; and being seconded by some powerful barons, he seized the money and crown-jewels before the eyes of the treasurer. Having secured the contents of the coffers, he hastened to London, where he obtained the concurrence of the nobles, and was crowned at Westminster Abbey only three days after the death of Rufus. In his own language, he was "crowned by the mercy of God, and by the common consent of the barons of the kingdom."

Henry commenced his reign by issuing a charter of liberties, which gained him great popularity. He also solemnly engaged to correct several evils, and never to meddle with the revenues of the church, or with church preferments. He further rendered himself popular by marrying Matilda, daughter to the sister of Edgar Atheling, the last of the Saxon princes, by Malcolm, king of Scotland. Matilda had resided within a convent; but as she had not taken the vows the marriage was allowed, and she became queen of England. She was much beloved by the nation for her Saxon descent, but still more for her piety and benevolence.

On ascending the throne, Henry had caused a report to be circulated, that his brother Robert was crowned king of Jerusalem, and would never return to England. This was an untruth. At that time Robert was actually in Europe, and on his way back to Normandy. Robert had greatly distinguished himself in the conquest of Palestine, and the taking of Jerusalem; and when he returned, he was everywhere received with great honour. He was rejoicing in these honours when he first received the news of the usurpation of his brother, and he immediately proclaimed the ban of war. He was seconded in his designs by his Norman vassals and barons, who were eager to fight under the banners of a prince who had won laurels in the Holy Land.

Henry was ready to meet this invasion, for all classes of



society dreaded the ferocious tyranny of the Normans, and rallied round his standard. Robert landed at Portsmouth, and the two armies met near Winchester; but, to the surprise of most men, his expedition ended in a hurried peace, and a seeming reconciliation of the two rivals. Robert returned peaceably to the Continent, renouncing all claim to England, for the yearly payment of three thousand marks, and the cession to him of all the castles which Henry possessed in Normandy.

Henry promised pardon to his brother's partisans in England; but Robert was scarcely returned to Normandy when he began to take measures against them. Many a baron was outlawed; and Robert, following one of those generous impulses to which his romantic nature was prone, came to England to plead their cause. Henry received him with smiles and brotherly embraces; but Robert soon found that he was a prisoner, and was glad to purchase his liberty by renouncing his annuity of three thousand marks. He returned to Normandy, and, in self-defence, renewed his friendship with the barons exiled from England; on which Henry declared that peace between them was at an end.

The truth is, Henry was resolved to unite the duchy of Normandy to his own kingdom. He was favoured in his design by the disorder and confusion which prevailed in that country. Though brave and generous, Robert was incapable of governing a factious and intriguing nobility, or any state, as states were then constituted. Henry took advantage of this: he called on Robert to cede the duchy for a sum of money, or an annual pension, on the score of bad government. This proposal was rejected; on which Henry crossed the seas with a large army, to reduce Normandy to his sway. In his first campaign he was unsuccessful; but in the following year, 1106, he defeated Robert at Tenchebray, and took him prisoner, with many of the barons who fought under his banner. The jealousy of Henry induced him to shut up his brother in Cardiff Castle, where he died at the age of eighty, after being in confinement twenty-eight years.

In obtaining possession of Robert's person, Henry became master of all Normandy. A source of disquietude, however, still attended his conquest. When Robert was taken prisoner, his son, five years old, fell into the hands of the conqueror, who committed him to the care of a Norman baron, named Helie, on whom he thought he could rely. His distrustful

temper afterwards led him to attempt regaining possession of the boy; but Helie conveyed him to a place of safety, and subsequently induced the king of France and others to espouse his cause. In the year 1113 Henry was attacked at every point along the frontiers of Normandy. Towns and castles were quickly lost; and a report was spread that some friends of duke Robert had designs against his life. The war lasted two years; but it was then ended by a skilful treaty, in which Henry regained whatever he had lost in Normandy, and in which the interests of the young prince were overlooked. These advantages were obtained by giving the estates and honours of the faithful Helie, to Fulk, earl of Anjou; and by stipulating a marriage between Henry's only son, prince William, and Matilda, a daughter of that earl. These arrangements were not made without great sacrifices of money on the part of the English people, which were more severely felt, as three years before he had levied a tax for the marriage of his eldest daughter, Matilda, to Henry V., emperor of Germany. This tax was laid upon land, at the rate of three shillings per hide, and was exacted with great rigour.

Having regained Normandy, Henry checked some incursions of the Welsh, and following them into their fastnesses, gained several advantages over them. About this time, his mind was also occupied in securing the succession of all his dominions to his son William. All the barons and prelates of Normandy and England were required to swear fealty and do homage to the boy. His want of good faith, however, hurried on a storm which soon burst over his head. He had secretly assisted in a revolt against the French king; had broken off the match between his son William and Matilda, the daughter of the earl of Anjou; and had belied many promises made to the Norman barons in his hour of need. All these leagued against him, and a war commenced, which continued for two years, and was only ended through the mediation of the pope. By a treaty of peace, Henry preserved Normandy, and Louis consented to receive the homage due to him for the duchy from the son, instead of the father.

Elated by success, Henry resolved to return triumphantly to England. He reached its shores, but it was in sorrow. In the year 1118, he had lost Matilda, his wife; in the present year, 1120, he was doomed to lose his only legitimate son and

heir to his crown, by an untimely death. The prince embarked, with a large company of youthful nobles, in a ship gallantly equipped; the numbers, with the crew, amounting to three hundred persons. It was usual to regale the mariners with wine; and the prince and the young men with him ordered three casks to be distributed among them. They drank out their wits and their reason; and the departure of the ship was delayed. It was November, and the darkness of the night came on at an early hour. The vessel then began her course, and the prince urged the drunken crew to overtake that which conveyed the king. Every sail was set, and fifty sturdy mariners plied the oar with all their vigour. On a sudden, however, the ship struck upon a rock, which was covered at the time of the tide, and immediately began to fill. The prince was hurried into a boat; but his sister Mary had been left behind in the ship, and her shrieks reached his heart. He ordered the boat to be put back to take her in; but such numbers leaped into it with his sister, that it was swamped, and all in it perished. Only one of the whole number in the ship escaped. This was a butcher of Rouen, and from him the circumstances of the fearful event were learned. The tidings reached England on the following day; but for three days the courtiers concealed the fact from the king. At the end of that time, they sent in a little boy, who, weeping bitterly, fell at his feet, and told him that the "White ship" was lost, and that all on board had perished. The hard heart of Henry was not proof to this shock: he sunk to the ground in a swoon, and though he survived it many years, he was never afterwards seen to smile. Kings, alike with their subjects, have their sorrows: the brow of Henry's son, instead of being girded with the crown of gold, was beaten against the rocks of the ocean.

Though left without a child who could succeed him on his throne, Henry still kept his brother Robert in confinement, and still sought to injure that brother's son, William. At this time the hopes of his nephew were brightened. Those hopes, however, soon perished. The king of France made him earl of Flanders; but his subjects revolted, and their insurrection was fomented by Henry. In a skirmish with the revolters, William was wounded, and he was conveyed to the monastery of St. Omer, where he died. In his last moments he wrote to Henry to implore mercy for the Norman barons who had fought for him, which request was granted.

After the death of Matilda, Henry married again; but having no more children, he sought to ensure the succession to his only lawful daughter, Matilda, who had been married to Henry, the emperor of Germany. That emperor had died soon after his marriage; and on her return to England, her father gave her in marriage to Geoffrey, count of Anjou; and this union, though an unhappy one, produced three sons.

The last four years of Henry's life were spent on the Continent, and were troubled by the domestic broils between his daughter and her husband. In the year 1135, an incursion of the Welsh demanded his presence in England; and he was preparing to return, when he was overtaken by death. His health and spirits had been long declining; but on the twenty-fifth of November, to drive his griefs away, he went abroad to hunt. On his return, being hungry, he fancied he should like a dish of lampreys, a food which always disagreed with him. The lampreys he ate brought on indigestion, and a fever ensued, which in a few days brought him to his grave. His body was conveyed to England, and interred in Reading Abbey, which he had himself erected.

The character of Henry is differently represented by his friends and his enemies. By the former he is commended for the three qualities of wisdom, valour, and wealth; by the latter, condemned for the three vices of covetousness, cruelty, and lust. To these should be added the qualities of craft, treachery, and an implacable revenge. The best circumstances attending his reign were the peace he maintained in England, and the partial respect to the laws which his vigorous government enforced. He was a great politician; but the means he adopted to secure his sway were too often of an evil character. This is especially to be deplored, as his learning was very great, and obtained for him the honourable name of Beauclerc, or "the fine scholar." But his learning did not affect his heart: with all his refinement, he neither regarded his oaths nor the lives of his subjects. His one great aim was to secure the throne to himself and his family; and he cared little by what means he secured it. And yet, after all, he was unsuccessful: death deprived him of his crown: death robbed him of his son, on whom his hopes had been placed; and a favourite set aside the succession of his daughter.

## STEPHEN.

By his will Henry left to his daughter Matilda and her heirs for ever all his territories on either side of the sea ; and Stephen, earl of Blois, grandson of William the Conqueror by his daughter Adela, who was a great favourite with Henry, swore solemnly to promote the succession of Matilda. Henry had been an oath-breaker, and Stephen followed his example. Regardless of his solemn engagement, he endeavoured to procure the crown for himself. This was not a difficult task in those stormy times, when the military rulers considered it disgraceful to be governed by a woman. At the time when his uncle died Stephen was nearer England than Matilda ; and taking advantage of his situation, he crossed the Channel, secured the treasury, by means of his brother, the bishop of Winchester, and was then chosen king. He was crowned at Westminster on the 26th of September, and his usurpation was sanctioned by Pope Innocent II. He was adopted by the pontiff " as a son of the blessed apostle Peter, and of the holy Roman Church."

To secure his usurped dignity, Stephen lavished away the treasures and possessions of the crown : he also made large concessions to his subjects, granting a charter, in which he laid particular stress on his election as king, with the consent of the clergy and the people. In the same charter he promised to redress all grievances, and grant to the people all the good laws and customs of Edward the Confessor : he further granted the lay barons permission to fortify their castles, and to build new ones. This was a most unwise concession, for it contributed largely to the frightful anarchy which ensued. At first all went on in peace and harmony, and both in England and Normandy his throne seemed to be established. By the year 1137, however, the spirit of revolt was displayed on every hand, and sedition was no sooner suppressed in one place than it broke out in others. Most of the great barons, pleading that Stephen had not given them enough nor extended their privileges as he had promised, fell from him and withdrew to their castles. At this crisis of his fortunes Stephen displayed great vigour : castle after castle was besieged, and the king was almost invariably successful.

In this state of affairs Stephen had a most powerful foe to contend with. Matilda and her friends thought this a favour-

able opportunity of obtaining the crown for her ; and in the year 1138 David, king of Scotland, was induced to enforce her claims by invading the northern counties, while the earl of Gloucester, her half-brother, began a civil warfare in the west. In 1139, Matilda landed at Arundel ; and Stephen, in accordance with the chivalrous feelings of that day, gave her permission to travel in safety to join her brother at Bristol. The war thus commenced continued fourteen years, and during that period England presented everywhere a scene of calamity and oppression. In the year 1141 Stephen was taken prisoner, and Matilda was then crowned at Winchester, and blessed by the papal legate. But her prosperity was brief. Her arrogance and pride were distasteful to the people at large, and in a few weeks the citizens of London rose against her, and she was obliged to take refuge in flight. The earl of Gloucester was besieged at Winchester and taken prisoner, and he was exchanged for Stephen, who was again acknowledged king.

Stephen pursued the contest vigorously : he besieged Matilda in Oxford ; but she escaped in disguise at midnight, and subsequently withdrew to the Continent. At this time, however, A.D. 1147, Henry, her son, was grown up, and he now put in his claims for the crown. He obtained possession of Normandy, and, in 1152, invaded England. Stephen had lost much of his influence with the clergy, and civil war would have been again renewed ; but at this juncture his son Eustace died, and it was agreed between the rivals that Stephen should reign during his life, and that Henry should be his successor. By this arrangement peace was preserved, and Henry soon ascended the throne ; for Stephen died in 1154, in the fiftieth year of his age. He was buried by the side of his wife Maud, who died three years before him, at the monastery of Faversham, in Kent.

The Saxon chronicler says, that in this king's reign all was discension, evil, and rapine. Not only did the barons whom Stephen had permitted to erect castles fight against the king, but they cruelly oppressed the wretched people. Their castles were filled with men who were ready to commit any outrage upon the surrounding population. Those whom they supposed to have any goods were seized and thrown into prison, and tortured for their gold and silver. Some were hanged up by their feet and smoked with foul smoke ; others by the head ; and others by their thumbs or their beards, while coats of

heavy mail were attached to their feet. They were also thrown into dungeons with adders, snakes, and toads; and many thousands perished with hunger. Tribute after tribute was laid upon towns and cities, and when the townsmen had nothing more to give, they set fire to their houses. All was desolation. The poor died of hunger, and those who had been rich begged their bread. As for the land it was left in many parts uncultivated: "to till the ground was to plough the lands of the sea." This lasted during the nineteen years of Stephen's reign, and matters continually grew worse and worse.

### HENRY II., SURNAMED PLANTAGENET.

A.D. 1154. When Henry Plantagenet received the news of Stephen's death, he was engaged in the siege of a castle on the frontiers of Normandy. Relying on the favour of the English people, he prosecuted the siege to a successful close, and in about six weeks he landed in England, where he was received with enthusiastic joy. He brought with him a splendid retinue, and his wife Eleanor, whose stern character was destined to influence so many events of his reign. Eleanor was a divorced queen of France, and her popularity was by no means great; but at their first arrival in England, however, everything wore a bright prospect. They received the homage of the nobility at Winchester, and were crowned on the 19th of December at Westminster, amidst the acclamations of the people.

The first acts of Henry's government corresponded with the high idea entertained of his abilities. All the mercenary troops were dismissed, and the castles erected by the consent of Stephen levelled to the ground. Before their destruction was complete, Henry's active mind was occupied by the affairs of the Continent. His younger brother, Geoffrey, had advanced a title to Anjou and Maine, and had invaded those provinces. In the year 1156 Henry crossed the seas, and, having detached the French king from his brother's interests, he compelled Geoffrey to resign his claims for a pension of 1000 English and 2000 Angevin pounds. On his return to England, in 1157, Henry engaged in hostilities with the Welsh, who still fought for their independence. At first he suffered a serious loss; but, after a few months, the Welsh were glad to purchase peace by the resignation of such portions of their native territory as they had retaken from Stephen.

Geoffrey did not live long to exact the payment of his brother's annuities. Soon after concluding the treaty with Henry, the citizens of Nantes, in Lower Brittany, offered him the government of their city. This offer was accepted; but Geoffrey died in 1158, and the citizens of Nantes, returning to their old connexion with the rest of the country, were governed by Conan, hereditary duke of Brittany. To the surprise of everybody, however, Henry claimed the free city of Nantes as hereditary property, devolved to him by his brother's death. He affected to treat Conan as an usurper of his rights; and crossing the Channel with a large army, spread such terror that the citizens of Nantes submitted. He then took possession of the whole country between the Loire and Vilaine; and having purchased the French king's neutrality, by affiancing his eldest son to Margaret, an infant daughter of Louis, he prosecuted his views on the rest of Brittany. With Conan he concluded a compact which threatened the independence of the whole country. He affianced his then youngest son to Constantia, an infant daughter of Conan; the latter engaging to bequeath to his daughter all his rights in Brittany at his death, and Henry engaging to support him in his present power during his life.

The ambition of Henry was not yet satisfied. He next sought to obtain the great earldom of Toulouse, by right of his wife, by which he hoped to spread his power across the whole of the isthmus that joins France to Spain, and to range along the French coast on the Mediterranean. This claim was unjust, and was resisted by the French king, who roused himself to a formidable exertion, in order to check the new encroachment. Both kings prepared for the contest. A brief war ensued, in which Henry captured a few fortresses in the earldom of Toulouse; but a truce was concluded at the end of the year, and this truce was in 1160 converted into a formal peace; Henry's eldest son doing homage to the French king for the duchy of Normandy, and Henry being permitted to retain the few places he had conquered in the earldom of Toulouse. This peace was soon broken; but Louis was no match for the powerful and politic Henry; and after the shivering of a few lances and the besieging of a few castles, another peace was concluded through the mediation of the pope.

In all his wars and negociations on the Continent, Henry had been ably assisted by his prime favourite, Thomas à



Becket. On Henry's accession, this man assisted Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, in his duties as prime-minister. This brought him into contact with the king, who soon after made him chancellor, and bestowed upon him many other honours and emoluments. While chancellor, Becket was pompous in his retinue, sumptuous in his furniture, and luxurious in his table, beyond what Britain had ever seen in a subject: his house was a place of education for the sons of the chief nobility, and the king himself often partook of his entertainments. His amusements were as gay as his manner of life was splendid and elegant. He employed himself at leisure hours in hunting, hawking, gaming, and horsemanship. Such a man was sure to find favour with the king; but Henry loved him also for his industry and abilities. As chancellor, he was a most useful servant to the king; and it would have been well for Henry had he not further exalted him. In 1161, however, when Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, died, Becket was made primate of all England. From that time he became an altered character: he had been a soldier, statesman, hunter, courtier, man of the world, and man of pleasure; he now became a rigid and ascetic monk, renouncing even the enjoyments of life. He maintained in his retinue and attendants alone his usual pomp and lustre: in his own person he affected the greatest austerity and mortification. He wore sackcloth next his skin; his food was generally bread, and his drink water; he lacerated his back with frequent discipline; and he daily washed the feet of thirteen beggars. But with all this seeming sanctity, Becket was still an ambitious man. He had been made second person in the kingdom, and he secretly aspired at being the first. The king was inclined to invade the privileges of the church; but Becket resolved to stand against his innovations. Collision was inevitable; and it first took place concerning the enactments of the Council of Westminster, which went to render the clergy subject to the authority of the civil courts for murder, felony, and other crimes. At first Becket refused to sign these enactments, on which the king deprived him of the manor of Eye and the castle of Berkhamstead. Subsequently, Becket signed a similar body of enactments, at a great council held at Clarendon; but these were rejected by the pope, and the archbishop was thereby encouraged in his resistance to the king. But Henry was not a monarch to be trifled with: Becket was summoned before a great

council in the town of Northampton, where he was charged with a breach of allegiance and acts of contempt against the king, and condemned to forfeit all his goods and chattels. This forfeiture was commuted for a fine; but the next day the king required him to refund certain sums of money, and to render an account of all his receipts from vacant abbeys and bishoprics during his chancellorship. Becket perceived that the king was bent on his ruin, but still he defied his power. He even braved the king in his wrath, by resorting to his palace, holding his cross in his right hand, in token of defiance. For this act a sentence of imprisonment was issued against him; but he fled to the Continent, where he was protected by Louis, king of France. Becket had still the support of the pope; and, encouraged by it, he declared that Christ was again tried in his case, before a lay tribunal, and crucified afresh in the person of himself, the servant of Christ. All the English clergy on the side of the king were excommunicated, and his subjects absolved from their allegiance. Henry now yielded. He submitted to treat with his rebel prelate; and on one occasion humiliated himself so far as to hold the stirrup while he mounted his horse. Becket was reinstated in his archbishopric; but his pride and insolence soon proved his ruin. On Christmas-day, after his return to England, he preached in his cathedral at Canterbury; and in his sermon he asserted that before his death he would avenge some of the wrongs which the church had suffered during the last seven years. At the same time, he publicly excommunicated three prelates. This was his last act. Henry was then on the Continent; and being informed of his proceedings, he exclaimed, "Is there none who will revenge his monarch's cause upon this audacious priest?" There were four knights present who had probably wrongs of their own to avenge, and who took this outburst of temper as Becket's death-warrant. They set out immediately for Canterbury, and murdered Becket before the altar of his own church. A. D. 1171.

Such was the tragical death of this lofty and inflexible prelate, whose pride and ambition were disguised by sanctity and zeal for the interests of religion. His murderers withdrew without any molestation; but when the fearful news spread through Canterbury and the neighbouring country, the greatest excitement prevailed. By the people at large Becket was considered a martyr, and it was in vain that the

superior orders attempted to suppress their veneration. Two years after he was canonized as a saint by pope Alexander; miracles were said to be wrought at his tomb; and pilgrims thronged to it from all parts of the kingdom. It is computed that in one year above one hundred thousand pilgrims arrived at Canterbury, and paid their devotions at his tomb.

On receiving the intelligence of Becket's death, Henry expressed the greatest grief and sorrow, shut himself up in his room, and for three days refused to receive either consolation or food. It is quite clear that the hasty expression which led to Becket's death had been misinterpreted. Henry was not addicted to cruelty or assassination; at the same time his chief fear was the displeasure of the pope. It was with difficulty that he could establish his innocence at Rome; but he found means, by a well-timed embassy, to divert the pontiff's anathemas from himself: they were only levelled against all the actors, abettors, and accomplices of the murder. The four knights resorted to Rome and submitted to the penances enjoined, which included a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; that being considered an act of such merit as to expiate the greatest guilt.

The year following the death of Becket was made memorable by the conquest of Ireland. Henry had obtained authority from pope Adrian to effect this conquest in the second year of his reign, but he did not then avail himself of it. In the meantime Ireland was almost subjected to the sway of Dermond, king of Leinster. In his struggle for supremacy, Dermond was assisted by Hugh Fitzstephen, a Welsh knight, and Strongbow, the earl of Strigul. His successes drew the attention of Henry, who, in the year 1174, went himself to Ireland with an army. The Irish princes submitted to him without a struggle, and he became lord of Ireland. His occupation of that country was very imperfect; but it greatly added to his reputation both in England and on the Continent.

The last years of Henry's life were embittered by domestic broils and civil wars. Henry was an unfaithful husband, and Eleanor a vindictive wife. His infidelity was resented by Eleanor's encouraging his sons in repeated rebellions. When his son Henry was fifteen years of age he caused him to be crowned, and even waited upon him at the coronation. The young prince was to succeed not only to England but to Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. At the same time

Richard was invested with the states of his mother, Aquitaine and Poitou : Geoffrey was to have Brittany, and John was to possess Ireland. With these prospects in view, however, Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey, rebelled against him, and civil contests arose both in England and on the Continent. Henry especially vexed his father by his rebellious conduct. But he did not prosper : he was unsuccessful in his wars, and his vexation brought on, or aggravated, a malady which soon became fatal. He died at Limoges, in France, in the year 1183.

While Henry was at war with his unnatural sons on the Continent news arrived that the king of Scotland had invaded England with an army of 80,000 men : he was then preparing to reduce the castles in Poitou ; but he had scarcely heard the news when he mounted his horse, rode to the coast, and, embarking in the midst of a storm, set sail for England. Sensible of his danger, and of the effects of superstition on the minds of the people, he had scarcely set foot on shore than he went barefoot to Becket's tomb, prostrated himself before the shrine of the saint, remained in fasting and prayer during a whole day, and watched all night the holy relics. He even submitted to a penance still more singular and humiliating. He assembled a chapter of the monks, put a scourge of discipline in the hands of each, and presented his bare shoulders to the lashes which they inflicted on him. Next morning he received absolution ; and on the same day his generals obtained a signal victory over the Scots, which was looked upon as a proof of his reconciliation with Heaven and Thomas à Becket.

After the death of Prince Henry, the confederacy which had been formed against his father was partly broken up by the king's victorious arms, and partly dissolved of itself. Prince Geoffrey sought and obtained his father's pardon ; and a momentary reconciliation took place between Henry and his queen : family concord, however, lasted only a few months. Geoffrey demanded the earldom of Anjou ; and, on being refused, withdrew to the French court to prepare for another war. Soon after, his turbulent career, like that of his brother Henry, was cut short : he was dismounted at a tournament and trampled to death under the feet of the horses of the other knights engaged in the lists. At this time, A.D. 1186, Philip II. reigned in France ; and, after burying Geoffrey with great pomp, he invited Richard the Lion-hearted

to his court. Supported by Philip, and unwarned by the fate of his brothers, Richard raised the standard of revolt in Aquitaine; but the people did not respond to his call, and he was compelled to seek his father's pardon: he swore fealty upon this occasion on a copy of the Holy Evangelists, and was restored to favour.

The misfortunes of the Christians in the Holy Land were the means of producing a brief peace between Henry and Philip. At this time Jerusalem was taken by Saladin, and the kings of France and England undertook to join in a crusade to wrest it out of his hands. To provide ways and means for this crusade it was enacted by the barons, both lay and ecclesiastic, that a tenth of all rents for one year, and a tenth of all the moveable property in the land, with the exception of the books of the clergy, and the arms and horses of the knights, should be forthwith levied. The sum thus raised, however, was deficient, and Henry had recourse to extortion and violent measures against the Jews: a tax was laid upon them at the rate of one-fourth of their personal property. But the money thus wrung from Jews and Christians was never employed against the Turks. Richard the Lion-hearted, though enthusiastic almost to madness in the cause of the crusade, in which he was one of the first to take up arms, was unwilling to enter upon the expedition without being accompanied by his brother John. This desire was not prompted by affection, but rather from jealousy: his mind was haunted by the belief that his father destined the English crown for his youngest son John. To obviate this design, he demanded that his brother should accompany him; and when his request was refused, he employed his troops in again making war upon his father. In this unholy warfare he was joined by Philip, king of France; and Henry, whose iron frame now felt the inroads of disease and grief, was at length unable to struggle with them. After the loss of several of his towns, and the seduction of many of his knights, he was compelled to consent to terms which weakened his power and lessened his dignity.

In the treaty to which Henry was obliged to consent, in one of the articles it was required that all such barons as had espoused the cause of Richard should still be considered his liege men and vassals, unless they chose to return to the father. Before agreeing to this, Henry, who was then suffering in bed, asked for a list of their names. The list was

given him, and the first name upon it which struck his eye was that of his beloved son John. "Is it true," exclaimed the astonished monarch, as he started up from his bed, "that John, the child of my heart, he whom I have cherished more than all the rest, and for whom I have drawn down on my head all these troubles, hath verily betrayed me?" Henry found it was too true; and, falling back on his bed, and turning his face to the wall, he said, "Let everything go as it will: I have no longer care for myself or the world." This was a stroke too heavy for Henry to bear. In a few days he laid himself down to die, and in his last moments he was heard to exclaim, "Cursed be the day on which I was born; and cursed of God the children I leave behind me!" This malediction was never retracted: he died in bitterness of heart against his own offspring; a bitterness which was induced by their unnatural conduct, A.D. 1189.

Henry's death took place in the pleasant town of Chinon, and as soon as the breath was out of his body it was forsaken by all his attendants: bishops, priests, and barons took their hurried departure. It was not without difficulty that people were found to wrap it in a windingsheet, and to convey it to the abbey of Fontevraud. On its way thither Richard came to meet the funeral procession, and to accompany it to the church. Here, as the dead king lay stretched on the bier, his face was uncovered that Richard might look upon it for the last time. It was marked with the awful expression of a long agony; and on beholding it he was struck with compunction. No sooner was the funeral over than he quitted the church, and he did not enter it again till that time when, cut off in the full strength and prime of manhood, he was carried thither a corpse to be laid at the feet of his father.

During the reign of Henry, England advanced in power and prosperity. With a few brief exceptions peace was maintained, and the condition of the people generally elevated and improved. That the character of Henry was not without blemishes is certain; but he was an illustrious prince, and possessed many endearing qualities. Among the principal features in his character were activity and restlessness: he was seldom seen in a posture of repose, and his attendants were wearied by his constant removals from place to place. His restlessness naturally affected his temper: he was irritable and violent without measure, and was not to be approached without danger in his moments of passion. On the

other hand he is represented as being affable, facetious, and courteous in his manners when unprovoked. He was an affectionate parent to his children in their infancy; and if his severity was great towards them in later years, it was their own undutiful conduct that induced it. It is an awful circumstance when children rebel against their parents; when they despise those whom they should love and revere. Such children not only obtain the maledictions of their parents, as the sons of Henry did, but the wrath of Almighty God. None can rebel against them and prosper.

### RICHARD I., SURNAMED CŒUR DE LION.

A.D. 1189. Richard, whose courage had obtained for him the surname of Cœur de Lion, or the Lion Hearted, succeeded his father in the throne and kingdom without opposition. After making all necessary preparations he crossed the Channel, accompanied by his brother John, and resorted to Winchester, where he seized upon the treasury. He was crowned at Westminster on the third of September with unusual magnificence; the abbots and bishops and most of the lay barons attending on the occasion.

Upon his accession to the throne Richard expressed remorse for his undutiful conduct towards his father, and evinced his sincerity by favouring those who had supported his parent, and dismissing those who had fomented his rebellions. He also released his mother, queen Eleanor, from her long confinement, and upon his brother John he heaped kindnesses as signal as they were undeserved. His general conduct, indeed, had the effect of conciliating all classes of society, and even of those who, from his unnatural conduct toward his father, had freely censured his vices and dreaded his reign.

The day of his coronation, however, was marked by blood. Many Jews had assembled in London from all parts of the kingdom, meaning to honour it with their presence, and to present to Richard some honourable gift, whereby they might declare themselves glad for his advancement, and secure his favour. The poor Jew, however, was at this period despised by both king and people. On the day before, Richard issued a proclamation, forbidding Jews and women to be present, either within the church while he was crowned, or within the hall while he was at dinner. A few, however, ventured on

this day of general joy, to lay their offerings at his feet. Their presents were accepted ; but a Christian raised an outcry and struck a Jew that was entering in at the gate, and this was a signal for an attack upon the whole body of Jews throughout the kingdom. On that day many were plundered and massacred in London ; and similar tumults soon after took place in other cities, especially at York, where the principal Jews, being shut up in the castle, put their wives and families to death, and then destroyed themselves. Three men were executed, and Richard issued a proclamation stating that he took the Jews under his own immediate protection, and commanding that no person should harm or rob them ; but these were the only judicial measures that followed this terrific outrage, and they were not sufficient to restrain the malice of the people.

The affairs of his own country did not long interest Richard. At this time the cross had bowed in the East before the victorious crescent. Sidon, Ascalon, and Jerusalem had fallen into the hands of Saladin, the sultan of Egypt, and Tyre was only held by the Christians at the expense of thousands of lives annually. To drive the Moslems from Jerusalem appeared to Richard to be the highest duty of a Christian, a monarch, and a warrior. He had undertaken the crusade before he came to the throne, and he was impatient to proceed in his design. For that purpose he made the most magnificent preparations. His father had left the large sum of 100,000 marks, and he added to this large sum much of the treasures of his subjects. He sold the royal castles and estates ; made money of dignities and honours ; and having obtained authority from the pope as legate, plundered all classes with impunity. The grossest and most infamous extortions were practised by his order, alike on Jew and Gentile. Richard also absolved the king of Scotland from his oath to do homage to the monarchs of England, for 10,000 marks, and even sold church preferments to enrich his coffers. All places of trust and honour, the highest offices in the kingdom, were publicly sold to the highest bidder.

Having at length completed his armament, and having nominated Hugh Pudsey, the bishop of Durham, regent, to govern the kingdom in his absence, Richard left England. He was joined at Messina by Philip, king of France, whose armament was scarcely inferior to that of Richard. In order to avoid the disasters of previous crusades, the armies pro-



ceeded to Palestine by sea; and on their voyage thither, the two monarchs wintered in Sicily. The characters of Philip and Richard were widely different: the former was haughty, ambitious, crafty, and dissimulating; the latter, though vain and overbearing, was generous and brave. It was scarcely possible for such characters to continue long in amity; and while yet in Sicily, a foundation was laid for mutual jealousies and hatred. Richard had been contracted, when a boy, to Adelais, sister of the French king, and Philip had confidently relied upon their union at the death of Henry. While in Sicily, however, Richard, regardless of his conduct, married Berengaria, princess of Navarre; and this destroyed the lingering hope which Philip had nourished of becoming his brother-in-law, and engendered a hatred in his bosom, which lasted through life.

The rival monarchs, however, set sail in the spring of the year 1191, for Acre. A party of crusaders had for two years besieged Acre, and on the arrival of Philip and Richard it was soon captured. Its reduction was marked with great crime. Following the example of Saladin, whose career in the conquest of the Holy Land, displayed the usual oriental ferocity, both Richard and Philip caused thousands of prisoners to be massacred. The banners of the two kings were raised with equal honours on the ramparts of Acre; but they had scarcely entered the town, when Philip expressed his determination to return to Europe. He pleaded ill health as the cause; but it was jealousy of the renown, and hatred of the person of Richard, which induced him to abandon the field of glory. On his departure, he took a solemn oath not to make any incursions upon Richard's Norman dominions; though, from his subsequent conduct, it was clear that such was his design. He left the duke of Burgundy in command of his troops, to whom he gave secret instructions to throw every obstacle in the way of Richard, to prevent his success.

On the departure of the French king, Richard prepared to march upon Jerusalem: he was met near Azotus, the Ashdod of the Bible, by Saladin, over whom he gained a complete victory: seven thousand and thirty-two emirs were slain. Richard advanced without opposition to Jaffa, or Joppa, of which he took possession. He would have advanced to Jerusalem, but the French barons urged the necessity of restoring the fortifications of Jaffa before they proceeded. By this measure Saladin was enabled again to make head;

and hordes of Saracens scoured the country while the crusaders were enjoying the sports of the field. At length the crusaders moved from Jaffa: it was now November; and incessant rains wetted them to the skin, rusted their arms, and rendered the roads almost impassable. They sought quarters at Bethany, about twelve miles from Jerusalem; but famine, disease, and desertion, had thinned their ranks, and Richard was compelled to retreat to Ascalon. The retreat to Ascalon was marked by the most terrible privations and sufferings; and when they arrived there it was in such a ruinous condition, that the fatigued and half-famished soldiers were compelled to restore its dismantled fortifications before they could take safe repose. To set a good example Richard worked upon the walls and battlements like a common mason; and all the men of rank and title, except the proud duke of Burgundy, did the same. The repairs were soon completed; but Richard had not been at Ascalon long before the duke of Burgundy withdrew his troops, and left him to fare as he might.

The absence of Richard from England had, in the mean time, been productive of great inconvenience and disturbances among his subjects. While the king was absent the regency had been wrenched from the hands of the bishop of Durham by Longchamp, bishop of Ely and chancellor of England. Longchamp was a rapacious and insolent character, and the barons were excited by his conduct to deprive him of his authority. A disturbance was created throughout the kingdom, and the prelate was compelled to fly in the disguise of a female. At the same time Philip, king of France, was threatening Normandy. He invited prince John to unite with him in seizing Richard's dominions; but though John, who had designs upon the English crown, was desirous of closing with his invitation, he was prevented by the interference of queen Eleanor.

Intelligence of these events having reached Richard at Ascalon, in 1192, he prepared to return home. As he was about to embark, however, he was informed that Saladin had laid siege to Joppa, and that the Christian garrison was reduced to the last extremity. At the first breath of this intelligence Richard prepared to march against him; and the opposing armies met in the open country behind Jaffa. Richard, though inferior in force, was again victorious; but as his health was declining, and he wished to return to Eng-

land, a treaty was concluded between him and Saladin. By this treaty Ascalon was to be dismantled; Jaffa and Tyre were to be left to the peaceable enjoyment of the Christians; and the pilgrims of the West were to have full liberty of repairing to Jerusalem without being subject to tolls, taxes, or persecution. In this war Richard by his valour obtained great renown, even among his enemies. His very name was employed by the Syrian mothers to silence their infants; and if a horse started from the way, his rider was wont to exclaim, "Dost thou think king Richard is in that bush?"

Richard finally set sail from Acre with his queen, his sister Joan, and the surviving bishops and barons who had followed his standard. In his passage to England, a storm arose and scattered the fleet. Some of the vessels were wrecked on the hostile shores of Egypt and Barbary, where the crews were made slaves; others reached friendly ports, and returned to England; while that in which Richard's wife and other ladies were reached Sicily in safety. Richard, who was in another vessel, came to the island of Corfu; but fearing the malice of his enemies, he suddenly changed his course for the Adriatic. He resolved to pursue his way homeward from the head of that sea, through Styria and Germany, disguised as a pilgrim. His profuse generosity, however, which had endeared him to many, now betrayed him. During the siege of Acre, the duke of Austria took one of the towers and planted his banner upon it; and Richard, enraged at this step, tore it down and cast it into the ditch. The duke of Austria had arrived from the Holy Land some time before him, and when Richard was at Erperg, a village close to Vienna, he fell into his enemy's hands. He had sent a boy, richly dressed, to the market-place of Vienna to purchase provisions; and the youth being suspected, he was seized and induced to reveal the retreat of the king. Richard was committed to the castle of Tiernsteign; but at the feast of Easter, 1193, he was transferred, on the payment of a large sum of money, to Henry, emperor of Germany; after which he was lost sight of, no one knowing for some time where he was confined.

The news of Richard's imprisonment grieved every one in England but his brother John, who hoped to turn that event to his own advantage. Philip of France also endeavoured to profit by it. On receiving the intelligence he invaded Normandy; but the barons remained faithful; and, led by

earl Surrey, who had returned from the Holy Land, defeated that perfidious monarch's designs. Philip and John were both leagued together against Richard; but in the midst of their intrigues, the place where the imprisoned king languished in confinement was discovered. Legend relates that this discovery was made by a French minstrel, who, playing upon his harp, near the fortress in which Richard was confined, a tune which the imprisoned monarch was fond of, he was answered by the king from within, who, with his harp, played the same tune, and thus made known the place of his confinement. The discovery of Richard's imprisonment, however, must be attributed to the copy of a letter from his gaoler Henry to Philip, in which it was unfolded that Richard was loaded with chains, and safely lodged in one of his castles of the Tyrol. This discovery shocked all Europe: everywhere Richard was known as the greatest champion of the cross, and violent indignation was excited. The pope at once excommunicated Leopold, the duke of Austria, and threatened the emperor with the same sentence unless he liberated his noble prisoner. In England great anxiety prevailed: all longed for his return except his brother John. Seeing that the hearts of the people were with Richard, he hastened over to Paris, where he surrendered the greatest part of Normandy to the French king, and agreed that while Philip should fall upon Normandy he would overrun England. He returned to England with a host of foreign mercenaries; but the prelates and barons raised Richard's standard, and compelled him to retreat. Philip was equally unfortunate in Normandy: after advancing to Rouen he was defeated by the enraged people, and obliged to make a disgraceful retreat into his own territories.

At length, borne down with the weight of European opinion and the authority of the pope, the emperor was obliged to produce the imprisoned monarch. He was brought before the diet at Hagenau; but his first interview with Henry was discouraging. Demands were made with which the captive would not comply, saying, he would rather die where he was than so drain his kingdom and degrade his crown. In order to extort the required ransom, Richard was accused of many crimes and misdemeanors; but his defence was so manly, clear, and convincing, that the diet acquitted him, and the emperor himself was convinced of his innocence. Thenceforth he was treated with more humanity; but a heavy ran-

som was still exacted, and five months elapsed before he was liberated. A ransom of one hundred and fifty thousand marks, or one hundred thousand pounds of our money, was paid to Henry, and Richard was once more restored to his expecting subjects.

Richard landed at Sandwich on the thirteenth of March, A. D. 1194, and he was received by the English people with enthusiastic and honest joy. A magnificent reception was given him in London; and such was the profusion of wealth exhibited by the citizens, that the German lords who attended him were heard to say, that "if the emperor had known of their affluence, he would not have so lightly parted with their king." He soon after was re-crowned with great pomp at Winchester. About the same time, he convoked a general assembly at Nottingham, at which he confiscated all his brother John's possessions, who had endeavoured to prolong his captivity, and had proceeded to the court of Philip with that intent. But Richard was of a generous and forgiving temper; and he soon pardoned John, remarking that "he wished he could as easily forget his brother's offence, as he would his pardon."

The forgiveness of such injuries as had been inflicted by the French monarch could scarcely be expected; especially as he was still in arms upon the frontiers of his continental states. Richard was engaged in warfare with Philip from 1195 to 1198; during which time he defeated his old enemy in several engagements, and captured several towns. In the latter year, after defeating Philip near Gisors, a truce was concluded; and in the following year, through the mediation of Peter of Capua, the pope's legate, it was prolonged for five years. Richard now prepared to return to England, but he previously laid siege to the castle of the viscount of Limoges, who had found a treasure to which the monarch laid claim. As he was heading the assault, he was shot by an arrow in the left shoulder, and soon after the castle was captured. All the men in it were butchered, except Bertrand de Gurdun, from whose bow the arrow sped which wounded the monarch. The wound was not in itself dangerous, but it was rendered mortal by the unskilfulness of the surgeon employed to extract the arrow-head, which had been broken off in the shoulder. Feeling his end approaching, Richard summoned Bertrand into his presence, and demanded to know why he had sought his life. The youth replied, that "Richard had

slain his father and his two brothers with his own hand, and had sought his own life;" adding, that "he was content to die, if the world should be freed from an oppressor." Richard generously forgave him, and ordered a hundred shillings to be given him; but Marchadee, the leader of his mercenaries, after the king's death, flayed him alive, and then hanged him. Richard expired, in contrition and anguish, on the sixth of April, 1199, at the age of forty-two years, and was buried at the feet of his father at Fontevraud. The chief act of his life was to stay the power of the Turks, and to protect those countries wherein Christianity was professed. His reign in England therefore is not memorable, as he passed most of his time in Asia and on the Continent, in wars or imprisonment.

#### JOHN, SURNAMED LACKLAND.

A. D. 1199. Richard was succeeded by his brother John. At the time of Richard's death he was in Normandy; and on receiving the intelligence, he took the necessary measures for securing the crown. His cause in England was warmly espoused by Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, and he was chosen king by the barons and parliament. In Normandy, however, his sovereignty was disputed by Arthur, the son of prince Geoffrey, and his claim was countenanced by Philip, king of France. John, however, was received at Rouen without opposition, and was there inaugurated, being girt with the sword of the duchy, and having the golden coronal put upon his head.

John did not return to England till the month of May. On his arrival he repaired to the church of St. Peter, at Westminster, to claim the crown. Arthur had been repeatedly declared heir by the late king, and his right was preferred by many of the people; but John professed to be in possession of a will, by which, in his last moments, Richard, revoking former wills, appointed him his successor. This testament, whether true or false, did not carry any weight with it, as the crown was not considered hereditary. The crown was given to John; but it was by the consent of the prelates and barons present assembled at Westminster, and not from his right by birth or by will. After he had taken the usual oaths to protect the church and govern justly, all present hailed him with "Long live the king!"

Having secured the crown of England, John lost no time

in seconding his interest on the Continent. For two years he carried on a desultory warfare with Philip, who fought on the behalf of young Arthur; but in the spring of 1200 a treaty was concluded between the two kings, by which John was to remain in possession of all the states his brother had occupied. For a short time all seemed happily arranged; but John soon created other enemies, and again arrayed Philip against him. He had been married ten years to Avis, a daughter of the earl of Gloucester; but while on the Continent he conceived a lawless passion for Isabella, daughter of the count of Angoulême, and wife of the count of La Marche. Avis was divorced, and John married Isabella at Angoulême, the archbishop of Bourdeaux performing the ceremony. In the autumn he brought his wife to England, and caused her to be crowned at Westminster, he being re-crowned at the same time. This lawless act excited the vengeance of the count of La Marche, and that nobleman, with other barons, took up arms in Poitou and Aquitaine. At this time, also, John's insolence, rapacity, and lawless conduct had provoked both lay and clergy, and a regular and an extensive opposition was in due process of formation. John summoned his English vassals to attend him to the Continent; but many of them declared that the war was too dishonourable for them to embark in. John, accompanied by Isabella, sailed to Normandy, but it was not to fight; he resorted to the court of Philip, where he was courteously entertained, and where he spent his time in pleasures, while the insurgents obtained greater power than ever.

At length, in the year 1202, the time arrived when the question at issue was to be decided: whether the Plantagenets or the Capetians should be lords of France. While feasting John at his table, Philip was in league with the count of La Marche, and preparing a fresh insurrection against him in Brittany. Philip now broke the peace by openly succouring the insurgents in Aquitaine, and again espousing the claims of Arthur. War commenced, and at the outset Arthur was captured in the town of Mirebeau by John. The count of La Marche, with two hundred noble knights, were captured; and the captors revelled in base vengeance. The captives were loaded with irons, tied in open carts drawn by bullocks, and afterwards thrown into dungeons in Normandy and England. Young Arthur was conveyed to the castle of Rouen, where all traces of him are lost; but it was the general belief that he was murdered, and probably by the hands of his own uncle John.

The rumour of this murder excited a universal cry of horror and indignation. In the year 1203, encouraged by the universal detestation in which John was held on the Continent, Philip again invaded Normandy. All the fortresses submitted to him, almost without resistance, and John was compelled to return to England. Normandy, after a separation of ninety-two years, was re-united to the French kingdom. All that was left to John was Aquitaine and a few isolated castles in Brittany, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poitou; but the possession of these was uncertain. In the year 1206, John endeavoured to recover his lost territories; but, after a brief struggle, he again fled to England, loaded with new infamy.

In the mean time John had commenced a fatal quarrel with the pope. In 1205, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, died, and the monks of that monastery secretly elected their sub-prior, Reginald, to the vacant see, and sent him to Rome for the pope's confirmation of his election. On further consultation, they applied to the king for possession in the usual form, and with him they now selected Gray, bishop of Norwich, the king's favourite minister, for primate. Both the elected primates repaired to Rome; but the pope annulled the elections, and directed the monks of Canterbury to choose Stephen Langton, an Englishman, but then chancellor of Paris. John now expelled the monks of Canterbury, and refused to admit Langton, maintaining that he, as king of England, had alone the prerogative to nominate the primate. For his contumacy the pope laid his kingdom under an interdict.

"The church, by mandate shadowing forth the power  
 She arrogates o'er heaven's eternal door,  
 Closes the gate of every sacred place  
 Straight from the sun, and tainted airs embrace.  
 All things are covered : cheerful morn  
 Grows sad as night ; no seemly garb is worn  
 Nor is a face allowed to meet a face  
 With natural smile of greeting. Bells are dumb ;  
 Ditches are graves ; funereal rites denied ;  
 And in the churchyard he must take his bride  
 Who dares be wedded."

WORDSWORTH.

The effect of this interdict seems to have been weaker than was anticipated; for John's strength was so little lessened that he was enabled to make two successful expeditions—the one against Ireland, and the other against Wales—while he



lay under the proscription. It was probably rendered weaker by his measures against the clergy, for he resented the conduct of the pope by inflicting punishments upon the clergy who obeyed the mandate, and by encouraging his subjects to plunder them. But John was not a match for the pope; and he weakened his cause by alienating the affections of his subjects. At this period his conduct was arbitrary and cruel. Fines were imposed, upon the most trivial pretences, on all classes; and Jews were seized, imprisoned, and tortured all over the kingdom. Crowds of exiles resorted to Rome, and incessantly urged the pope to take vengeance on their king.

Encouraged by the disaffection of John's subjects, in the year 1213, Innocent hurled his deadliest thunderbolt at the head of the hated monarch. A sentence of deposition was pronounced against him; all his vassals were absolved from their oaths of allegiance; and all Christian princes and barons were called upon to dethrone him. Stephen Langton, with other English and some Italian prelates, were sent to the French court to declare to the king and the whole nation that the pope authorized an immediate invasion of England. Philip was promised the remission of his sins if he executed this pious deed, and drove John from his throne. Philip, in obedience to this call, collected a great army in Normandy, and prepared a large fleet at Boulogne, and other ports on the Channel. For once John took a bold step: he summoned every man capable of bearing arms to march to the coasts of Kent and Essex, and collected every vessel in his dominions, in order to anticipate Philip's attack. The English mariners crossed the Channel; took a French squadron at the mouth of the Seine; burned Dieppe to the ground; and swept the whole coast of Normandy. They returned in triumph; but, notwithstanding this success, and that he had sixty thousand men around his standard on Barham Downs, John was irresolute. He feared his own subjects; and it was well known that he would do anything rather than fight. The pope's legate, Pandulph, knew well his cowardly character, and he now skilfully took advantage of it. All Europe was expecting the blow by which the church was to triumph or be overthrown; and this blow was struck in its favour by Pandulph. In a conference with John he drew such a formidable picture of the French army of invasion, and represented the discontent of the English barons in such forcible colours, that the monarch's heart died within him. As he

trembled, Pandulph bade him repent, and remember that the pontiff was a merciful master, who would require nothing which was not necessary either to the honour of the church, or to the security of the king himself. Pandulph triumphed: after a little wavering, John took an oath to perform whatever stipulation the pope should impose. Having thus sworn to the performance of an unknown command, the artful Pandulph persuaded him to take the most extraordinary oath in all the records of history. His oath ran thus:—"I, John, by the grace of God, king of England, and lord of Ireland, in order to expiate my sins, from my own free will and the advice of my barons, give to the church of Rome, to pope Innocent and his successors, the kingdom of England, and all other prerogatives of my crown. I will hereafter hold them as the pope's vassal. I will be faithful to God, to the church of Rome, to the pope my master, and his successors legitimately elected. I promise to pay him a tribute of a thousand marks yearly; to wit, seven hundred for the kingdom of England, and three hundred for the kingdom of Ireland." John further agreed to reinstate Langton in the primacy; on which he received the crown which he had been supposed to have forfeited. On his part, Pandulph promised that the sentences of interdict should be recalled, and that the bishops and other proscribed churchmen, on their return, should swear to be true and faithful to the king. As an earnest of his subjection, John offered some money, but Pandulph trampled it under his feet, signifying that the church of Rome scorned worldly riches; but it is said that he afterwards stooped down to gather up the gold!

In a few days Pandulph resorted to France, to forbid Philip to invade a kingdom which was now the patrimony of St. Peter. Enraged at being thus duped, Philip invaded Flanders; but he was defeated in his design by an English fleet, which obtained a great victory over the French, and captured a large number of their vessels. This great naval victory transported the people with joy; but John resolved to take advantage of it, by breaking the best part of his recent oaths. This conduct involved him in disputes with his nobles, and after a series of altercations, the barons assembled in great power, declaring themselves to be "the army of God and the holy church." They determined to enforce their demand for the grant of a charter of privileges, grounded on those charters which had been assented to by Henry the First and

Edward the Confessor. At first John endeavoured to brow-beat, and then to cajole his nobles; but the spirit of freedom was awakened not to sleep again. The heart of John, on seeing their determination, again sunk within him, and he agreed to meet his barons, on the fifteenth of June, 1215, at a spot called Runnymede, between Windsor and Staines.

On the appointed day the king and the barons met on a green meadow, close by the Thames. With John came eight bishops, Pandulph, and several gentlemen; and on the other side came Fitzwalter, and the whole nobility of England. A scroll was presented to the king, and with scarcely an attempt to modify any of its clauses, and with a facility that might justly have created a suspicion of his sincerity, John signed it. This was *MAGNA CHARTA*, or *THE GREAT CHARTER*, which was a noble commencement of and foundation for the future liberties of England. By it freedom was granted to the clergy, the barons, and the gentlemen; but the greater part of the people were as yet held as slaves, and it was long before they could participate in legal protection.

No sooner had the great assembly dispersed, and John found himself safe in Windsor Castle, than he resolved to undo all that he had done. One of his creatures was sent to Flanders, Poictou, Aquitaine, and Gascony, to hire adventurers to come to England, to fight against the barons; and another was sent to Rome, to implore the aid of pope Innocent. John also sent messengers to such governors of his castles as were foreigners, or men devoted to him, commanding them to lay in provisions, and put themselves in a state of defence. All this was done secretly; but John caused an alarm himself, by evading some of the clauses of the Charter. In their joy the barons appointed a tournament to be held at Stamford; and during their absence he formed a plot to surprise London, where the main strength of the barons lay. This produced a war, in which the barons were compelled to have recourse to the king of France for assistance. The state of England at this period was very critical. If John succeeded it would be governed by a monarch more tyrannical than ever; and if the French king prevailed, it would become a province of France. Louis, son of Philip, landed at Sandwich on the 30th of May, 1216; and after committing great ravages in various parts of the country, he marched to the capital, where he was joyfully received by the barons and citizens. Soon after Louis marched to Dover, and laid siege to the Castle,

while some of the barons attacked Windsor Castle. Both these places were ably defended, and the barons were compelled to raise the siege of Windsor Castle, and join Louis at Dover. In the mean time, John, after running from place to place, assembled his forces at Stamford. Soon after he made himself master of Lincoln, from whence he made predatory incursions on the surrounding districts. Encouraged by partial successes, he proceeded to the town of Lynn, and at length resolved to penetrate into the heart of the kingdom. He directed his route towards Lincolnshire; but his career was cut short by death. His road lay along the shore, which was overflowed at high water; and being ignorant of the tide of the place, he lost all his carriages, treasures, and baggage by its influx. In mournful silence, broken only by curses and useless complaints, John travelled to the Cisterian abbey of Swineshead. Here he ate gluttonously of some peaches or pears, and drank immoderately of cider; and this excess, acting upon an irritated mind, induced fever. He passed the night sleepless, restless, and in horror; and on the next day he was carried in a litter to the castle of Sleaford, and from thence removed to Newark, where he sent for a confessor, and laid himself down to die. While on his death-bed messengers arrived from some of the barons, who were disgusted with the arrogant conduct of Louis, with a proposal to return to their allegiance. But this gleam of hope came too late: fever proved a greater tyrant than himself. He died, committing his soul to God, and his body to St. Wulstan, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his wretched reign. His body was carried to Worcester, and there interred in the cathedral church of which St. Wulstan was the patron saint.

The throne of England has never been disgraced by a monarch so depraved as John. His soul was stained with crimes of the most awful character: he was a rebel against a fond father, the persecutor of his generous brother, and it is believed the murderer of his nephew. He was also an unfaithful husband; and he showed his contempt for religion by a profane habit of swearing, and wantonly violating the most solemn oaths. His character as a king is seen in his life: he subjected himself to the yoke of Rome, and suffered France to take possession of Normandy, almost without a struggle, while at home he acted the part of a tyrant. Yet by the wise ordering of Providence good arose out of evil. His

tyranny drove the oppressed barons into rebellion, and procured for them the Great Charter, which laid the foundation of British freedom. In reviewing the events of the reign of John, the reader should be led to admire the way in which God overrules the folly and wickedness of man to produce ultimate good, and to exclaim, "This also cometh from the Lord of hosts, which is wonderful in counsel, and excellent in working." Isa. xxviii. 29.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE RELIGION, LAWS, LITERATURE, ARTS, COMMERCE, MANNERS, INDUSTRY, ETC. OF THIS PERIOD.

*Religion.*—Little change was made in the English church by the invasion of the Normans. Blind obedience to the pope was as much a tenet of the Norman kings and monks as it had been of their predecessors, the Anglo-Saxons. The celibacy of the clergy, however, met with great opposition. Though canon after canon was promulgated enjoining and commanding unmarried priests not to marry, and married priests to put away their wives; yet the laws of nature proved stronger than the councils of the church. Many refused to obey; and this party was so strong that, by one of the canons of an English council held at Winchester in 1706, those of the secular clergy who had wives were allowed to keep them. At a later date a council was held at London, to enforce the obligation of clerical celibacy, and ten canons were passed on this head more rigid than any that had hitherto been promulgated; but they were alike powerless to restrain the laws of nature.

During this period the crusaders were the plague of Europe, and the scourge of Asia and Egypt: they ruined millions of families, and involved even the opulent in misery and want. To defray the expense of them, the rich oppressed their vassals, and compelled them, amidst poverty and despair, to enlist in the crusade. Those who joined in them were invested by the pope with privileges derogatory to the honours of the Deity, and detrimental to the common rights of their neighbours. During the time of their service they were exempted from all prosecution for debt; paid no taxes

to their sovereign, nor any interest for borrowed money; had power to alienate their lands without the consent of their superiors; had full pardon of all their sins, past, present, or future, confirmed to them by papal bulls; and were assured that if they met their death in the holy warfare angels would carry their souls into Abraham's bosom. This gave a licence for crimes of great enormity: murders, robberies, and uncleanness were everywhere committed by these pretended armies of Christ: and Asia, and a part of Europe exhibited a scene of blood and horrid devastation. Previous to their march the crusaders disposed of their possessions; and, to secure the protection of Heaven, bequeathed large donations to the monks and priests. Many abbots and bishops accompanied the troops as commanders, volunteers, or chaplains; and being left without control, the monks and priests abandoned themselves to luxury and all kinds of wickedness.

The crusades grew out of the practice of pilgrimage. After the martyrdom and canonization of Becket, his shrine at Canterbury became the favourite resort of the pious; but during the eleventh and twelfth centuries the tomb of the Redeemer became the principal point of attraction. Crowds of palmers resorted thither; and this led to the idea of wresting Jerusalem out of the hands of the infidel Saracen. Four of these extraordinary expeditions belong to the present period; the first in 1097, the second in 1147, the third, in 1189, and the fourth in 1203. But the crusades, though professedly religious enterprises, produced less effect upon the religion of the age in which they were undertaken than upon the social condition of the people. Among the phenomena that sprung out of them none presented a more expressive type of their character than the religious orders of knighthood. The two earliest and most distinguished of these were the Knights Hospitallers of St. John, and the Knights Templars; both of which acquired establishments and extensive possessions in this country soon after their institution.

*Laws.*—The chief foundation both of the government and jurisprudence established by the Normans in England was the feudal law. According to the principles of this law the king was the supreme lord of landed property; the term "feudal" implying, that any possession so called is held from another. The land was considered to be a species of benefice, for which the vassal owed state services to his baron, as the baron himself did to the crown. The vassal was obliged to

defend his baron in war; and the baron, at the head of his vassals, was bound to fight in defence of the crown. This feudal monarchy, in which a regular chain of subordination and service was established, was attended with a grievous depression of the body of the people. They were daily exposed to the insults and exactions of the nobles whose vassals they were, and from whose oppressing jurisdiction it was dangerous for them to appeal. The state of England at the death of William the Conqueror, who established the feudal law, is thus described by an historian of this period:—"The Normans had now fully executed the wrath of Heaven upon the English. There was hardly any one of that nation who possessed any power; they were all involved in servitude and sorrow; insomuch, that to be called an Englishman was considered as a reproach. In those miserable times many oppressive taxes and tyrannical customs were introduced. The king himself, when he had let his lands at their full value, if another tenant came and offered more, gave them to him who offered most. The great men were inflamed with such a rage for money, that they did not care by what means it was acquired. The more they talked of justice the more unjustly they acted. Those who were called justiciaries were the fountains of all iniquity. Sheriffs and judges, whose duty it was to pronounce righteous judgments, were the most cruel of all tyrants, and greater plunderers than thieves and robbers." The prerogative of buying, in preference to others, all things necessary for their courts and castles, commonly called purveyance, which belonged to the kings of England at this period, was a source of great injury to the people: the purveyors who attended the court plundered and destroyed the whole country through which the king passed, without control: some of them, when they could not consume all the provisions in the houses which they invaded, either sold or burnt them; and they let their horses loose in the fields to destroy the corn.

During this period the Saxon courts of justice were suffered to decline: even the county court, which survived the Norman invasion for several years, fell by a stroke of despotism equally unjust and impolitic. About the year 1085 bishops and abbots were prohibited from sitting there, on which the lay noblemen thought it beneath their dignity to attend, and that hall of justice was gradually deserted. Courts were held in the monarch's palace for the trial of great offences and

causes; and by the barons at the halls of their castles, where causes of a trivial nature were decided. All these courts were corrupted; justice itself was bought and sold; and the supreme court of judicature was open to none who did not bring presents. Money was demanded by the very barons of the exchequer, that those whose causes were tried might be fairly dealt with: all the proceedings at these courts were ruled by gold. Large sums were paid by ladies for leave to marry, or more commonly that they might not marry against their will. Those who had not money to compound for murders, and other capital offences, had no chance of escape: they were put to death, the common place of execution being Smithfield.

The rigour of the Anglo-Norman government, however, and the licentious spirit of the barons, proved in the end favourable to general liberty. The oppressed people looked up to the king for protection; and circumstances enabled them to obtain it. The defect of the title of William II. and Henry I. induced them to listen to the complaints of their English subjects, and to redress many of their grievances. This had the effect of rendering the barons more indulgent to their vassals: they saw the necessity of this relaxation of rigour, in order to obtain sufficient force to enable them to retrench the prerogatives of the sovereign, and of connecting their cause with that of the people. Thus restored to a share in the legislature, the English commonalty felt more fully their own importance; and, by a long and vigorous struggle, they wrested from both the king and the nobles all the rights of which their Anglo-Saxon ancestors had been deprived. Finally, the barons and the people joined and obtained the great charter of liberty known in the pages of history as *Magna Charta*.

*Literature.*—The conquest of England by the Normans greatly contributed to the revival of learning in England: that event made England, as it were, a part of the Continent, where, not long before, a remarkable revival of letters had taken place. Most of the persons who attempted to revive literature in this period derived their principles of science from the Greeks in the Eastern Empire, or the Arabs in Spain and Africa. What learning existed, however, was still for the most part confined to the clergy; for even the nobility appear to have been rarely initiated in any of those branches which were considered as properly constituting the



scholarship of the times. It was, indeed, the common belief of the age, that learning properly belonged to the clergy, and that it was a possession in which the laity were unworthy of participating. At the same time schools and other seminaries of learning were greatly multiplied, and also elevated in their character. The twelfth century, indeed, may be considered as the age of the institution of what are now called universities in Europe; though many of the establishments that then assumed the regular form of universities had long existed as schools or studia. The literary and scientific knowledge studied at this period was divided into two classes: the first, or more elementary of which comprehended grammar, rhetoric, and logic, which was called the *Trivium*; and the second, comprehending music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, which was called the *Quadrivium*. Theology at this time came to be ranked as a science: it was the age of St. Bernard, the last of the fathers, and of Peter Lombard, the first of the schoolmen. The classical knowledge of this period was almost confined to the Roman authors; and some of the most eminent of these were as yet unstudied and unknown. Greek and Hebrew were almost unknown, though the latter, as well as Arabic, was taught in the schools of the Jews, which were established in many of the principal towns in England. Mathematical sciences appear to have been very little studied; but in the thirteenth century the study of medicine and law was much cultivated. The chief study of this period, however, was the false science of astrology: none but astrologers were honoured with the name of mathematicians. These pretended prognosticators were so much admired, that most princes and noblemen in Europe kept one or more of them in his family, to cast the horoscopes of his children, and to discover the success of his designs, and the events which were to happen. The most famous of these astrologers published a kind of almanac every year, with a variety of predictions concerning the weather, and other events, which predictions, like those in More's almanac, and others of the same character, published at the present day, were couched in very general and artful terms. By departing from this prudent conduct, and becoming a little too plain and positive, the astrologers eventually incurred a temporary disgrace, and brought their art into contempt. In the beginning of the year 1185, all agreed in declaring that, from an extraordinary conjunction of the planets in the sign *Libra*, which had never

happened before, and would never occur again, there would arise, on the 16th of September, at three o'clock in the morning, a storm which would sweep away great towns and cities; and that this storm would be followed by pestilence, wars, and all the plagues that had ever afflicted man. This prediction spread terror and consternation throughout Europe, though it was contradicted by the Mohammedan astrologers of Spain, who said there would only be a few shipwrecks, and a little failure in the vintage and harvest. As the harvest drew near, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, commanded a solemn fast of three days to be observed over all his province. To the utter confusion of the astrologers, the 16th of September was serene and calm; and an old writer says there was no storm that year but what the archbishop raised in the church by his own turbulence.

*Arts.*—Agriculture was greatly improved in England by the Norman conquest. By that event many thousands of husbandmen from the fertile plains of Flanders, Normandy, and France settled in this island, obtained estates or farms, and employed the same methods in the cultivation of them which they had used in their native countries. Architecture also received as great improvements as agriculture. Few nations, indeed, in any period of history, have been more distinguished than the Normans by a taste for magnificent buildings. Their success in England was immediately followed by the erection of monasteries, ecclesiastical buildings, and fortresses. Churches rose in every village, and monasteries in towns and cities, built in a style unknown before. The twelfth century was still more productive in works of architecture, especially of the military class. Henry I. was a great builder of monasteries and castles; but in the following turbulent reign the country became covered with castles, every man building one who was able. Church architecture flourished in nearly an equal degree in the more tranquil part of this century; and it is to this period we are indebted for a large proportion of our ecclesiastical edifices. In an age when all arts, sciences, and learning were confined to the clerical order, there is reason to believe that it was their architectural skill which produced the designs which wealth enabled them to carry into execution. Gundulph, bishop of Rochester, is said to have been the most noble architect of his day, not only in the ecclesiastical but in the military style; and Peter of Colechurch, architect of the first stone

bridge across the Thames at London, A.D. 1176, was also an ecclesiastic. Sculpture did not flourish during the Norman period, though there are a few examples of an imperfect approach to figures. The feeble artists of the age seldom ventured upon the human figure otherwise than in relief; and even in monumental sculpture the effigy was rarely introduced before the twelfth century, and then in a very imperfect manner. This period is also destitute of monuments, and scanty in records of the higher departments of the art of painting: it is certain, however, that painting and gilding were used in the decoration of ceilings; but it is only in illuminated manuscripts that the state of the art, as regards the composition and drawing of this period can be seen. The manuscripts of this period are, indeed, remarkable for a profusion of ornament, and a graceful but intricate mode of illuminating capital letters. The materials which were employed in this branch of painting were so durable, that the missals of that age still dazzle the eye with the brightness of their colour, and the splendour of their gilding. Poetry, though cultivated to some extent, did not flourish during this period; but great attention was paid to church music by the clergy, some of whom composed pieces for the use of the choirs. The troubadours and minstrels also contributed to the improvement of secular music; and it is probable that, during the thirteenth century, from their increasing popularity, it underwent greater improvement than church music. The music of the English was grave, and measured; and their instruments of various kinds: the organ was used in sacred music, and the harp was the usual accompaniment to the popular minstrels.

*Commerce.*—Commerce during this period increased with considerable rapidity. London, York, Bristol, Canterbury, Exeter, and many other towns grew rich by their attention to trade and navigation. The exports were chiefly slaves, horses, wool, leather, cloth, corn, lead, and tin; and the imports gold, precious stones, silk, tapestry, furs, wine, and spices. The freedom of commerce was sought to be secured by one of the clauses of the Great Charter, which declared that all merchants should have safety and security in going out and coming into England, and also in staying and travelling in the kingdom, without any grievous impositions, except in time of war, when, if any merchants belonging to the hostile country should be found they should be attached, though

without injury to their property or persons, until it should be known how English merchants, who happened to be in the hostile country, were treated. By other clauses it was declared, that London and other cities and towns should enjoy their ancient privileges; that no fine should be imposed upon a merchant to the destruction of his merchandise; and that there should be a uniformity of weights and measures throughout the kingdom.

Little alteration was made by the Norman invaders in the coins used by the Anglo-Saxons. The only coined money of this period known was the silver penny, which was the twelfth part of a shilling. The silver penny was sometimes called an esterling, or sterling; and good money in general was frequently denominated esterling, or sterling money. The name seems to have been derived from some artists of Germany, who were called Esterlings, from the situation of their country, and who were employed in the coinage of the silver penny.

*Manners and Customs, &c.*—The spirit of chivalry which was introduced into England by the Normans, gave a new turn to the education of the young nobility and gentry, in order to fit them for obtaining the honour of knighthood. Those youths who were designed for the profession of arms, were, while yet in their boyhood, placed under the care of some distinguished knight, in the quality of a page. In this capacity they waited upon their preceptors, by whom they were treated as sons, and instructed in the laws of courtesy and politeness, and in martial exercises. In this manner even the sons of princes attended upon knights of inferior rank, but who were renowned for their military accomplishments. After they had spent a competent time in the station of pages, they were advanced to the rank of esquires, and were admitted into more familiar intercourse with the knights and ladies of the court, and perfected in dancing, riding, hawking, hunting, tilting, and other accomplishments deemed requisite to fit them for performing the offices of knighthood. The courts of kings, princes, and great barons were, in fact, colleges of chivalry, as the universities were of the arts and sciences; and the youth in both advanced through several degrees to the highest honours.

On receiving the distinction of knighthood a solemn and imposing ceremony took place. The candidate passed several nights in prayer and watching in a church, and dur-

ing this period of probation the sacraments of religion were administered. When the day arrived for his receiving the honour, the church was gorgeously decorated, and the youth, accompanied by his patron, kindred, and friends, repaired thither in procession. The youth had his sword of knighthood suspended from his neck in a scarf, and the weapon was blessed by the priest at the altar, and the oaths of chivalry were administered. He swore that he would be loyal to his prince; that he would defend the church; and that he would be the champion of virtuous ladies. When the oaths were taken, warriors of noble rank, or high-born ladies buckled on his spurs, clothed him in armour, and girded his sword to his side. The patron from whom he was to receive the honour of knighthood then advanced, and giving him the accolade, which consisted of three strokes with the flat of the sword upon his shoulder, exclaimed, "In the name of God, St. Michael, and St. George, I make thee a knight: be brave, hardy, and loyal." The youth then leaped into the saddle of his war-steed, pranced up and down the church, and then issuing forth, galloped to and fro, brandishing his weapons to display his strength, gracefulness, and skill. He was then considered a knight, and he might from that time aspire to the highest offices and distinctions in the state.

Martial sports, called tournaments, were favourite diversions in this period. When a prince had resolved to hold a tournament, he sent heralds to the neighbouring courts and countries to publish his design, and to invite all brave and loyal knights to honour the intended solemnity with their presence. All knights who proposed to enter the lists, hung up their shields in the cloister of a neighbouring monastery, where they were inspected by ladies and knights. If a lady touched one of these shields, it was considered as an accusation of its owner, and he was brought before the judges of the tournament, tried with great solemnity, and if found guilty of defaming a lady, or of doing anything unbecoming the character of a true and courteous knight, he was expelled the assembly. The lists were surrounded with lofty towers and scaffolds of wood, in which the prince and princesses, lords, ladies, and knights, with the judges, marshals, heralds, and minstrels took their seats. The combatants were conducted into the lists by their respective mistresses in whose honour they were to fight, with bands of martial music. In these exhibitions, representations were exhibited of all the different

feats of war from a single combat to a general action. At the conclusion of every day's tournament the judges declared the victors, and distributed the prizes, which were presented to the knights by the noblest and most beautiful ladies present. The victors were then conducted in triumph to the palace; their armour was taken off by the ladies of the court; they were dressed in the richest robes; and seated at the table of the sovereign, where they received every possible mark of distinction.

The Anglo-Normans had only two stated meals in the day: dinner and supper. The time of dinner was nine in the morning, and the time of supper five in the afternoon. These hours were thought to be conducive to health and longevity. They often repeated the following lines:—

“ To rise at five, to dine at nine,  
To sup at five, to bed at nine,  
Makes a man live to ninety-nine.”

The entertainments of kings and nobles were often very sumptuous. John of Salisbury says, that he was present at an entertainment which lasted from three o'clock in the afternoon to midnight, and at which, delicacies were served up which had been brought from Constantinople, Babylon, Alexandria, Palestine, Syria, and Phœnicia. These delicacies were often very expensive: Thomas à Becket gave five pounds, equivalent to seventy-five pounds at present, for one dish of eels.

Very few additions or improvements were made by the Normans to the stock of English household furniture. Saltcellars are first mentioned in the reign of king John: a mark of gold is ordered, in the Close Rolls, to be furnished to make one for the king's use, and twenty-nine shillings and sixpence to be paid for a silver saltcellar, gilt within and without. Fine cotton for three couches or beds for the king, is also mentioned in these Rolls, and linen sheets were used at the same period. This indicates an advance of refinement; but the progress of comfort and elegance, in either the useful or decorative furniture of the houses of this period was not great. In dress there was a greater improvement; and in the reign of Henry I. it became a practice to cut the hair, and to shave the beard. This change in the manners of the people was effected by the church. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, refused his benediction to those who would not

cut their hair; and razors and scissors were not only recommended, but sometimes produced at the end of a sermon against the sinfulness of long locks and curling moustaches. The dress of the Anglo-Normans was often costly in material, and extravagant in shape. In the illuminations of this period the sleeves of the ladies' robes, and their veils or kerchiefs, appear knotted up, to prevent their trailing on the ground. In the reign of Henry II., however, a more becoming and graceful style of attire made its appearance. The nobles of this period are represented in full and flowing robes of a moderate length, girded with a richly ornamented waistbelt, mantles, fastened by fibulæ on the breast or on the shoulders, chausses or long hose, shoes or boots, caps of various forms, and jewelled gloves. The ladies, also, appear, in the reign of Henry II., to have discarded their long cuffs and trailing skirts, and to have adopted a more rational appearance altogether.

Both the Normans and Saxons were very superstitious. From their northern descent, their ancient traditions, their imperfect Christianity, the habits of a chivalrous life among the great, and the ignorance of the common people, the path of their existence was bestrewn with omens, prodigies, and superstitious observances. The meeting of a hare in their path, or a woman with dishevelled hair, a blind man, a lame man, or a monk, was regarded as the omen of some calamity; but if a wolf happened to cross them, if St. Martin's bird flew from left to right, if they heard distant thunder, or met a deformed or leprous man, it was regarded by them as an omen of good fortune.

It is chiefly, however, in the sports and pastimes of the Anglo-Normans that the spirit of the national character and of that of the times is discerned. Hunting was their favourite pastime, and both ladies and gentlemen joined in it. Hawking, also, was another favourite sport of this period: by the Great Charter every freeman had liberty given him to have in his woods eyries of hawks, spar-hawks, fallows, eagles, and herons. Another of the sports of the time was that of horse-racing, though this was practised only on a small scale. But the chief of all the amusements of those ages, and that which was the most characteristic of the chivalric period, was the tournament. This, however, was confined to the nobility and gentry. The peasantry amused themselves with archery, throwing large stones, darting spears, wrestling, running,

leaping, and sword and buckler playing. In large towns, the citizens frequently diverted themselves with boar and bull-baiting; and the game of football, in the reign of Henry II., was very general. The in-door amusements of the period were chiefly contributed by jugglers and buffoons. The Anglo-Normans were, also, great gamblers: large sums were lost in dice playing, and quarrels frequently followed. Other amusements of this period were bowling, shooting, fowling; and wrestling, and most of the amusements still practised by the peasantry in some parts of the country on the eve of All-Hallows are derived from this period.

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## CHAPTER IX.

THE PERIOD FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY III TO  
THE END OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD II.

### HENRY III., SURNAMED WINCHESTER.

A.D. 1216. As soon as John was buried, the earl of Pembroke, the marshal of England, marched with the royal army and prince Henry, the deceased king's eldest son, to the city of Gloucester. Henry was only ten years old; but, on the day after their arrival, being the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, October 28th, he was crowned in the church of St. Peter, by Gualo, the pope's legate. No English bishops were present except those of Winchester, Bath, and Worcester; and no lay nobles save the earls of Chester, Pembroke, and Ferrers, and four barons. Henry, on the day of his coronation, paid homage to the pope for England and Ireland, and engaged to pay the thousand marks a year which his father had promised.

In the following month a great council was held at Bristol, in which the earl of Pembroke was chosen protector, with the title of Rector Regis et Regina. At this council Magna Charta was carefully revised, with the view of satisfying the demands of those barons who adhered to Louis without sacrificing the royal prerogative. The greater number of the barons were on the side of Louis, who not only held London,



and the rich provinces of the south, but was powerful both in the north and the west. Louis, on hearing of the death of John, fancied all opposition would cease. He again pressed the siege of Dover Castle; but he was compelled to raise the siege, and returned to London. Louis, however, found a powerful opponent in the earl of Pembroke. After some partial successes, the French were attacked by him at Lincoln, and were completely defeated. Louis hoped to renew the war with fresh troops; but his fleet was destroyed by a smaller squadron, under the command of Hubert de Burgh, and in September, 1217, he was compelled to leave England; previously stipulating that the English nobles who had joined him should not suffer for their conduct. The regent faithfully observed this agreement; but the pope's legate dispossessed the clergy who had favoured the invaders, and bestowed their benefices upon his own adherents.

Under the wise government of the earl of Pembroke the peace of the country was every day made more secure. A second confirmation of Magna Charta was granted by the young king, and its benefits were extended to Ireland. Several alterations were made in the deed, and a clause was added ordering the demolition of every castle built or rebuilt since the beginning of the war between John and the barons. Other clauses were withdrawn, to form a separate charter, which was called "The Charter of Forests." By this instrument all the forests which had been inclosed since the reign of Henry II. were thrown open; offences in forests were declared to be no longer capital; and men convicted of killing the king's deer were made punishable only by fine or imprisonment. These charters were now brought nearly to the shape in which they have ever since stood.

During his regency, the earl of Pembroke was not only protector to the kingdom, but more than a father to the boy-king. He did not, however, long enjoy his dignity: he died in the year 1219, and was succeeded in his office by Hubert de Burgh. The king's person was committed to the care of Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester. In the next year Henry was again crowned by Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, whom the pope had permitted to return to the kingdom.

Between Hubert de Burgh and Peter des Roches there was a constant rivalry, and plots and conspiracies became frequent; the people, therefore, were not sorry when, in 1223,

the pope sent a mandate, directing that Henry should be permitted to assume the government. Hitherto the barons had refused to deliver up the royal castles, which they pretended to hold in trust till the young king should be of age. In the course of the year 1224, however, he succeeded in getting possession of most of these disputed castles, some of which were taken by siege and assault. Some of those castles were held by foreigners, who committed frightful excesses in the country; and when they were captured, many of the garrison, knights, and others were hanged. About this time Peter de Roches, who was a Poictevin by birth, gave up the struggle with Hubert de Burgh, under pretence of making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and many of the foreign adventurers followed him out of England.

In the year 1225, the king's revenue having been greatly diminished by the grants of preceding monarchs, it was found necessary to raise money by direct taxation. A parliament met at Westminster, and granted a fifteenth of all moveable property for this purpose, though on the express condition that the king should ratify the two charters. Henry accordingly gave a third ratification to Magna Charta, together with a ratification of the Charter of Forests, and sent orders to some of his officers, who had hitherto treated them with little respect, to enforce all their provisions. In the grant made to the king there were many exceptions favourable to the nobility, clergy, and gentry. In the following year, however, the clergy were called upon for money by the pope, who demanded and exacted, under threats of excommunication, a tenth part of their possessions, alleging that he was at war with the emperor of Germany.

In the year 1224, Philip, king of France, died, and his death was shortly afterwards followed by that of his son Louis, who had succeeded him in his kingdom. It was said that when Louis was compelled to treat with Pembroke, he promised that nobleman that whenever he should succeed to the French crown he would restore Normandy, Maine, and Anjou. On the death of his father he was called upon to fulfil his engagement; but he not only refused, but marched a powerful army into Poictou, and, partly by force and partly by bribery, obtained possession of Rochelle and other towns, and extended his conquest to the right bank of the Garonne. Henry sent an army under the nominal command of his brother Richard, in the year 1228, to defend the province of

Gascony; and the papal see deemed it expedient to interfere, in order to prevent Louis from obtaining too much advantage over his opponent. By the pope's influence a truce was agreed to for one year; but before this year had expired Louis died, leaving his son, Louis IX., under the guardianship of his mother, Blanche of Castile. Blanche was obnoxious to the French nobility, and a stormy period ensued, which promised no small advantage to any hostile invaders. Encouraged by this aspect of affairs, in 1229, Henry resolved to carry the war into France. Elated by the promises and invitations of the barons of Guienne, Poitou, and Normandy, he set sail for the Continent; and on landing at St. Malo, in Brittany, he was joined by a host of Bretons. Henry advanced to Nantes; but he wasted his time and means in feasts and pageantries, while Louis, accompanied by his mother, took several of his towns. In October Henry returned home, covered with disgrace; and his ally, the duke of Brittany, was compelled to appear at the foot of the throne of Louis with a rope round his neck. The king and some of his favourites endeavoured to throw all the blame of this failure upon the brave Hubert de Burgh; but the people set Henry down as a trifler and a coward. When he applied for money, parliament refused it, and told him that his barons through his extravagance were as poor as himself.

De Burgh enjoyed his power till the year 1232, when envy prevailed against him, and he was doomed to experience the proverbial ingratitude of princes. He had been eight years at the head of affairs; and but for his fidelity and courage, it is probable that Henry would never have worn his crown: many circumstances, however, combined to effect his downfall; the most cogent being that of the envy of the nobles. In the midst of their plots against him, Peter des Roches again reappeared at court; and soon after Henry withdrew his favour and protection from his long-tried friend. De Burgh took refuge in a parish church in Essex, where, with a crucifix in one hand and a host in the other, he stood firmly near the altar, hoping that the sanctity of the place would procure him respect. The king had sent an armed band in pursuit of him, and this band was not deterred by any considerations: they dragged him forth, and sent for a smith to make shackles for him. The poor artisan had more humanity than sir Godfrey de Crancumb, who headed this band: he declared he would rather die the worst of deaths than forge fetters for the brave

*defender of Dover Castle, and the conqueror of the French at sea. Hubert was conveyed to the Tower of London; but the bishops raised such an outcry against this violation of sanctuary that the king was obliged to order those who had seized him to carry back the prisoner to the parish church. The church, however, was surrounded by an armed force; no provisions were allowed to be carried into it, and Hubert was soon compelled to surrender. Henry was advised to put him to death; but, though he seized all his estates, he would not listen to such advice. Hubert was imprisoned in the castle of Devizes, from which he subsequently escaped, and went into Wales. He was afterwards reconciled to the king, and received back his estates and honours; but he never again aspired to the dangerous post of chief minister or favourite.*

On the first displacement and captivity of de Burgh, his old rival, des Roches, succeeded to power: the Poiteuvian bishop, however, soon rendered himself odious to all classes of the nation, from his constant endeavours to enrich and honour foreigners at the expense of the English. The national cause was espoused by Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, who threatened the king with excommunication if he did not dismiss des Roches and his associates. Henry trembled and complied: the foreigners were banished, and the archbishop, who was a patriot and a statesman, governed the land with great prudence.

Although Henry had twice confirmed the charters, yet in heart he hated their principles. In the year 1236 he married Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence, who came to England with a numerous retinue, and was soon followed by a swarm of foreigners. This favour towards foreigners, and their unprincipled conduct for twenty years, involved him in continual disputes with the barons. By Eleanor, and the foreigners at his court, he was persuaded to violate the Great Charter; and though, to obtain grants of money from parliament, he again ratified it, in 1244 and in 1253, yet the ceremony was scarcely over than, following the advice of his foreign favourites, his oath, that he would keep these charters inviolate as he was a man, a Christian, a knight, and a king, was soon forgotten, and whatever confidence the nation yet had in him was uprooted.

To this just cause of offence was added Henry's unsuccessful expeditions to the Continent. In the year 1242 he engaged in a war with Louis, king of France, and in 1253

embarked in a project to raise one of his sons to the throne of the Two Sicilies; but in both these expeditions he failed, and returned loaded with disgrace and dishonour. In order to raise money for these expeditions Henry had recourse to oppressive exactions, and to borrowing of money; but whatever sums were raised, they were soon dissipated; and at the close of the Sicilian expedition he was a bankrupt king. The pope brought a claim against him of more than £100,000; and as he was a creditor that could enforce payment by excommunication, interdict, and dethronement, Henry levied enormous contributions on the churches of England and Ireland. These proceedings made the clergy as openly hostile to him as were the lay barons: when called upon to take up some of the pope's bills, some of the prelates boldly refused, and threatened to exchange their mitres for a warrior's helmet. A scarcity of provisions in the year 1258 brought a crisis. In the month of May a parliament was called at Westminster, and as the king entered there was a rattling of swords. He looked round, and saw the barons in complete armour; on which he asked whether he were a prisoner. "Not so," exclaimed Roger Bigod; "but your foreign favourites, and your own extravagance, have involved this realm in great wretchedness; wherefore we demand that the powers of government be entrusted and made over to a committee of bishops and barons, that the same may root up abuses and enact good laws." Henry knew his helplessness, and foresaw his danger; and, yielding to the storm, he assured the barons, who were headed by Simon Montford, earl of Leicester, that he was ready to give all possible satisfaction. A parliament was summoned at Oxford to digest a new plan of government, and to elect persons who were to be entrusted with the chief authority.

The parliament, which the royalists called the Mad Parliament, met at Oxford on the 11th of June. The barons appointed in arms, and a committee of government was appointed without a murmur on the part of Henry: it consisted of twenty-four members, twelve of whom were chosen by the barons, and twelve by the king. At the head of this supreme council was the earl of Leicester, to the maintenance of whose ordinances, Henry, and afterwards his son Edward, took a solemn oath. In the hands of this council the whole state underwent a complete alteration: all its former officers were displaced, and creatures of the twenty-four barons were put

in their room. The authority of the king was abridged, and all parliamentary power given up to the twelve persons between each session. An oligarchy was on the point of being established; but the barons soon disagreed among themselves, and were soon opposed by the knights of shires or counties, who complained that they did no good in the way of reform. By degrees, two factions were formed in the council; the one headed by the earl of Gloucester, and the other by the earl of Leicester. Reconciliations and breaches were made between these factions, and between the barons generally and the court. At length, in the year 1262, Henry, who had long rejoiced at the division among his barons, resolved to escape from their authority. Having obtained a papal dispensation for the oaths he had taken at Oxford, he told the committee of government he should henceforth govern without them. He shut himself up in the Tower of London, and from behind those strong walls he ordered that the gates of London should be closed, and that all the citizens should swear fresh fealty to him.

At this time prince Edward was in France, and it was agreed by both parties to await his arrival. When he arrived, instead of joining his father, he went over to the barons; but the cause of the king prevailed, and Leicester took refuge in France. In 1263, the earl of Gloucester died, and his son, instead of being the rival, became the friend of Leicester. On the other hand, prince Edward now joined his father. The earl of Leicester returned to England in April, and, raising the banner of war, marched upon London, where he was joined by the mayor and the common people. The king was safe in the Tower, and prince Edward fled to Windsor Castle. A temporary reconciliation took place in July; but by the month of October the king was again in arms against the barons, and the sword was drawn, never to be sheathed till one or the other of the parties prevailed.

The opening of the campaign in 1264 was in favour of the royalists; but their fortunes changed when they marched to the southern coast. The two armies met at Lewes; and, after a hard-fought battle, Henry was completely defeated, and, with his son Edward and many of his nobles, was taken prisoner by Leicester. The king and the young prince were first confined in Dover Castle; but early in 1265 they were removed from thence, and placed in the enjoyment of considerable personal liberty, by order of a parliament summoned

to consider their case: this was fatal to the earl of Leicester. A plan was concerted by the earl of Derby, and the earl of Gloucester, who now set himself up as a rival to Montfort, for Edward's release, and this plan was successful: the prince escaped on a fleet horse, and joined the earl of Gloucester at Ludlow, where the royal banner was raised. The earl of Leicester, with the king in his possession, remained at Hereford, while his eldest son, Simon de Montfort, with a part of his army, was in Sussex. Prince Edward sought to prevent the junction of these separated forces, and to keep the earl on the right bank of the Severn; but Leicester crossed that river and encamped near Worcester, where he expected his son would join him. Simon de Montfort, however, was surprised by night near Kenilworth, and defeated by Edward with great loss; and, on the earl's advancing to Evesham, he was surrounded by the victors. A terrible battle was fought, and was won by the prince: the bravest and best of Leicester's friends fell in heaps around him, and at last the great earl himself was slain, with his sword in his hand. But death could not save him from the barbarous vengeance of the victors: his body was mutilated in a brutal and disgusting manner, and was thus presented to the wife of the lord Roger Mortimer, one of the earl's deadly enemies.

When the battle commenced the king was in the earl's camp on a war-horse, and encased in armour, which concealed his features. In one of the charges he was dismounted and in danger of being slain; but on crying out that he was Henry of Winchester, the prince, who happened to be near, ran to his rescue, and carried him out of the mêlée. After the victory he resumed the sceptre, and summoned a parliament at Winchester. Although this parliament would not submit to the revocation of any part of the Great Charter, some severe sentences were passed against the family and partizans of the late earl; and the citizens of London were deprived of their charter. These severe measures against the barons gave rise to several revolts, in which the citizens of London were prominently engaged: even the earl of Gloucester was driven into rebellion. At length a more moderate course was adopted: an edict was promulgated, in 1266, by which fines were imposed upon the vanquished party, instead of personal punishment and confiscations. By degrees, the kingdom settled into a more peaceable state; and, in 1269,

the king consented to several popular laws, and to the confirmation of the Great Charter.

In the year 1270, prince Edward, seeing the country tranquil, took the cross, in which he was followed by nearly one hundred English barons and knights. Many of these left their bones to bleach on the Syrian shore, and Edward himself nearly lost his life by the dagger of an assassin. The assassin obtained admission to his presence, under the pretence that the emir of Joppa was desirous to turn Christian; and while the prince read the dispatches offered for his perusal, a blow was aimed at his heart. Edward received the dagger in his arm, and closing with the assailant, slew him with the weapon he had used. Edward took possession of Acre, having only a small force; he found that his stay in Palestine would be of little use, and after consenting to a proposal of the Turkish sultan, that the Christians remaining there should not be molested for ten years, he returned homewards. While in Italy he received the news of his father's death, who expired at Westminster, November 16, 1272, having lived sixty-eight years, fifty-six of which he had been king.

The reign of Henry III. was inglorious; arising from his want of prudence and principle. He was fond of peace; but his want of faith with the barons led to cruel intestine contests. But under all the evils of his misrule, England improved and acquired much solid strength during his reign. Commerce was extended, and domestic industry stimulated. Both citizens and peasants were advanced in the scale of society, notwithstanding the disadvantages of defective cultivation and of imperfect manufactures. But this was not owing to the skill of Henry as a ruler: rather it arose from his mismanagement and careless profusion. Thus the drains which he made upon the wealth of his country for foreign purposes led to increased commerce; good, therefore, arising out of evil. Henry was, in a word, better fitted for the cloisters than a throne. He was grossly superstitious, even for the age in which he lived, as many incidents testify. Thus, on one occasion, he summoned the great and learned men of his kingdom to hear of a sacred benefit lately conferred upon England. This sacred benefit was a phial containing what was said to be a small quantity of the blood shed by the Redeemer on the Mount of Calvary; and he required the attendance of those he had summoned on the following day, when



he carried it in a procession to Westminster Abbey, through a deep and miry road, without taking his eyes from the relic. True piety is lovely in the character of a monarch, but such superstition as this begets the contempt of their subjects and of posterity.

### EDWARD I., SURNAMED IRONSIDE.

A. D. 1272. Edward was proclaimed at the new Temple by the barons, "king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine." On hearing of the death of his father, he exhibited much sorrow, but he showed no anxiety to return to England. He sojourned at Rome, Paris, and Guienne till the year 1274. While at Guienne he received a challenge from the count of Chalons, to meet him lance to lance in a tournament. Edward, as a true knight, considered himself bound in honour to accept the count's challenge, although there was a rumour of bad faith on the part of the challenger. Edward was attended by a thousand champions, but the count of Chalons rode to the spot with nearly two thousand. On their meeting, the image of war was converted into its stern reality: a sanguinary battle took place, in which the foot-soldiers took part as well as the knights. The English crossbow-men drove the French infantry from the field, and then mixing with the English horse, they overthrew many of the count's knights, by stabbing their horses, or cutting their saddle-girths. Edward himself had a fierce struggle with the count, who was renowned for his physical strength. The count was hurled from his saddle to the ground with a dreadful shock; and when remounted by some of his knights he cried out for quarter. Edward was so enraged that he kept hammering on the iron armour of his suppliant foe for some time, and at last rejected his sword, and made him surrender to a common soldier: a disgrace to which no true knight would have submitted. The English were victorious: many knights were obliged to ransom their persons, their arms, and their horses, while many of the French footmen were slain, because, a chronicler says, "they were but rascals, and no great account was made of them."

Edward now resolved to return to England. On the 2nd of August, 1274, he landed at Dover, and on the 19th of the same month he was crowned, together with Eleanor his wife, in Westminster Abbey. Holinshed says that on their en-

trance into London they were received with all joy that might be devised. The streets were hung with rich cloths of silk, arras, and tapestry: the aldermen and burgesses threw out handfulls of gold and silver from their windows; and the conduits ran plentifully with white and red wine, that each creature might drink his fill.

If the citizens of London, however, were rich, the government was poor and embarrassed. This circumstance seems to have been the real cause of Edward's cruelty to the Jews, which was exhibited immediately after his accession. The rest of the nation were protected from spoliation by the Great Charter and the power of parliaments, but the Jews were left naked to oppression: no hand or tongue was raised in their defence, and the mass of the people rejoiced in their ruin. For many years the coin had been clipped and adulterated, and this crime was laid to their charge. Clipped money might be found upon every person in the kingdom, but the poor Jews were alone punished for having it in their possession. Hundreds of both sexes were hanged, and the houses and all the property of every one that suffered went to the crown. The religious antipathies of Edward went hand in hand with his rapacity. As a zealous crusader, he detested all unbelievers, and he committed the same wrongs upon the Jews as the Mahomedans committed upon Christians in Palestine. Thus he put a capitation or poll-tax upon them, and compelled them to wear a distinctive and odious badge upon their dress, both of which were Turkish customs. Throughout his whole reign, indeed, the Jew was the object of his vengeance; and his example was followed by the whole nation. In the year 1290, soon after the sitting of a parliament at Westminster, he issued a proclamation commanding all Jews, under penalty of death, to quit the kingdom within two months. Although robbed and persecuted as they had long been, their total number was then considerable: sixteen thousand five hundred and eleven individuals received the king's pass, with the permission to carry with them as much of their ready money as would pay the expenses of their voyage. But not all these reached other lands, for the English mariners thought it no sin to be as rapacious as the king towards them, and they robbed and drowned many of them during their passage. The houses of the exiles, with their lands, merchandise, debts, bonds, tallies, and obligations were all seized by the king.

During his persecution of the Jews, Edward enacted many just and wise laws for his Christian subjects, and took measures to enforce the administration of justice, and to repress the disorders which the carelessness of his father had permitted to arise. His ruling passion, however, was a desire of conquest. The subjugation of Wales was the first object at which he aimed; and after two invasions, one in 1277, and the other in 1282, that country was conquered. Llewellyn, the Welsh king, was killed in a skirmish; and David, his brother, the last sovereign prince of one of the most ancient ruling families in Europe, was taken prisoner, and put to death, "because he was a traitor to the king who had made him a knight." While in Wales, Eleanor bore him a son, in the castle of Caernarvon; and Edward availed himself of that circumstance, by presenting the infant to the people as their countryman, and telling them that he who was born among them should be their prince. From this time the eldest son of the king of England has always been distinguished by the title of the prince of Wales.

After the subjugation of Wales, Edward passed three years on the Continent, where he was engaged as umpire to settle a dispute which had arisen between the kings of France, Arragon, and the house of Anjou, respecting the island of Sicily. In the mean time his own kingdom fell into disorder, and parliament refused him a supply of money until he returned. On his return, in 1289, he found much requiring his attention. All the judges, except two, had been guilty of bribery; and he raised large sums by inflicting fines on the delinquents. Edward sought to replenish his treasury, also, by an inquiry into the titles of all landholders. Those whose rights were not clearly made out, were compelled to purchase from the king a confirmation of their titles. This unpopular course, however, was checked by earl Warenne. On being required to show his title to his lands, he pointed to the sword of his ancestors, and declared that what had won his estates should keep them. Such title-deeds were not to be disputed; Edward prudently stopped all further inquiries.

In the year 1290 the crown of Scotland became open to several competitors. This event arose from the death of Margaret, the daughter of the queen of Norway, who was grandchild and heiress of Alexander III. Margaret died in the Orkneys before she reached the shores of Scotland, and

was then only eight years of age. Edward had arranged for the union of the two kingdoms by a treaty of marriage between his son and this infant princess, and the terms had been agreed to by the Scottish barons. This plan was frustrated by the death of Margaret; but Edward was ambitious, and he resolved to unite the two kingdoms by the right of the sword. Circumstances favoured his views. There were thirteen candidates for the vacant throne; but only three, Baliol, Bruce, and Hastings had claims which required consideration. Edward was requested to decide between these claimants, and he advanced to the borders with an army for that purpose. Several conferences took place between him and the barons, and a commission was appointed to examine the cause, and report to Edward. The final decision of the cause did not take place till the year 1292; and that decision was that Edward claimed the crown for himself, and appointed Baliol his deputy. Baliol did homage to Edward for his kingdom at Newcastle, on the 26th of December; but the English monarch soon convinced him that he was a vassal rather than king. In the course of the following year Baliol was repeatedly called upon to appear in the English courts to answer as a defendant in all sorts of causes. At the commencement of this rough usage Baliol bore it with submission; but on a war breaking out between England and France, on the seizure of Guienne by Philip, he embraced the opportunity for a serious effort to cast off Edward's yoke. By a treaty signed at Paris in the autumn of 1295, he engaged to assist Philip in his wars with his whole power; and in the spring of the following year a Scottish army invaded Cumberland, and, laying waste the country as they proceeded, marched to Carlisle and attacked that place. But no power the Scots could bring into the field was able to withstand the army with which Edward appeared on their borders. He overthrew their forces in many engagements, and by the month of August became undisputed master of the whole kingdom. Having conquered them, Edward took every precaution to secure his title, and to abolish those distinctions which were likely to foster a spirit of independence. Baliol was carried a prisoner to London, and all records and monuments of antiquity, that inspired the Scots with a spirit of national pride, were destroyed.

Edward now determined to attack France. He was embarking for this purpose in the year 1297, when he received

intelligence of a revolt in Scotland, which was headed by the renowned William Wallace. He left the suppression of this revolt to John de Warenne, governor of Scotland; but he was unequal to the task. Scotland was lost, by the activity and prowess of Wallace, more suddenly than it had been won. The war in Flanders with the French king detained Edward in that country till the spring of 1298, when, having agreed to a treaty of peace with Philip, he returned home. He had previously commanded that a general muster of the military force of the kingdom should take place at York; and on his arrival he summoned the barons and other military tenants to re-assemble there on the feast of Pentecost. More than one hundred thousand warriors met him there; and from this point he advanced into Scotland. He found the Scottish army encamped near Falkirk, and a great battle was fought there, in which Wallace was defeated: it is said that fifteen thousand of the Scots fell on that fatal day. Wallace, with the remnant of his army fled to Stirling; but he was driven from thence by the English; and the victorious invaders carried fire and sword through the country in all directions. By the middle of September Edward regained possession of all the principal places of strength in the south of Scotland; but the whole of the country to the north of the Forth was still unsubdued. Edward, however, was obliged at that time to leave the country, from the impossibility of finding sustenance for his troops.

The wars of Wales, Scotland, and Guienne were very expensive, and they had caused Edward to oppress the English people with levies and taxes. All classes suffered from his exactions, in the raising of which he frequently infringed on the constitutional charter. In this course he was resisted by both the clergy and the nobles; but he bore down all opposition by a solemn promise that after the war was over he would make amends for the past. Accordingly, in March, 1299, while the laurels of Falkirk were fresh on his brow, at a meeting of parliament, the barons required the fulfilment of his promise. Edward endeavoured to gain time; and when he found they were urgent, he retired from London on the plea of ill health. The barons, however, would not be evaded; they followed him, and he at last granted the ratification of the Great Charter. But still Edward considered his concession as a temporary sacrifice of his high prerogative; and from the moment he made it, he occupied his

leisure in devising means to overthrow the power of parliament.

Edward's campaign in Flanders had been unfortunate ; but the French king did not long enjoy its conquest. In the year 1302 the burghers of Ghent, Lille, Bruges, and other free cities defeated his armies, and then elected John of Namur to be their governor-general. Philip longed to recover Flanders, and Edward wished to get back Guienne ; and but for the pope's mediation war would have been renewed between them. At the pontiff's suggestion, Edward, who had been for some years a widower, married Margaret, the sister of Philip, while his eldest son, the prince of Wales, was privately contracted, by proxy, to Isabella, daughter of that sovereign. This double marriage was accompanied by a treaty of commerce between the two countries, and by which Edward recovered Guienne. The Flemings were given up to the French king, who avenged his recent defeat by a frightful massacre of the burghers and peasants ; but after the carnage of many battles, he was compelled to treat with them on terms by which they preserved all their ancient liberties.

After this defeat of Wallace at Falkirk, he resigned the regency of the kingdom to Comyn, and a desultory warfare was continued between the Scots and the English. By the termination of the dispute with France, Edward was left free to turn with his whole power to the Scottish war ; and early in 1304, Comyn and other noblemen made their submission to him at Strathorde, in Fifeshire. Wallace fled to the moors and marshes, and betook himself to his old occupation of plunder ; but in the year 1305 he was taken prisoner by treachery, and executed at the Elms in Smithfield. Baliol was now dead ; but at this juncture, Bruce, the son of one of the claimants, resolved on attempting to obtain the kingdom : he opened the plan to Comyn ; but he disclosed his views to Edward ; and Bruce, who was then in England, fled in haste to Scotland. His first act on his arrival there was to murder Comyn, whom he met in a Franciscan monastery at Dumfries : Comyn was slain before the altar. Bruce then collected followers, and caused himself to be crowned ; but the power of Edward was too strong for him : his troops were dispersed, and he was obliged to take refuge in flight. Early in 1307, Bruce again found himself at the head of an army, and he made a successful attack upon the English at Carrick.

On hearing this Edward uttered a vow, with all the solemnities of chivalry, that he would exterminate the revolvers; and being then seriously ill, he charged his nobles, in case of his death, to keep his body unburied till his vow was accomplished. He proceeded towards the north in a horse-litter; but on arrival at Carlisle he felt himself somewhat recovered, and he then mounted his war-horse. Nature, however, was exhausted: he died at Burgh-upon-the-Sands, a few miles beyond Carlisle, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. His last breath was spent in enjoining his son and his nobles to prosecute the great design of his life—the conquest of Scotland.

Edward bestowed various benefits on his English subjects, and greatly promoted English liberty; but these benefits were not freely bestowed; on the contrary, they were reluctantly conceded. His ruling passion was martial glory; and it was to obtain the means of gratifying this ungodly passion that he was induced to grant those privileges which bring honour to his reign. One of these privileges was an extension of power to the commons in parliament: in the year 1295 representatives were summoned from one hundred and twenty-four cities and boroughs. Several laws were also enacted respecting landed property, which ultimately did much to weaken the feudal tenures, and lessen the power of the nobility. In a word, the ambition of Edward was made the means of adding more to the solid interests of the kingdom than any of those who went before or succeeded him.

#### EDWARD II., SURNAMED OF CAERNARVON.

A.D. 1307. Edward II. was peacefully recognised at Carlisle by the unanimous consent of the nobles present with the army there, on the day after his father's death. This prince was much beloved by the English people; but he had already betrayed weaknesses that would overthrow the strongest throne. He had been surrounded by favourites and parasites, and one of them, Piers Gaveston, was driven from England by his father. On his death-bed Edward charged him, under pain of his curse, not to recall this minion; but, unmindful of this, the young monarch, on his accession, sent for Gaveston, and conferred upon him the earldom of Cornwall, with other honours and immense estates. At the same time, though he made a semblance of prosecuting the war in Scotland, he took no steps to check the progress of Bruce:

he simply marched as far north as Camnoch, on the borders of Ayrshire, from whence he made his way back to England.

Gaveston joined Edward in Scotland, and he had scarcely made his appearance when the whole body of the government was changed. The chancellor, the barons of the exchequer, the judges, and all the officers who had been appointed by the deceased monarch were deprived of their places. Some of them were even thrown into prison; a fate which particularly befel the lord treasurer, Walton de Langton, bishop of Lichfield. The whole of Edward's care seems, indeed, to have been to disgust every feeling and prejudice of his barons, and to enrich and aggrandize his minion. Edward married him to his own niece, made him lord chamberlain, and gave him not only estates in England but also an extensive grant of lands in Guienne.

In the year 1308 Edward repaired to France to marry Isabella, to whom he had been affianced by his father. He left Gaveston regent during his absence; and on his return he threw himself into the arms of his favourite, hugged and kissed him, and called him brother. At the coronation, which was celebrated, with great magnificence, on the 24th of February, nearly all the honours were conferred upon Gaveston, little regard being paid to the hereditary offices of the great barons. All this tended to inflame Gaveston's breast with pride, and the barons with anger. Four days after the coronation, the barons requested Edward to banish his favourite, and he was obliged to comply: Gaveston took an oath that he would never return to England, and the bishops bound him on his oath by the threats of excommunication. On his departure, Edward employed every expedient to mitigate the animosity of the barons; and when he fancied he had succeeded, he sent to recall his favourite. The affected humility of Gaveston on his return obtained a formal consent to his re-establishment in England from parliament; but his insolence and arrogance soon set this aside. It was the minion's custom to indulge in rude witticisms at the expense of the English nobles: the earl of Lancaster was called the "old hog;" the earl of Pembroke, because he was pale and tall, "Joseph the Jew;" and the earl of Warwick, "the black dog of Ardenne." On hearing this, the earl of Warwick vowed that he would one day make the minion feel "the black dog's teeth." That day soon arrived. In the year 1311 Edward was in great straits for money, and the barons,



who met at Westminster in arms, instead of responding to his demand, recalled all grants made by him to his favourite; decreed, that all made thereafter, without the consent of parliament, should be null and void; that Gaveston should be banished, on pain of death in case of return; that the king should not leave the kingdom, or make war without their consent; that the baronage should have the power of granting a regent during his absence; and that all the great officers of the crown, and the governors of foreign possessions should at all times be chosen by the baronage, or with their advice and consent in parliament. To all these ordinances Edward was compelled to affix his signature. Gaveston retired to Flanders; but in less than two months he was again with his royal master at York, whither Edward had retired in the hope that he would be able to collect an army that would support him. The barons soon after fell suddenly upon the royal party at Newcastle, and Edward with his favourite sailed away in a vessel, leaving his wife in the hands of the barons. Gaveston threw himself into Scarborough Castle, but that fortress was not tenable; and in the spring of 1312 he surrendered on capitulation to "Joseph the Jew," who pledged his faith that no harm should happen to him, and that he should be confined in his own castle at Wallingford. On the following morning, however, Gaveston found himself passed into the hands of "the black dog of Ardenne," who carried him in triumph to Warwick Castle. In the castle a hurried council, composed of the earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Arundel sat upon the prisoner; and it was resolved to put him to death, in conformity with the recent ordinance passed by parliament. In despair Gaveston threw himself at the feet of the "old hog," calling him now "gentle lord;" but there was no mercy shown him: he was hurried to Blacklow Hill, about two miles from Warwick, where a Welsh executioner struck off his head.

This tragedy threw the king into an agony of grief; but he soon dried his tears, and thought of revenge. For six months he and his barons were in arms against each other, but no battle took place; and in the year 1313 a reconciliation was confirmed by treaty. The barons knelt before the king in Westminster Hall, amnesties were published, and the plate and jewels of the deceased favourite were surrendered to Edward, the weak prince finding consolation in these for the absence of their owner.

In the meantime the Scottish patriots had undermined the fabric of the deceased monarch's ambition. After the death of Gaveston Edward took the field against them in something like earnest. He summoned all the military power of England, and many of the Irish chiefs, to meet him at Berwick on the 11th of June; and more than one hundred thousand men, including a body of forty thousand cavalry, assembled at that place of rendezvous. At the head of this army Edward proceeded to Scotland, advancing by the east coast to Edinburgh. From Edinburgh he turned to the west, proceeding along the right bank of the Forth towards Stirling. Bruce with his army, amounting to about forty thousand men, was posted at Bannockburn, a little south of Stirling, and here the two armies joined battle. Bruce was victorious: some accounts state that more than thirty thousand of Edward's forces were slain, while many others were taken prisoners. Edward made another attempt to subjugate Scotland in the summer of 1319, but he again failed; and on the 21st of December a truce for two years was concluded between the two nations, which it was hoped might lead to a permanent peace.

Edward's imprudent conduct soon induced another war with his barons. After the death of Gaveston he conceived the same unbounded affection for Hugh Despencer, a young man who was first brought to court by the earl of Lancaster. Hugh Despencer was a young man of a noble English family, of some merit, and very engaging accomplishments. His father, also, was venerable for his years, and respected through life for his wisdom, valour, and integrity. Both the father and the son were loaded with honours by the king, and had large inheritances bestowed upon them. All the avenues to favour and promotion were stopped by the Desperceners; and this armed the barons against them. The earl of Lancaster, who, as a prince of the blood, considered himself dishonoured by the promotion of his dependent, espoused their quarrel, and with thirty-four barons and knights, and a host of retainers, marched upon London. At a parliament assembled at Westminster, the barons, with arms in their hands, pronounced a sentence of banishment against the new favourites, and the king confirmed it through fear. The position of the two contending parties, however, was soon reversed. After two months the Desperceners returned, the king having by a bold manœuvre took and hanged twelve

knights of the opposite party. The earl of Lancaster retired to the north, and opened a correspondence with the Scots, who promised to send an army across the borders to his assistance. This sealed his fate. His application to the Scots inflamed the hearts of the English against him; and in the year 1322 he was defeated, and with other barons taken prisoner, in a battle fought at Boroughbridge. The earl of Lancaster was tried and condemned by a court-martial, and suffered the same death he had awarded to Gaveston: he was beheaded on an eminence near Pomfret. After this victory the attainders of the Despensers were reversed: the father was created earl of Winchester, and the estates of the captured barons were lavished on both father and son. The victory of Bannockburn gained by the Scots in the year 1313 had laid the northern counties of England open to their ravages. For several succeeding years they made destructive incursions into those counties, and swept the whole country as far as the walls of York. In the year 1323 Edward wisely put an end to this war, by agreeing with Bruce for a suspension of arms, which was to last thirteen years, and which was not to be interrupted by the death of either or both of the contracting parties. By this treaty the independence of the Scots was, in fact, if not in expressive terms, distinctly recognised, which was considered a national disgrace.

The Despensers soon found a more formidable foe in queen Isabella than in the barons. It appears clear that they had not only sowed discord between her and her husband, but that they had seized her dower, and kept her in a state of abject poverty and dependence. Isabella, taking advantage of differences which existed between Edward and her brother Charles le Bel, now king of France, persuaded her husband to send her to France to mediate. At this time Roger de Mortimer, who was one of the prisoners at Boroughbridge, but who had recently escaped, was at Paris; and, urged by him and Isabella, her brother Charles vowed that he would redress her wrongs. In a little time, however, it became notorious that there was a guilty connexion between Roger de Mortimer and Isabella; and the pope threatened to excommunicate Charles if he did not send his sister back to her husband. Charles gave Isabella to understand that she must depart his kingdom, or he would drive her out; but his anger seems to have been more feigned than real; for by his connivance the court of Hainault gave shelter to Isabella and the

Lancastrian party. Aided by the court, queen Isabella levied an army; and in the year 1325 she embarked and landed on the coast of Suffolk. On her arrival she was joined by prelates, barons, and numbers of the people; and Edward soon discovered that his wife, his son, his relatives, and his subjects were all arrayed against him. He appealed to the citizens of London; but was informed that their privileges did not allow them to follow him into the field. Abandoned by all but the two Despensers, the chancellor, Baldock, and a few retainers, Edward took refuge in flight: he sought an asylum among the Welsh; but they rejected their fugitive prince, and he was obliged to take shipping with his favourite. The elder Despenser threw himself into Bristol; but on the queen's approach the citizens rose against him, and he was put to death, at the age of ninety, with all the tortures inflicted then on traitors. The king, after tossing about for many days in a tempestuous sea, was driven on the coast of South Wales, where he was forced to land. He concealed himself for some weeks in the mountains of Glamorganshire; but, finally, Despenser and Baldock were betrayed by the peasants for gold, and Edward surrendered to his own cousin, brother to the earl of Lancaster, whom he had put to death at Pontefract. Edward was sent to Kenilworth, there to be imprisoned: Despenser found his doom at Hereford, where he was "drawn, hanged, embowelled, beheaded, and quartered;" and Baldock, who, as a priest, was secured from the scaffold and the gallows, died a prisoner in Newgate.

While in Kenilworth Castle, Edward was compelled, partly by threats and partly by promises, to surrender the crown in favour of his son. The young Edward, who was only in his fourteenth year, was crowned at Westminster, on the 29th of January, 1327, by the archbishop of Canterbury; but the government rested in the hands of the queen and her partisans.

The earl of Lancaster had the death of a brother to avenge, but he proved himself to be less cruel than his colleagues, and even than queen Isabella. The spectacle of his cousin's miseries touched his heart, and he treated the imprisoned king with mildness and generosity. On hearing this the queen caused her husband to be taken out of Lancaster's hands, and given to the keeping of sir John Maltravers, a man of fiercer disposition, who had suffered cruel wrongs from Edward and his favourites. By Maltravers the de-

retreat; and Mortimer fell upon his estates and plundered them as though he was in a foreign country. The earl was obliged to sue for pardon, which he obtained; but the earl of Kent, who had joined him, was taken prisoner, tried for high-treason, and beheaded. A.D. 1330.

As the king was now eighteen years of age and a father—Edward the Black Prince being born this year—he thought it time to assert his authority. He determined to rescue himself from the rule of the queen-mother and her favourite. He was the more induced to act thus as the immorality of their connexion had long been the theme of popular outcry. Mortimer's power, however, was great, and it required great circumspection to put his resolution into effect. It was brought about thus. In the month of October the parliament met at Nottingham; and Isabella and Mortimer were in the castle with their retainers. The governor of the castle had previously been won over to admit lord Montacute and some associates through a secret subterraneous passage, the outlet of which opened at the foot of the castle hill. About the hour of midnight Montacute and his associates crawled through this passage, and when within the castle walls, they were joined by Edward, who led them into a dark apartment. Here they heard the voices of Mortimer and his adherents proceeding from a hall adjoining the queen's chamber; and the intruders, making their way in, killed two knights who defended the entrance. Isabella rushed from her chamber, and in an agony of grief implored her son to spare her "gentle Mortimer;" but, deaf to her entreaties, the favourite was made prisoner, and shortly after hanged on a gibbet, at a place called Elms, about a mile from London. Isabella was at the same time deprived of her enormous jointure, and shut up in her manor-house at Risings, where she passed the remaining twenty-seven years of her life in obscurity. Edward paid her a visit once a year; but in confinement she found that guilt and sorrow are inseparably connected.

Edward was now his own master; but his first transactions are not very honourable to his character. Carried away by the general feeling of the nation against the Scots, he resolved to make war upon them. The conditions of the treaty had not been faithfully performed, and this gave a pretext for hostilities. In the year 1332 David, the son of Bruce, was dethroned, and a son of Baliol made king in his room. Baliol was soon driven into England; but he again

invaded Scotland, and a decisive victory at Halidon, in 1333, in which he was assisted by Edward, replaced him on his throne. The price which Edward exacted for this service was immense: Baliol acknowledged him as his superior, and ceded to him in perpetuity all the southern counties in Scotland. The Scottish nation, however, was not yet subdued: during several years the land was desolated by war, in the midst of which the ambition of Edward was directed to seek a more splendid prize—the crown of France.

By a law of France, called the “Salic Law,” all females were excluded from an inheritance. The three brothers of Isabella, mother of Edward, who were the last three kings of France, died without leaving male issue; and Philip of Valois, the nearest male heir, ascended the throne. Edward resolved to claim the kingdom in right of his mother; but for some years the distractions of his own country presented obstacles to his designs. In the meantime Philip required Edward to do him homage for Guienne; and, being as prudent as he was brave, he obeyed, and thus virtually acknowledged Philip's title to the crown of France. Edward, however, had not forgotten his claim: the contest was only delayed for a fairer opportunity, or for some new occasion of contention: this soon presented itself. Robert d'Artois, a descendant of St. Louis, had claimed the county of Artois, and Philip preferred a female heir before him. Robert fled to England, where he was well received by Edward, and became his counsellor and instigator against France, with which country war was determined.

It was in the year 1336 that Edward first made a public avowal of his claims, and proceeded to enforce them. Great preparations were made to ensure the attainment of his object; and when, in 1339, they were completed, Edward invaded France. It was, however, too late in the autumn when he took the field to effect much; and, after ravaging the country through which they passed, the English army retreated. The war, however, was still continued, and in the following year a great naval victory was obtained over the French, in which two hundred vessels of the latter were captured, and from ten to fifteen thousand men destroyed. This was followed by another land campaign; but, after a long and unsuccessful siege of Tournay, Edward was obliged to retreat and to conclude a treaty with France. He returned to England in a gloomy mood, and quarrelled with his ministers,

some of whom he threw into prison because they had not seconded his views by supplying him with funds necessary to support his military expenses. Edward was now greatly distressed for money, and parliament refused to pass the grants he wanted, unless he gave them an equivalent in the shape of a reform of past abuses, and a guarantee against future ones.

Disturbances in Brittany soon brought the rival monarchs again into collision. John III., duke of that province, having died without children, two candidates appeared to dispute his inheritance, Charles of Blois, Philip's nephew, who had married the duke's daughter; and the count de Montford, the duke's own brother. An appeal was made to arms: Philip supported Charles, and de Montford had recourse to Edward, to whom he did homage as king of France, for his duchy of Brittany.

The commencement of this war proved unfavourable to de Montford: he was surprised in the town of Nantes by his rival and taken prisoner. The countess of de Montford bravely defended herself in the castle of Hennebon; and soon after the English fleet, under the command of sir Walter Manny, arrived to her assistance, and compelled the French to retire. Edward himself resorted to the scene of action; but, after a series of minor operations, a truce was concluded, through the good offices of two legates of the pope, for two years and three months. But during this time Philip decoyed a number of Bretons to a tournament, seized them, and put them to death without trial; and the English parliament, considering this as a violation of the treaty, granted supplies for the renewal of the war. A.D. 1345.

Guienne was the first scene of action. The earl of Derby, Edward's cousin, fought in those parts against the count of Lille-jourdain, whom he defeated in a decisive battle near Auberache, by which the whole of Guienne was captured from the French. About the same time Edward went in person to Sluys, to treat with the deputies of the free cities of Flanders; and though circumstances prevented any definite arrangement with them while there, he was followed to London by a deputation, who promised in the course of the following year to pour an army into France, while Edward attacked that kingdom from another quarter.

In 1345 Edward collected a fine army and landed in Normandy, ravaging the kingdom without opposition, and pene-

trating to the very walls of Paris. As, however, he was separated from his auxiliaries, and Philip was re-enforced daily, he deemed it prudent to retire northwards. His situation was critical. Philip assembled a numerous army and pursued him, while an army was in advance to dispute his passage over the Somme. Edward succeeded in crossing a ford below Abbeville; but seeing an engagement inevitable, he established his camp at Crecy, where he resolved to await the enemy.

It was on the morning of the 26th of August that the two armies came in contact. The English army did not consist of more than one-third of the French; but the latter were fatigued when they approached the line; and Philip, breathing fury and vengeance, would not give them time for rest. The Genoese archers were commanded at once to begin the attack; and it was in vain that they pleaded exhaustion, and that the rain had rendered their bows unfit for use. "Kill the lazy ribalds!" exclaimed the duke d'Alençon; and they were compelled to advance forward. As they made their approach they raised a terrible shout, to strike terror into the English; but the latter shot their arrows with such cool intrepidity and vigour, "that it seemed as if it snowed." Before their arrows the Genoese recoiled; and on seeing them fall back, Philip, enraged at their supposed cowardice, ordered them to be massacred. At his command the duke d'Alençon trod them down with his cavalry, and pressed on towards the English. This cruel act was followed by the destruction of the French army. The English yeomen, in the confusion that followed, sent their arrows among the crowd, which increased the disorder so much that d'Alençon's cavalry could never rally. Taking advantage of the confusion, Edward the Black Prince, who commanded the first line of the English, bore down upon d'Alençon's front ranks, and scattered his battalions. D'Alençon was slain; and Philip, who made several desperate charges, was each time repulsed with great loss, and was obliged to take refuge in flight. The victory was decisive: eleven princes, one hundred nobles, one thousand two hundred chevaliers, and thirty thousand common soldiers, lay intermingled, dead upon the field.

By the victory of Crecy the tide of success was everywhere turned against the French. John, the son of Philip, who was besieging Sir Walter de Manny, in the town of Aigullon, was obliged to raise the siege; and about the same time



Charles of Blois was taken prisoner. Edward laid siege to Calais, which, after a siege of eleven months, was captured, and became an English colony. The English monarch seemed content with the fruit of this victory, for it was followed by a truce of ten months, which was gradually prolonged for six years. A. D. 1347.

In the same year in which Edward gained the battle of Crecy, his queen Philippa obtained a decisive victory over the Scots. Under the command of David Bruce their king, a numerous Scottish army invaded England, and Philippa took the field against them. She met the enemy at a place called Nevile Cross, near Durham; and Bruce was defeated and taken prisoner, with many of his nobles and knights, and carried in triumph to London.

The prolongation of the truce between England and France was chiefly caused by a plague which invaded Europe. From the heart of China this pestilence swept across the desert of Cobi and the wilds of Tartary, and thence found its way into the Levant, Egypt, Greece, Italy, Germany, France, and England. It appeared in London in the autumn of 1348; and, according to some historians, one half of the whole population, besides much cattle, was swept away.

During the ravages of the plague Edward made several offers of peace to John, king of France, on condition of his renouncing his pretensions to the French crown, in exchange for the absolute sovereignty of Guienne, Calais, and the other lands which had been held as fiefs by the former kings of England. These offers were rejected; and in 1355 prince Edward opened a campaign in the south of France, with an army of sixty thousand men. He ravaged the country from south to north, and returned to Bordeaux laden with booty. A simultaneous movement made by his father in the north of France proved a failure: though at the head of a numerous army, he was obliged to turn back upon Calais, through want of provisions.

While the king and his son were in France the Scots retook the town of Berwick, and at this news Edward returned. Early in the next year he appeared before Berwick; but, at his approach, the Scots withdrew. Edward now resolved to effect a final conquest of that kingdom; but after marching through the country of the Lothians, and burning Haddington and Edinburgh, he was again compelled to retreat from want of provisions. The Scots who would not meet him in

the field, harassed his retiring forces, and inflicted a dreadful vengeance on his rear, for the devastations he had committed.

Prince Edward was still in France, and while his father was engaged in Scotland he took the field with about fourteen thousand men, most of them being Gascons. His plan of operation seems to have been merely plundering devastations: he penetrated into the very heart of France, burning, destroying, and plundering wherever he came. On his return, arriving within two leagues of Poitiers, he found John in advance, waiting to give him battle with an army of sixty thousand men, composed of the flower of the nation. Famine ravaged the English camp, and Edward, wishing to avoid a battle, offered very advantageous terms to John. Talleyrand, cardinal of Perigorde, sought also to bring about a cessation of arms. John, however, insisted that Edward and one hundred of his best knights should surrender themselves prisoners, which Edward refused, and both sides prepared for the struggle.

On Monday, the 19th of September, the two armies drew up in order of battle. To compensate for his inferiority of numbers, Edward took his post on a rising ground surrounded with vineyards and inclosures, and approachable only through narrow roads flanked with hedge-rows. A corps of French knights attempted to clear the roads, but the arrows of the English archers stopped their career. At the same time a body of English cavalry, which had been placed in ambuscade, charged upon the French flank, and the troops, which were commanded by the dauphin, seized with a panic, fled, together with their leaders. The division commanded by the king in person was next attacked, and, after a fearful carnage, dispersed; and the French monarch, with his son, and a great number of knights, were taken prisoners.

The Black Prince earned more honours by his conduct to the captive monarch than by his victory. He was treated with all the courtesy of the most perfect chivalry, and as a sovereign. After spending the winter at Bourdeaux, prince Edward brought his royal captive to England, and John was lodged in the Savoy palace, where, although a prisoner, he lived as a monarch. The other prisoners experienced the same compassion: they were treated with tenderness, and set at liberty on the payment of moderate ransoms. No other advantage was taken of the victory: even the crown of France, which was denied to John at the head of his armies,

was ceded to him as a captive. On retiring from the field of Poitiers, the dauphin, Charles, returned to Paris, and took upon him the government of the kingdom, and in 1360 a treaty was concluded at Bretigny, between him and the English monarch, by which Edward renounced his pretensions to the crown of France, and the dauphin agreed that Edward should have full sovereignty over Calais, Guisnes, Guienne, Poictou, and Ponthieu, and promised to pay three million crowns of gold in six years as John's ransom. John ratified this treaty, and was set at liberty; but his nobles prevented his fulfilling its important parts, and, fearing that he should suffer for their crooked policy, he quietly took up his old quarters in the Savoy, where he died, A. D. 1354.

In the year 1367 the Black Prince assisted Don Pedro, the king of Castile, in regaining the throne from which he had been driven by his subjects. By his valour Pedro was enabled to re-ascend his throne; but while in Spain he contracted a malady from which he never recovered, and he was obliged to lead his army with all haste back to Guienne. In the mean time Charles had been recovering strength, and making preparations for another war in England. For seven years the treaty of Bretigny had been little more than a dead letter, and Charles only waited an opportunity of setting it aside altogether. This was soon afforded him. The expedition in the cause of Don Pedro had obliged prince Edward to impose additional taxes upon his subjects of Guienne, and the count of Armagnac and other Gascon lords appealed to the king of France, as lord paramount. Charles summoned Edward, as prince of Aquitaine and his vassal, to appear in his court at Paris, to answer the complaints of the Gascon lords, and this was the signal for war: the Black Prince replied that he would go to Paris, but it should be at the head of sixty thousand men. Although sick almost to death, he put himself at the head of his forces, and marched onward. Limoges, the capital of the Limousin, had been betrayed to the dukes of Anjou and Berri; and having left a garrison therein, they had retreated. The Black Prince vowed that he would not move or attend to anything till he had retaken this town; and he laid siege to it. Being too ill to mount his charger he was carried on a litter from post to post, pressing the siege with a fury which had not hitherto been observed in him. After a month's labour, a breach was made in the walls, and the besiegers rushed through it, with

orders to massacre all they found. Most of the poor and humble class, who had nothing to do with the betraying of the town to the French, were slain: the whole city was ransacked, and then burned to the ground; only some French knights who defended the town valiantly were spared. This was the last military exploit of the Black Prince: he returned to England, where he died in the month of June, 1376.

The Black Prince was so popular with the English people, that, though the melancholy event had been long expected, his death seemed to toll the knell of the country's glory. It was said that the good fortune of England flourished in his health, languished in his sickness, and expired in his death. His father was most sensibly affected with the loss of his son, and tried every art to allay his grief. He did not long survive the blow. Abandoning all the duties and burdens of the state, he spent the latter part of his life between Eltham palace, and the beautiful manor of Shene. While thus living in retirement, his ministers and courtiers crowded around the duke of Lancaster, or prince Richard; and Edward died at Shene, in 1377, with only one priest at his bedside. He was then in the sixty-fifth year of his life, and the fifty-first of his reign.

The reign of Edward III. is often spoken of as the most glorious in the British annals. If wars and victories bring glory to a nation this may be true: few greater battles than those of Crecy and Poitiers are recorded in the annals of the world's history. But the military spirit of Edward impoverished his country, both by withdrawing the services of the ablest parts of its population, and by direct taxation for the support of his troops. Need for money, however, compelled Edward to increase the privileges of the common people. The representatives of the commons were now allowed to form a distinct legislative body: in 1363 the knights of the shires were separated from the barons, and sat with the burgesses, which gave great additional influence to the lower house of parliament. But the most important improvement of this reign was occasioned by the notice taken of the abuses of the church of Rome. Various measures of reformation were adopted; the most important of which was one tending to purify the English language. Since the Norman conquest the French language had been introduced into all law proceedings; but in 1362 a law was passed directing the use of the English tongue. This encouraged the people to

cultivate the language of the country, and authors to use it in their writings: many treatises and translations of Scripture were written and dispersed abroad for the spiritual welfare of the people; and rich and poor began to take an interest both in their religious and their civil liberties. This was the most glorious feature of the reign of Edward III.

### RICHARD II., SURNAMED OF BORDEAUX.

A.D. 1377. Richard of Bordeaux was the only surviving and legitimate son of Edward the Black Prince. After his father's death he had, by the consent of the king, been presented to both houses of parliament, as "the fair and perfect image of his father," and the successor to all his rights. He was only eleven years of age when he began his reign, but no regular regency was appointed: twelve commissioners were simply appointed to aid the chancellor and treasurer. Richard was crowned on the 10th of July in Westminster Abbey.

Before Richard had been a month on the throne the English coast was menaced by a formidable French fleet. In August the whole of the Isle of Wight, with the exception of Carisbrook Castle, was plundered and wasted, and the towns of Hastings and Rye burned. The French, who were assisted by the Spaniards, were defeated with great loss at Southampton; but they still continued to interrupt the foreign commerce of the country. Aided by parliament, government was enabled to put a considerable fleet to sea, under the command of the earl of Buckingham; but he met with little success; and in the year 1378 he was succeeded by his brother, the duke of Lancaster, more popularly known as "John of Gaunt." Under his command the English captured Cherbourg, on the coast of Normandy; and he also gained by treaty the important town and harbour of Brest, in Brittany. The possession of these towns was of great advantage, as it deprived the French of two ports whence they could best attack England, while it gave the English two other keys to France. The people, however, said that Lancaster had wasted the supplies and done nothing; and a circumstance occurred which seemed to justify their murmurs. The Scots had renewed the war, and had captured every ship in the port of Scarborough. No measures were taken by John of Gaunt to retrieve this disaster; but John Philpot, a citizen of London, equipped a small fleet at his own expense, and

not only recovered all the vessels, but took the Scots commander prisoner, and captured many of his vessels.

The expenses of armaments to face the enemy on every side was great, and to meet them a tax of three groats on every person above fifteen was voted by parliament. The people had been long discontented, and they resolved to evade the payment of this tax by all the means in their power: the poor especially were inflamed with resentment against this tax, as the rich were not called upon to pay more than they were. Severity was adopted in its collection, and this induced a revolt: the obstinacy of the people kept pace with the harshness of the collectors, and many of the rural districts refused payment. This was especially the case in Kent and Essex, where judges were sent in vain to punish the insurgents: they were obliged to flee for their lives, while the heads of the jurors and clerks of the commission were cut off. Nothing was now wanted but a leader; and this was soon found in the person of a priest, who took the name of Jack Straw. Letters were sent in all directions, and in a few days the whole agricultural population of Essex, Kent, Norfolk, and Suffolk, was in arms. An act of brutality on the part of a tax-gatherer in the county of Kent fanned the flames of revolt. This man went into the house of Wat the Tyler, in the town of Dartmouth, and demanded the tax for his daughter. The mother maintained she was under age; but he said he would ascertain the fact, and offered an intolerable insult to the girl: both mother and daughter cried out, and the father, who was tiling a house in the town, ran to the spot, and slew the offender. This deed was applauded by the bystanders, and every one promised him support. The commons of Kent rose as one man, and being joined by some of the men of Essex, they took Rochester Castle, entered Maidstone and Canterbury, where they beheaded three rich men, and then marched away towards London. In his route Wat the Tyler was joined by men from all quarters of Kent and Essex; and by the time he reached Blackheath it is said he had one hundred thousand desperate men under his command. While at this spot they were harangued by a priest, named John Ball, whom Wat the Tyler had taken from Maidstone prison, and had appointed as chaplain or preacher. John Ball insisted that all men were equal before God, and ought to be so before the laws; and he recommended not only an equality of property,

but a destruction of the nobility. His eloquence had such an effect on the multitude that they killed all the judges and lawyers that fell into their hands, and made all they could lay hands on swear to be true to king Richard and the commons, and to pay no tax except the fifteenths which had been paid by their forefathers. The young king threw himself into the Tower of London; but on the twelfth of June he descended the river as far as Rotherhithe, to speak to the insurgents. On seeing him they raised a shout of acclamation; but, mistaking their meaning, those with the king put about the boat and rowed back to the Tower. The people now clamoured aloud for the heads of all the ministers; and they marched on towards the city, destroying the Marshalsea, the King's Bench, and the lord treasurer's mansion at Highbury, in their route. On arriving in the city their conduct was at first most moderate: they only required a redress of grievances, and they purchased all they required at a just price. The madness of drunkenness, however, was soon added to political fury. Some of the citizens having thrown open their wine-cellars, with a view of conciliating the mob, the peasants became excited to mischief; and Newgate, the Temple, the Fleet, the priory of St. John of Jerusalem, in Clerkenwell, and many mansions were demolished. They also proceeded to the shedding of blood: every man who did not answer to their watchword, "For whom holdeth thou?" with the words, "King Richard and the true commons," was put to death. Many citizens were massacred; and all that night London was involved in fire, murders, and debauchery.

On the morning of the 14th a multitude surrounded the Tower, and clamoured for the heads of the chancellor and the treasurer. They were told that if they would retire quietly to Mile End the king would meet them there. Richard rode thither with a few attendants; and on arriving he saw himself surrounded by sixty thousand peasants. The demeanour of these peasants was mild and respectful, and their demands moderate. They required the total abolition of slavery for themselves and their children; the reduction of the rent of land to four pence the acre; the full liberty of buying and selling in all fairs and markets; and a general pardon for all past offences. These demands were granted, and copies of the charter containing the four clauses were sealed and delivered to them; and then the men of Essex and Hertfordshire and others withdrew from the capital.

In the meantime, however, the men of Kent had gained an entrance into the Tower, where they cut off the heads of the chancellor, the treasurer, the king's confessor, and one of the farmers of the tax; and these dangerous men still remained behind. At the head of these was Wat the Tyler; and he, with the other leaders, rejected the charter. Two other charters were drawn up, and refused; and the king, with a retinue of about sixty knights, barons, and gentlemen, rode forth to meet the rioters in West Smithfield. On seeing the king, Wat ordered his companions not to move till he had given them a signal, and then rode boldly up to Richard. "King," said he, "dost thou see all those men there?" "I do," replied Richard; "why dost thou ask?" "Because," he rejoined, "they are all at my will, and have sworn by their faith and loyalty to do whatsoever I should bid them." During this parley, Wat, whose horse's head touched the flank of Richard's steed, played with his dagger, and John Walworth, thinking that he intended to stab the king, rode up and struck him with either a sword, dagger, or mace. Wat turned his horse to rejoin his men; but Ralph Standish, one of the king's knights, thrust his sword through his side and killed him. On seeing their leader fall, the men of Kent prepared for revenge; but Richard rode gallantly up to them, and exclaimed, "What are you doing, my lieges? Tyler, was a traitor. I am your king, and will be your captain and guide." The intrepidity of Richard saved his own life, and the lives of his company: on hearing his words many slipped away, while others followed him to the open fields at Islington. Here Richard was joined by a body of men in arms, under the command of sir Robert Knowles; and the insurgents, seeing their cause hopeless, either fled or, throwing their bows on the ground, implored mercy. Richard forgave them for the moment; but soon after, finding himself at the head of forty thousand men, he caused it to be proclaimed that all his charters meant nothing; and opened courts of commission in different towns to try all the insurgents who could be captured. It is said that one thousand five hundred were executed in the several counties where the revolt had broken out, among whom were Jack Straw and John Ball, the strolling preachers. The obnoxious poll-tax, however, which had been the origin of all this mischief, was no more collected; and in a few weeks a general pardon was issued "for all loyal subjects."



In the year 1382 the king was married to Anne of Bohemia. He was then only sixteen years of age, and was surrounded with ministers and officers of obscure birth and fortune, on whom he was continually heaping wealth and honours. Great jealousy existed between the king's uncles and his favourites, and a struggle ensued, in which both parties had no regard to truth and integrity. The duke of Lancaster was accused of treasonable designs, and a civil war was about to break out; but the queen-mother effected a reconciliation between the king and his uncle. After their reconciliation, in 1385, Richard marched against the French and Scots, who had suddenly broke into Northumberland, and they retiring before him, he crossed the borders, burnt Edinburgh, Perth, and other towns, and then, disbanding his army, returned. During this expedition a fresh quarrel arose between Richard and John of Gaunt; and soon after the king, glad to get rid of him, enabled him to leave England to press a claim which he had on the throne of Castile. The duke was not successful in his expedition; but while in Spain his daughter Catherine was married to Henry, prince of Asturias, the heir of the king of Castile; and his issue reigned there for many generations.

Encouraged by the absence of John of Gaunt, with many of England's choicest warriors, the French determined to invade England. An army of one hundred thousand men was collected in Flanders for that purpose, and an immense fleet lay in the port of Sluys ready to carry them over. In the end, however, this army was disbanded, the fleet dispersed by a tempest, and many of the ships taken by the English.

In the meantime Richard was involved in a quarrel with his parliament. His conduct, and that of his favourites, had excited great discontent; and, at a meeting of parliament, the duke of Gloucester headed an opposition which determined to drive Richard's favourites, de la Pole and de Vere, from office. De la Pole was dismissed and his estates confiscated; and the government was then vested in the hands of fourteen prelates and nobles. At the head of all was placed his uncle Gloucester, whom from that moment Richard hated with an intensity which foreboded some dark deed.

Richard did not readily submit to these restraints. In the year 1387 he met his favourites at Nottingham, and, requiring the attendance of the judges, procured from them an

opinion that the royal prerogative was above law. An appeal was made to arms; but the barons, supported by the people, gained a victory over the royal forces at Rudicot, in Oxfordshire; and, while the favourites were obliged to take refuge in flight, some of their supporters were executed. Gloucester, who knew that the king and his favourites desired his death, drove every one of the latter, even down to the king's confessor, away from the court.

On being defeated by his uncle Gloucester and the barons, Richard retired into the town, leaving the power of government in the hands of the council or commission. At length, Richard, in a great council held in May, 1389, suddenly addressed his uncle by asking how old he was. "Your highness," replied Gloucester, "is in your twenty-second year." "Then," rejoined the king, "I am surely of age to manage my own affairs. I have been longer under control than any man of my dominions. I thank you, my lords, for your past services; but I want them no longer." Having made this declaration he demanded the great seals from the archbishop, and the keys of the exchequer from the bishop of Hereford; and within a few days he drove Gloucester from the council, and dismissed most of the officers he had appointed, without meeting any opposition. But Richard was not adapted for conducting the affairs of the state; and they were left to his uncle, the duke of York, and his cousin Henry of Bolingbroke, earl of Derby.

For several years this government was undisturbed, and the nation tranquil; the king was even apparently sincerely reconciled to his uncles, the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester. During this period a truce for four years was concluded with France and Scotland, and a revolt was suppressed in Ireland. In the midst of this general tranquillity, also, queen Anne died, and Richard married Isabella, the daughter of Charles VI., king of France. A truce for twenty-five years, from the date of 1396, was the consequence of this union; but the marriage was unpopular in England, and was especially opposed by the duke of Gloucester: this sealed the fate of Gloucester. Richard had never been sincerely reconciled to his uncle, and he now resolved to strike a blow which he had long contemplated. After arresting the earls of Warwick and Arundel, he went with a gay company to Pleshy Castle, in Essex, where his uncle Gloucester was residing with his family. The duke, suspecting no mischief, came out to

the royal guest, and was instantly seized by the earl marshal, carried with speed to the river, put on board ship, and conveyed to the castle of Calais, where he was murdered. About the same time the earl of Arundel was beheaded, and the earl of Warwick banished for life.

Richard now assumed absolute power, in which he was encouraged by the obsequiousness of his parliament, and the exhortations of his council. But his high and absolute bearing was of short duration: deep animosity by his late acts had taken root in the kingdom, and this was increased by the aggrandizement of some new favourites. Richard appeared only to require power and money that he might lavish them on his minions, and indulge himself in an indolent and luxurious life. In this state of things a remarkable circumstance occurred which tended to his overthrow. The duke of Norfolk, overtaking the duke of Hereford, on the road between Windsor and London, told him that the king had formed designs against his father, John of Gaunt, and himself. Henry of Bolingbroke, now duke of Hereford mentioned this communication of Norfolk in open parliament, affecting to consider it a slander against the king. Norfolk denied the truth of this, and challenged Hereford to single combat, according to the knightly fashion of that age. The lists were prepared at Coventry, and the combat was about to begin, when the king, who was present, forbade their fighting, and sentenced Hereford to banishment for ten years, and Norfolk to perpetual exile. Nearly the whole of the property of Norfolk was confiscated; and John of Gaunt dying soon after, the king seized the patrimony of Hereford. Other violent measures followed, and all England was excited against Richard. Bands of armed men appeared in many parts; and at length the nobles, combined with the citizens of London, resolved to recall Hereford.

Henry embarked in July, 1399, for the coast of Yorkshire, where he landed with a retinue of about sixty persons. At this time Richard was in Ireland, whither he had gone with a large army, to avenge the death of the earl of March, presumptive heir to the crown, who had been killed by the natives. The state of communication between England and Ireland was widely different from what it is now: it was three weeks before he heard of the arrival of Hereford, who at that time had been joined by the Percys and others, was supported by the archbishop of Canterbury, and was at the head of sixty thousand men. Richard landed at Milford

Haven in the month of August; and finding the popular feeling against him, he assumed the garb of a priest, and retired to Conway Castle, where he remained in so destitute a condition as to lie upon straw. Famine drove him from Conway Castle, and he surrendered to Percy, duke of Northumberland, who appears to have offered him delusive terms. He was met, at the castle of Flint, by Henry of Bolingbroke, to whom he bent his knee as to his sovereign; Richard remarked:—"Fair cousin of Lancaster, you are right welcome." Henry replied:—"My lord, I am come somewhat before my time; but I will tell you the reason. Your people complain that you have ruled them harshly for twenty-two years; but if it please God, I will help you to rule them better." "Fair cousin, since it pleaseth you, it pleaseth me likewise." The trumpets then sounded to horse, and, mounted on a wretched hackney, Richard rode a prisoner to Chester. No one pitied his fate, and an old chronicler says, that his very dog left his side to fawn upon his destroyer.

From Chester, the king with the conqueror proceeded to London, where he was lodged in the Tower. On his arrival writs were issued, in Richard's name, for the meeting of parliament on the 29th of September. On the day of meeting, a deputation of lords and commons waited on the king in the Tower, who made a formal renunciation of the crown, acknowledged his unfitness for government, absolved his subjects from homage and fealty, and gave his royal ring to his cousin Henry. It was upon this resignation that Henry founded his principal claim; but, anxious to fortify his pretensions, thirty-three articles of impeachment against Richard were read in parliament, and being declared guilty on every charge, his deposition was pronounced. As soon as this sentence was proclaimed by eight commissioners, Henry, who was seated in his usual place near to the throne, rose, and having solemnly crossed himself, said, "In the name of God, the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost, I, Henry of Lancaster, challenge this realm of England, because I was descended by right of blood, from the good lord king Henry III.; and through that right, that God of his grace hath sent me, with help of my kin and friends, to recover it; the which realm was in point to be undone for default of government, and undoing of the good laws." He knelt for a few minutes in prayer on the steps, and then was seated on the throne by the archbishops of Canterbury and York.

## CHAPTER X.

THE RELIGION, GOVERNMENT, AND LAWS, LITERATURE,  
ARTS, COMMERCE, MANNERS, ETC. OF THIS PERIOD.

*Religion.*—In the thirteenth century the papal dominion reached its height in Europe; and in no country were the exactions and encroachments of the Roman pontiffs carried to a greater extent than in England. Money was extorted from every diocese; and few had the hardihood to resist these extortions. Groteste, bishop of Lincoln, raised his voice against these imposts; but it was not powerful enough to reach the mass of the population, and the pontiff's demands were always satisfied. The people were further impoverished during this period by the mendicant orders—the Franciscans, or Friars Minors; the Dominicans, or Black Friars; the Carmelites, or White Friars; and the Augustines, or Grey Friars. The one design of all these orders was not to save the souls of the people, but to obtain their money. All these were hostile to each other: those who sought instruction at the hands of the Franciscans, were only told, as they valued their souls, to beware of the Carmelites; the Carmelites promoted their edification by denouncing the Dominicans; and the Dominicans, in their turn, condemned the Augustines. “Be true to us,” was the language of each order: “Give us your money, and you shall be saved without a creed.” Thus the people were spoiled by the pope and the priests. The assumptions and exactions of the church of Rome, however, proved in the long run adverse to its own interests. In the course of this period several measures were adopted to check the papal tyranny. Laws were enacted restraining the power of the pope; and in the fourteenth century the efforts of the legislature were seconded by the people. While the king, lords, and commons were repelling the encroachments of the pontiffs by statutes, a great reformer and his disciple shook the church at once in its doctrine, its discipline, and the whole fabric of its polity. This reformer was John Wiclif, who was born about the year 1294, and who, in 1356, in a treatise entitled, “Of the last Age of the Church,” boldly assailed the notions then commonly held on the subject of the authority of the pope. A few years later

he attacked the Mendicant orders; and subsequently the clergy in general became the subject of his invective. His exertions in preaching, writing, and translating the Holy Scriptures made a deep impression on the popular mind, and when he was cited before the bishops at Lambeth, in the reign of Edward III., he was protected by both nobles and the common people. Wiclif died in 1384, at which time he had laid a sure foundation for a reformation in matters of religion, not only in England but in Europe.

*Government and Laws.*—In the reign of Henry III., the principal legislative acts worthy of notice, are his confirmation of the Great Charter, and of the Charter of the Forest; which were the great basis upon which the settlement of the English laws stood during his long reign. The liberty of the subject, however, made greater progress in the reign of his son, Edward I.: a prince who has been denominated the English Justinian. During the last thirteen years of Edward's reign, the English laws received more improvement than in all the ages prior to the reign of queen Victoria; but what renders this era particularly interesting is that the deputies of towns and boroughs were then first admitted into parliament. This was the origin of the house of commons, which has proved so great a blessing to the country. Edward confirmed the Great Charter eleven times in the course of his reign; and at length he converted into an established law a privilege of which the English people had hitherto only a precarious enjoyment, by decreeing that no tax should be levied without the joint consent of the lords and commons. The consequences of these laws were seen in the reign of Edward II.: in that otherwise calamitous rule there was a great reduction of taxation, and very few grants were made by parliament. On the contrary, however, the fifty years of the reign of Edward III. were a period of parliamentary taxation on a large scale; but this was to maintain the wars, which were popular with the people; and all duties levied were granted by annual vote: first by the representatives of the cities and barons only, and after 1373 by both houses in the usual form. In the reign of Richard II. the first subsidy to the crown was granted by parliament; and the first parliamentary grant for life was made to that monarch, which grant consisted of a duty on the exportation of wool, woolfells, and leather. An act was subsequently passed, offering a discount from the duties on these articles to all merchants who would pay the

Calais duties beforehand, which was the first attempt made to anticipate the revenue; and which practice proved to be the origin of the national debt.

*Literature.*—During this period the study of elegant literature was almost abandoned for metaphysical disputation. Almost the only studies, indeed, cultivated by the numerous students, not only in the English colleges, but in those on the Continent, were the Aristotelian logic and metaphysics. In some of the most famous universities the students were obliged to take a solemn oath to defend the opinions of Aristotle, although they were only acquainted with his works by false translations. The result of this system was adverse to the progress of real knowledge. Divinity soared above the Scriptures: the schoolmen valued themselves in making improvements in theology without consulting the Bible, and those few who still studied the sacred writings were called in derision Bible-doctors. There were a few names celebrated in the mathematical and physical sciences, as Roger Bacon; Robert Grosstête, bishop of Lincoln; and John of Leyden; but these instances were rare exceptions to the general rule. The occupation of the mass of students in the universities was to learn bad Latin and worse logic. They disputed without end and without meaning; perplexing the most important truths, and giving plausible colours to the greatest absurdities. A logical disputant of this period was not ashamed to argue, that "two contradictory propositions might each be true;" and these frivolous disputes were conducted with so much eagerness, that the disputants sometimes proceeded from angry words to blows, and sometimes raised dangerous tumults in the seats of learning.

Notwithstanding the general neglect of the elegancies of Latin, the Latin tongue continued, throughout this period, to be, both in England and on the Continent, the common language of the learned, and that in which books were written. Scholastic divines and philosophers wrote in Latin, and it was employed by chroniclers, and all writers on geometry, astronomy, chemistry, medicine, and the other branches of mathematical and natural science. French also, which was the language of the court and of the nobility in England from the conquest; was extensively employed in literary compositions. While Latin, however, was the language of the learned, and French of the nobility, the great body of the people used the language of their ancestors—the Saxon and

**English.** Ballads and metrical chronicles and romances were written in the English language before the reign of Edward I.; but the true founders of English literature appeared in the reign of Edward III. These were Laurence Minot, who wrote a series of poetical pieces on the warlike achievements of that king; William Longland, author of "The Visions of Pierce Plowman;" John Gower, who wrote much English as well as Latin and French verse; and last and greatest of all, Geoffrey Chaucer, who may be considered the true father of English literature.

**Arts.**—During this period very little progress was made in agriculture. The country being almost constantly involved in war, the attention of the people was diverted from the improvement of their lands. The uncertain tenure, also, by which farmers held their possessions, had the effect of preventing the improvement of the soil. Gardening, under the protection of the nobility, had better success: every castle and monastery had its garden, orchard, and vineyard, and a considerable quantity of wine was made in England, not much inferior to foreign wine.

In architecture this period is generally allowed to have produced the best models of what has been called the "lighter Gothic style of building." Many of the most admired cathedrals, as those of York, Lincoln, Salisbury, and Winchester were erected in this age, and afford fine examples of this style of architecture. The characteristics of the sacred edifices of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, are steeples with spires and pinnacles; pillars formed of an assemblage of columns: and lofty windows, sometimes towering to a point, sometimes much enlarged, divided into several lights by stone mullions, and always filled with beautiful stained glass, representing the stories of saints and martyrs. During this period also there was a gradual improvement in domestic architecture: castles and houses were erected of far greater elegance than had been hitherto seen in England. This progress in architectural elegance was greatly assisted by foreign workmen, who, forming themselves into societies under the title of "Free Masons," offered their services to the opulent and noble.

Sculpture and painting in this period made equal progress with architecture. So great was the taste for paintings that not only the apartments of the great but those of private individuals were ornamented with historical pictures. In the



records of this period painting on glass is first noticed in the form of precepts for glazing three windows in St. John's chapel, in the Tower of London, with a little Virgin Mary holding the Child, a Trinity, and St. John the apostle. The style of executing such works at this time was in small medallions of various forms, inlaid upon a species of mosaic ground in the most brilliant colours.

Several musical instruments were now used by minstrels besides the harp. A manuscript roll of the offices of Edward III. contains a list of performers on the trumpet, oboe, clarion, dulcimer, tabret, violin, and flute. Several other instruments are also mentioned by Chaucer in his "Canterbury Tales" and "House of Fame;" and the same poet, in the "Romance of the Rose," speaks of a lady's singing, in language which implies much vocal ability and great practical knowledge. At the same time no remains are to be found of a British musical composition up to the fifteenth century.

*Commerce.*—The chief manufactures of England in this era were those of wool, lead, and leather. Tin, worsted stuffs, feathers, cheese, butter, honey, tallow, skins of all kinds, and "gaular," supposed to be osiers for making baskets, were articles of export. The greatest part of domestic trade was still carried on in fairs, which were frequented by a great number of people from different countries, and stored with all kinds of commodities. Great impediments and embarrassments in trade were occasioned by contradictory legislation; but, nevertheless, English commerce made considerable progress within the present period. An impulse was given to navigation and commerce by the introduction of the mariner's compass, which was in common use soon after the middle of the thirteenth century. The exports appear to have been much larger than the imports, for in an account preserved of both in the exchequer for the year 1354, the former exceeded the latter by nearly two hundred thousand pounds. In this year wool constituted about thirteen-fourteenths of the whole exports of the kingdom; and it was during the whole of this period, and for a long time afterwards, the staple commodity, of the export trade. At this time there were societies of foreign merchants in England, the principal of which appears to have been that of the merchants of Cologne, who had a hall or factory, in London, which they called their 'Gildhall,' for the legal possession of

which they paid thirty marks to the crown. It has also been stated, that there was an association of English merchants for trading in foreign parts, called the Brotherhood of St. Thomas à Becket of Canterbury; but this does not rest on sufficient authority.

With regard to coin, the denominations and relative values of the different kinds continued the same as in the preceding period. Edward III., in 1344, struck florins of gold which were ordered to pass for six shillings, and the halves and quarters in proportion. Subsequently, finding that he had rated these pieces too high, he coined the gold noble of 6s. 8d., and recalled the florins to his treasury. It is upon the coins of this monarch that we first read the motto *Dieu et mon droit*, "God and my right," which was originally adopted in allusion to the claim to the French crown.

*Manners and Customs, etc.*—Social life in England during this period assumed a refinement and a splendour to which it had hitherto been a stranger. There was an almost unlimited hospitality in the palaces of princes and the castles of great barons, arising chiefly from the chivalrous spirit which then prevailed. Under the energetic rule of Edward I., and more especially under that of Edward III., chivalry attained its highest exaltation, and gave rise to the most heroic daring and generous deeds, which were, however, sometimes accompanied by revolting atrocities. It was by chivalry that Edward III. sought to accomplish his vast designs. Every tournament he proclaimed increased the number of his supporters, and added to his strength. His opponent, Philip of Valois, adopted the same course, and a rivalry in these pageantries was the consequence. Thus Edward established what was called a round table at Windsor, two hundred feet in diameter, which was maintained at the expense of one hundred pounds weekly; and the French king, in reprisal, established one similar at Paris, by the attractions of which he intercepted many German and Italian knights who were coming to England. Subsequently Edward instituted the illustrious order of the Garter; and then Philip increased the number and splendour of his tournaments. The splendour and recklessness of expense which this chivalrous spirit encouraged was not confined to courtly parades and tournaments: it pervaded every department of domestic as well as public and out-door life. Each man strove to outdo his neighbour: the squire endeavoured to outshine the knight;

the knight, the baron; the baron, the earl; and the earl, the king. Trains of attendants were supported at a ruinous expense. Richard II., it is said, entertained ten thousand persons daily at his tables; and Thomas, earl of Lancaster, grandson of Henry, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, expended in one year about twenty-two thousand pounds of silver in the rites of hospitality. The feastings of chivalry, indeed, crept into the every-day life of the great: the banquets of nobles and ecclesiastics were alike marked by costly profusion. Some of the great feasts of this period exhibit extraordinary bills of fare. Thus at the marriage banquet of Richard, earl of Cornwall, in 1243, thirty thousand dishes were served up; and in the following century, at the installation feast of the abbot of St. Augustine, three thousand dishes were displayed. As for wine it was consumed in abundance: three hundred and seventy-one pipes were drunk in the household of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, in one year. The wines used at this period were either compounded or pure: of the former were hippocras, pigment, and claret; the latter were the wines of France, Spain, Greece, and Syria.

The mode of living in this period required vigorous digestion, and gave rise to continual out-door sports. Hunting, falconry, and hawking were eagerly followed by all classes and both sexes. The in-door amusements differed little from those of former periods; but chess appears to have been added; and the jester became an inmate of princely and noble households. The office of a jester was to divert the jaded spirits of his lord by jests either intellectual or practical, and to keep the banquet in a roar by his wit, by the jingling of his bells, and by the grotesque display of his cap and bauble. Mumming, also, which appears to have been a coarse and primitive kind of masquerade, formed a particular amusement of this period; and, between the courses of public banquets, pageants were sometimes introduced. Mummings and masqueradings were attractive to the common people; but their chief exercise was that of archery. Every village was furnished with pricks, butts, and rovers for competition, and at these trials of skill no man was allowed to shoot at a mark less distant than one hundred and twenty-two feet.

Great improvements were made in the furniture of this period; and many new articles, as square-backed chairs.

tressels for tables, reading-desks, and clocks that struck and chimed the hour, were introduced.

There are also repeated notices in the records of this period of silver, and silver-gilt plate, consisting of dishes, chargers, basons, ewers, saltcellars, and spoons. A pair of knives with sheaths of silver, and a fork of crystal, with fire-screens and fire-dogs, or andirons, are likewise mentioned in the wardrobe accounts of Edward I.

Some of the modes of dress of this period were very ridiculous. Thus, in the reign of Edward III., an English beau wore long pointed shoes, fastened to his knees with gold or silver chains; a stocking of one colour on one leg, and of another colour on the other; short breeches, which did not reach to the middle of his thighs; a coat, one half white and the other half black or blue; and a silk hood buttoned under the chin, embroidered with grotesque figures of animals, and sometimes ornamented with gold, silver, and precious stones. The fashionable females have been thus described by Knyghton:—"The tournaments are attended by many ladies of the first rank and greatest beauty, dressed in party-coloured tunics. Their tippets are very short, their caps remarkably small, and wrapped about their heads with cords; their girdles are ornamented with gold and silver; and they wear short swords, like daggers, before them, which hang across their stomachs. They are mounted on the finest horses with the richest furniture: thus equipped, they ride from place to place in quest of tournaments, by which they dissipate their fortunes, and often ruin their reputation." The ridiculous modes of dress became the subject of bitter reprehension from the satirists in this age. By one writer, ladies, on account of their whimsical head-tires and long trains, are compared to peacocks and pies, having long tails that trail in the dirt, a thousand times longer than those of such birds. The costume of ecclesiastics was also very sumptuous at this period: some of the sacerdotal habits were nearly covered with gold and precious stones, and others elaborately embroidered with the figures of animals and flowers. In the reign of Edward III. long beards came again into fashion; and about this time mention is first made of beaver hats, which were probably manufactured in Flanders. Both in this reign and that of Richard II., extravagant fashions prevailed in dress, which fashions were changed almost annually. Knyghton says, that all distinction of ranks and classes be-

came lost in the general extravagance and rage for magnificent clothing; and Chaucer, in his "Parson's Tale," inveighs against the inordinate waste and excessive cost of the apparel of all classes down to the menial servants. Harding describes servants as being arrayed in silk, satin, damask, and green and scarlet cloth.

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## CHAPTER XI.

THE PERIOD FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY IV. TO  
THE END OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD III.

### HENRY IV., SURNAMED BOLINGBROKE.

A.D. 1399. HENRY was crowned king of England with the usual ceremonies in Westminster Abbey, October the 13th, the feast of St. Edward the Confessor, the anniversary of the day on which he had gone into exile. At first all went merrily "as a marriage bell:" parliament went hand in hand with the new king. But Henry soon found himself involved in trouble and difficulties. During the first session of parliament violent altercations broke out among the barons: the term "traitor" resounded from every corner of the house, and forty gauntlets were thrown upon the floor as the pledges of battle in the lists. Henry managed to subdue this storm; but in doing so he created many personal enemies. It was followed by a conspiracy to kill him at a tournament appointed to be held at Oxford; and had not the lord Aumerle revealed the plot, he would probably have fallen a sacrifice to vengeance; as it was, the mischief fell upon the heads of the conspirators themselves, all of them being taken and executed.

This attempt was soon followed by the death of the ex-king Richard. He died at Pomfret early in the year 1400; but by what means his death was brought about is not known. It was ascribed to vexation at the defeat of his supporters; but it seems probable that he was either assassinated or starved to death. From this time Henry had no quiet. The death of Richard involved him in a quarrel with France, and inroads were made by the French on the English possessions in the south; but the court of France never declared war against

Henry, and all the transactions with the French during his reign were of minor interest.

With the people of England, the conquest of Scotland was still a popular idea, and Henry determined on an expedition into that country. This expedition was unsuccessful, and while he was absent in the north, a formidable insurrection broke out in the west under the guidance of Owen Glendower, who had been an esquire in the household of Richard, and who retained an affectionate recollection of his old master. On his return from Scotland, Henry marched into Wales to punish Owen; but the Welsh chieftain posted himself among the mountain fastnesses of his country, and compelled the king to retreat.

In the year 1402 the Scots invaded Northumberland, and were defeated at Homildon by the earl of Northumberland and his son Hotspur; the Scottish general, earl Douglas, was taken prisoner. Owen Glendower still continued in arms; and, in one of his predatory inroads into England, he took prisoner sir Edward Mortimer, the uncle of the earl of Mortimer, whose hereditary right to the English throne was stronger than that of Henry. The relations of Mortimer requested permission of Henry to ransom him; but this was refused, and a formidable conspiracy of the English nobles followed. They formed a close league with Owen Glendower; released earl Douglas on condition of his joining them with all his forces; and sent ambassadors to the kings of France and Scotland, to solicit their aid. A large army of English, Welsh, and Scots was raised, and placed under the command of Hotspur; but this army was defeated at Shrewsbury, and all the leaders either taken prisoners or slain. A.D. 1404.

Several subsequent revolts took place in England; but though they caused Henry great trouble, he was uniformly successful in his attempts to quell them. His last opponent was the old earl of Northumberland, who, with a force chiefly consisting of Scots, sought his dethronement. The aged warrior penetrated as far south as Knaresborough; but on the 28th of February, 1408, he was defeated at Branham Moor, near Tadcaster. About the same time Owen Glendower was so far subdued by prince Henry in Wales as not to cause the king any more trouble during his lifetime. The English possessions in France, however, were continually attacked by the French, nor could Henry ever obtain sufficient money from parliament to equip any great expedition.

for their defence. Parliament was, indeed, Henry's most successful opponent: although ambitious, powerful, adroit, and unscrupulous, he was compelled to respect its wishes; and during his reign the cause of constitutional liberty made great progress. It was only by bowing to the will of parliament that Henry was enabled to retain the throne. The Commons felt their power increased under the rule of an usurper, and on several occasions acted with independence. Thus, while they voted him supplies, they appointed treasurers of their own to see the money disbursed for the purposes intended, and on one occasion required the dismissal of some of his servants, which was granted. In a word, the Commons in this reign assumed powers which had not been usually exercised by their predecessors.

Although Henry had surmounted every obstacle except the wholesome restraint of parliament, and had humbled or destroyed his enemies, his last years were full of grief. From the anxieties he endured he became prematurely old, and he was afflicted by a cutaneous disorder, and subject to epileptic fits. Moreover, having proved the hollowness of men's hearts in his latter days, he mistrusted all mankind, and became gloomy, solitary, and suspicious. His very devotion assumed a gloomy cast. Before his accession he was suspected of leaning towards the doctrines of Wiclif; but in the first year of his reign he removed this suspicion by enacting a cruel statute for the burning of heretics. Penal fires for matters of religion were by him lit up for the first time in England. In the tenth year of his reign he pronounced severe sentences against Wiclif's writings; and in the following year he rejected a petition for the revocation of his statutes against the Lollards, and told the Commons that the punishment should be more rigorous. This rigour of his busy years brought remorse in his old age, and tended to increase his sorrows: his troubles were further increased by the conduct of his son, the prince of Wales. The dissoluteness of young Henry has been greatly exaggerated by the old chroniclers, and the poet Shakspeare; but the popular tales of his youthful freaks are not wholly without foundation, and his riotous behaviour may well be supposed to add to the griefs of his father. The prince of Wales, also, was ambitious, and popular with the people; and this would naturally cause the afflicted and unpopular monarch additional uneasiness. But Henry's troubles were soon over in this world.

As he was praying before the shrine of St. Edward, in Westminster Abbey, he was seized with a fit, and, being carried into the apartments of the abbot, he lay down to die. He expired on the 20th of March, 1413, in the forty-seventh year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign, and was buried in Canterbury cathedral.

#### HENRY V., SURNAMED OF MONMOUTH.

A.D. 1413. The accession of Henry of Monmouth was hailed with universal joy, and he was solemnly crowned on the 9th of April, without opposition. His first acts deepened the favourable impression his character had previously made upon the minds of the people: these were the removal of the body of Richard II. from its obscure tomb in the Friars' church at Langley, to be interred among the kings of England in Westminster Abbey; the release of his rival, the earl of March, from captivity; and the recall of the son of the gallant Hotspur from exile in Scotland. The same generous course was pursued with other individuals; and the effect was seen in the devoted affection of men who had long been bitter enemies to the House of Lancaster.

Notwithstanding the popularity of Henry, the first year of his reign was disturbed by a popular commotion in London, in which religious feelings were associated with political aspirations. At this time, though persecuted, the Lollards still maintained considerable influence, and their tenets were more or less favoured by many of the nobles and rulers. Sir John Oldcastle, commonly called, in right of his wife, lord Cobham, who was a distinguished warrior of that day, especially favoured the Lollards, and was looked up to by them as their champion. Encouraged by his favour and that of others, during the first parliament, placards were stuck up by night on the church-doors of London, stating that there were a hundred thousand men ready to assert their rights. Henry was incensed at this threat; and at that moment Arundel, the archbishop of Canterbury, accused Oldcastle to the king. The young monarch had studied at Oxford with the accused, and, wishing to save him from the inquisition, sought to bring him back to the church of Rome; but all his arguments failed, and then Henry grew angry. He enforced his arguments by reference to the statute against heretics; and when sir John withdrew from Windsor to his manor of Cow-



ling, in Kent, hoping to escape the storm, Henry gave up his old friend to Arundel, and issued a severe proclamation against all sectarians. The archbishop cited Oldcastle to appear in his court; but he derided the authority of the church, and Henry sent an armed force against him, by which he was taken and lodged in the Tower.

Alone and unsupported Oldcastle pleaded two whole days in the synod of prelates and abbots, but in vain: he was convicted of heresy and sentenced to the flames. Henry granted him a respite of fifty days, and before that term elapsed he contrived to escape from the Tower. He fled to Wales; and though the king, by proclamation, offered immense rewards for his apprehension, no one would betray him. His flight, however, was fatal to many of the Lollards. Early in the year 1414, Henry, who was at Eltham, was suddenly alarmed by an account that the Lollards were assembling in the pastoral meadows of St. Giles, and that they were headed by Oldcastle, who intended to dethrone him. It was said that twenty-five thousand men were in arms; but when the king, with his guards, arrived on the spot, he found only some fourscore; and while some of these were slain upon the spot, others were taken and executed. It is not clear for what purpose the Lollards had met on this spot; and it seems probable that they were collected by the emissaries of the clergy, under false pretences, that they might thereby excite Henry to more active measures against the Lollards. The parliament and king seem to have believed that the state had been in danger; but it may be suspected that both were misled by the malice of the enemies of Lollardism. The measures which followed were very rigorous. Arundel, the archbishop of Canterbury, died in the month of February, but his successor, Chicheley, was not a whit more tolerant. Power was given by Parliament to all judges and magistrates to arrest any one suspected of Lollardism, and the prisons of London were soon filled with captives. Few of these suffered capital punishment; but the lands, goods, and chattels of all convicted of "heresy" were forfeited to the king, as in cases of felony.

This commotion in London was followed by a war in France. According to Hume, this war was incited by Chicheley, archbishop of Canterbury, in order to save "the movables of mother church." At this time France was distracted by civil war; and Henry, taking advantage of it,

suddenly demanded its crown; as the representative of Isabella, the wife of the second Edward. His claim was absurd; but it was warmly encouraged by the church, the parliament, and the people of England. A large army was raised; and in the summer of 1415 Henry embarked with it, at Southampton, for the conquest of France. He landed at the mouth of the Seine, and encamped before Harfleur, which he captured; after which, as the season was far advanced, he proceeded to Calais, intending there to winter. In the presence of so formidable an enemy, the French princes had suspended the quarrels that existed among them, and united to oppose him. Their forces trebled the English army in number; and these were interposed between them and Calais, near the villages of Agincourt and Francecourt. Henry approached the French on the 24th of October; and; notwithstanding the superiority of their numbers, he resolved to force his way to Calais. A fearful battle ensued, in which ten thousand of the French, the greater part of whom were men of rank, fell in the strife, and fourteen thousand were made prisoners. The victory was complete, and Henry marched onward to Calais without seeking further advantages. In history this affair is known as "The battle of Agincourt."

On arriving at Calais Henry called a council, in which it was determined that, as sickness prevailed in his camp, and famine and disease raged in the surrounding provinces of France, he and his army should return to England. He was received on his return with much pomp and pageantry; and in the first heat of the enthusiasm which prevailed, parliament voted the supplies he asked for, and even conferred on him, for life, the subsidy on wool and leather. Henry remained in England during the following year; but ambition led him, in the year 1417, to renew his efforts in France. He landed in Normandy, with twenty thousand men, and took possession of several of the principal towns; after which, as winter set in, he betook himself to comfortable quarters.

It was during this winter that Henry's old associate, sir John Oldcastle, rushed upon his fate. Smarting under persecution, the Lollards invited the Scots into England, and engaged to join them. The Scots advanced, and laid siege to the castles of Berwick and Roxburgh; but they were obliged to retreat on the approach of the regent, the duke of Bedford. At this time sir John Oldcastle was at St. Albans,

and he endeavoured to gain his former hiding-place in Wales; but he was captured and arraigned before the house of lords, who condemned him to be hanged as a rebel, and burnt as a heretic. This sentence was executed, under circumstances of great atrocity, in the month of September. The aged warrior, whom persecution had driven into rebellion, died with great courage, and was considered by the Lollards as a saint and martyr.

Henry resumed operations in Normandy in the spring of 1418, by undertaking several sieges at once. By the beginning of July he was master of the whole of Lower Normandy; after which he carried his main force over the Seine, and laid siege to Rouen, the capital of Upper Normandy. Rouen was strongly fortified: on two of its sides it was washed by the Seine, and on all sides it was walled and defended by towers and batteries. For six months it withstood his power; but famine at length subdued its brave defenders: on the 16th day of January, 1419, Henry entered Rouen in triumph. The fall of this great and strong city carried dismay into every corner of France; and, as divisions were still rife among its nobles, there was no one who could withstand the victor. The whole kingdom was one vast theatre of crimes, murders, injustice, and devastation: the duke of Orleans was assassinated by the duke of Burgundy; and the duke of Burgundy, in his turn, fell by the treachery of the dauphin. In this state of affairs negotiations were entered into with Henry, who, following up his victory, was marching upon Paris. Pontoise was captured by him; but while there, a treaty was entered into, by which Henry was to espouse the princess Catherine, daughter of the king of France; king Charles was to enjoy the title and dignity for life, while Henry should be declared heir to the crown, and intrusted with the present administration of the government; and the two kingdoms were for ever to be united under one king, each retaining their respective laws and privileges. Henry was married to Catherine at Troyes; after which he fixed his residence in Paris. On Whitsunday, in the year 1421, the two kings and the two queens, with crowns on their heads, dined together in public; Charles receiving apparent homage, but Henry ruling with absolute sway.

France, however, was not yet conquered. Henry turned his attention to plans of general conquest, and Sens, Montreuil, and Melun submitted to him; but his treasury being

exhausted, and his army diminished, it became necessary for him to return to England to obtain fresh supplies. While in England, the dauphin, who had been wandering about in the southern provinces, collected an army, which eventually turned the tide of victory against the English. Alarmed at the tidings of his success, Henry hastened to France with twenty-eight thousand men; but he had scarcely commenced operations when he was seized with a fistula, which, from the unskilfulness of the physicians, soon became mortal. He expired at Vincennes, in August, 1422, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the tenth of his reign. His remains were carried to England, with much funereal pomp, and buried in Westminster Abbey, near the shrine of Edward the Confessor.

The character of Henry V. was essentially ambitious. His ruling passion was conquest; but, though he left his country nominally possessed of increased power, his ambition weakened his own nation, and sowed the seeds of disorder which marked the following reign. France and England alike suffered from his love of glory and lust of power.

#### HENRY VI., SURNAMED OF WINDSOR.

A.D. 1422. Henry left a son not quite nine months old. On his death-bed he signified his wish that the duke of Gloucester should be regent in England, and that the duke of Bedford should be regent in France. Parliament, however, though it had gone hand in hand with Henry in his wars with France, paid no respect to this desire. As soon as it assembled, it laid claim to the right of regulating the regency, and a permanent council was appointed, which consisted of sixteen members, with the duke of Bedford for president. As Bedford was then absent in France, the duke of Gloucester was to act for him; and though the latter laid claim to the regency, he was obliged to be satisfied with this regulation.

The death of Henry was followed in two months, by that of Charles VI. of France, whose crown he had shorn of its glory. At this time the dauphin was in Auvergne; and as soon as they received the news, the knights of his party conducted him to a little chapel, raised a banner with the arms of France upon it, and saluted him with cries of "Long live the king!" Such was the inauguration of Charles VII., king

of France. He was then in a very reduced condition; but the death of his father gave him an increase of moral strength; and he soon proceeded to Poitiers, where he was solemnly crowned and anointed. The whole countries south of the Loire acknowledged his authority; while the northern parts obeyed the duke of Bedford, as regent to the infant monarch, Henry.

War was the natural consequence of this division of the empire. Crossing the Loire once more, Charles fixed his head-quarters at Gien, a small town on the right bank of the river; while the mass of his forces, under James Stuart, lord Darnley, and marshal Severac, fell upon Burgundy, and laid siege to Crevant. His forces at this time were superior to those of the English; and among them were many thousand Scots, on whose determined valour he placed great reliance. The united armies of the English and Burgundians, however, overthrew them at Crevant, with great slaughter; and in the next year, 1424, a still greater victory was obtained over Charles, by the duke of Bedford, at Verneuil. In both these battles many Scottish and French knights were slain; and in the latter the duke of Alençon, with many other nobles, were taken prisoners.

The affairs of Charles were now rendered desperate; but at this critical moment an unexpected interposition of Divine Providence turned the tide in his favour, and saved him from destruction.

Jacqueline, heiress of Hainault and Holland, who had been given in marriage by the duke of Burgundy, her guardian, to the duke of Brabant, had recently been absolved from her marriage vow by pope Martin, and had been married again to the duke of Gloucester, brother of the regent. Gloucester laid claim to his wife's heritage of Hainault, and raised an army to support his pretensions. This unwise step brought the English in collision with the duke of Burgundy, who supported his vassal of Brabant, and who had hitherto been on their side, from his desire to crush the dauphin. About the same time Charles, also, won over the duke of Brittany from England; all of which gave him a vast increase of strength.

Through these quarrels the duke of Bedford was under the necessity of returning to England; partly to counteract the measures and to moderate the violence of Gloucester, and partly to raise new forces for war with France. There was a

respite from war for two years; but at the end of that time the duke returned to France, resolving to strike a blow that should crush the hopes of Charles. Siege was laid to Orleans, then considered the centre of the kingdom, which proved to be an arduous enterprise. While operations were proceeding against this important town, three French leaders, with John Stuart, constable of the Scotch, attacked an English convoy, under sir John Fastolffe, but were routed, and the whole of the Scotch slain. Soon after this Orleans was on the point of being taken, and France of becoming annexed to the English crown; but one of the most wonderful changes recorded in history took place, which saved both the city and crown.

Early in the year 1429, when the affairs of Charles were at the lowest ebb, messengers from the town of Fierbois, about five leagues from Chinon, came to tell him that the deliverer of France was at hand, and only waited permission to be admitted into his presence. This deliverer was neither prince, knight, nor statesman, but only a poor country girl, named Joan of Arc.

Joan of Arc was a native of Domremy, on the Meuse; and, incited by a prophecy that a virgin could alone rid France of her enemies, she laid claim to a divine mission for the redemption of her country. When Charles first received the message concerning her mission, he burst into a fit of laughter; but he gave consent that the maiden should come to him at Chinon. It was still three days, however, before Charles would see Joan; he and those around him doubting the truth of her mission. At the end of that time messages had been brought from Orleans, imploring aid, or the city would be lost; and Charles then consented to see the visionary. In the first interview Joan was surrounded by the leaders of the French warriors; but, unabashed, she asserted that she was come with a commission from the King of Heaven to drive out the English, and to conduct Charles to Rheims, where he should be crowned king of France. She was asked for a sign of her mission; on which she replied: "Lead me to Orleans with as small a number of men-at-arms as you will, and I will give you a sure sign—the sign that I am to give is the raising of the siege of Orleans." Bishops, doctors, and lawyers were consulted on the subject, and at length it was resolved to give entire faith to her mission, and adopt Joan as the forlorn hope of France. She was mounted on a

charger, with the rank and the proper staff of a general officer.

The effect of Joan's pretensions on the minds of the people was astonishing: numbers flocked around her standard, and with a great convoy of provisions they marched forward to Orleans. Joan insisted that the French warriors should shape their manœuvres according to the inspiration which she received from her voices. She said that her voices ordered her to march straight on from Blois, by the right bank of the Loire; but the chiefs, knowing that the best of the English troops were posted on that side, deceived her, and passed over to the left bank. Joan and the miraculous part of the expedition made way by water, and were flanked by an immense body of horse that kept close to the river. She was expected by the garrison of Orleans; and as she approached, they sallied out from the gates and fell upon the besiegers with unusual vigour, shouting, "The Maid, the Maid is come!" Orleans was saved: Joan made her way into the town, and the starving people received her as an angel from heaven.

The cause of hope to the French was the cause of terror to the English: the bold hearts of the English warriors quailed with superstitious fear. For two months they had heard of nothing but the miraculous maid, and when she had got into Orleans, they considered she had given full proof of her divine mission. It was in vain that their leaders tried to convince them that the whole affair was a miserable juggle, got up by their enemies; and in vain that they spoke of the disgrace the dauphin incurred in setting up a low-born woman as his champion: Joan was still considered by them as a minister of vengeance sent from heaven. The English leaders now changed their arguments: Joan, they said, was not an envoy from heaven, but from hell—a foul sorceress, working by spell and witchcraft. This had the very worst effect upon the minds of the soldiers: as brave men, they said, they would fight any earthly enemy; but they were unequal to a contest with the powers of darkness. Superstitious fears increased: strange sights were seen in the clouds; strange sounds were heard by the sentinels at night; figures were seen on horseback galloping through the air; and the moon and the stars were all wandering from their courses. To add to their dismay, the English were deserted by the Flemings, Burgundians, and Picards, while the Maid of Orleans received a large re-enforcement from Blois. Joan now pro-

ceeded to authenticate her mission. One day, as she lay sleeping on her bed, she suddenly awoke and called for her arms: her voices had told her to go out and fight the English. The bastille of Saint Loup was captured from the English on that day, and two days after she fell upon the formidable position of the Tournelles, on the left bank of the Loire. Notwithstanding their superstitious fears, the English fought bravely, and twice repulsed their countless assailants. In a third assault, Joan, who was mounted on the wall, was struck by an arrow, and fell, as if dead, into the ditch. The English believed she was slain; but the wound was not fatal; and, on her presenting herself again at the edge of the ditch, they felt assured she was more than mortal. A superstitious panic now spread in the English camp: men fancied they saw St. Michael the archangel, the patron saint of the city of Orleans, riding on a white horse, fighting for the French. Another assault achieved the victory: the French became masters of the tottering walls of the Tournelles; and in a council of war, held in the English camp that night, the earl of Suffolk, Talbot, and the other captains agreed that the siege should be raised. The victory was dearly purchased; for, for every Englishman that fell, there were at least ten Frenchmen; but Orleans was saved, and Joan's mission considered to have been, by that event, fully proved.

The earl of Suffolk threw his men into different castles in the neighbourhood of the Loire, and shut himself up in Jargeau, a few miles from Orleans. Charles now joined the Maid; and in ten days her white banner was planted on the tower of Jargeau, and she had taken the earl of Suffolk prisoner. Lord Talbot now drew out the troops placed in the other castles, and continued the retreat towards Paris. At Patay he was re-enforced by four thousand men, and he resolved to halt there and give the French battle. The French captains, awed by the recollection of Agincourt, Crevant, and Verneuil, were unwilling to risk a pitched battle in the field; but, urged on by the Maid, who asserted that the English were delivered into her hands, they at length consented. The French were victorious; terror spread through the ranks of the English; and while the greater part took refuge in flight, some were slain, and others taken prisoners, among the latter of whom was the brave Talbot.

Immediately after this battle the Maid of Orleans rode to the king, and insisted on his undertaking the journey to



Rheims. In the ordinary course of things this was impracticable. Rheims was far distant, and all the intervening cities and country were still in the hands of the English. With such a leader, however, all danger was despised; and it was resolved that they should go forward. Troyes, after some delay, chiefly by means of a certain Friar Richard, opened its gates to the French; Chalons was readily delivered up by its bishop; and on the 15th of July, 1429, Charles made his solemn entrance into Rheims, and was anointed and crowned in the cathedral church. When the ceremony was over, the Maid of Orleans fell at his feet, and exclaimed, "Gentle king, now is accomplished the will of God, who would have you come hither to Rheims to receive your consecration, and show you that you are the true king, to whom the kingdom of France rightly belongs."

When Joan entered the city of Troyes, Friar Richard, not being certain that she might not be an evil spirit, made many signs of the cross, and sprinkled holy water on the gate. As the Maid stood this test, she was instantly proclaimed as an angel, and the friar attached himself to the king's service. Joan and Friar Richard, after the battle of Patay, gained more towns than several brave armies could have done in the same short space of time; the one by the mere presence of her white banner, and the other by his eloquent discourses. Charles marched from Rheims into the Isle of France, and town after town surrendered to him as he advanced. All his success was attributed to the Maid of Orleans, which excited the envy of his captains. Joan would have retired to her native village, again to tend her flocks and herds; but Charles always found good arguments to detain her. But her career of success was soon over: her exploits were drawing to a term. By the English she was now considered as a foul witch; and they had made up their minds to treat her as such, whenever they should catch her. The regent, Bedford, especially, who did his best to prop up the falling dominions of his brother, vowed vengeance against the Maid. The operations of the duke of Bedford were chiefly confined to Normandy; but at length the time came when he was compelled to face Charles, whose forces made incursions to the very gates of Paris. About the middle of August the two armies came suddenly in sight of each other near Senlis; but the French captains were reluctant to fight, and Joan this time did not urge the combat. Bedford now marched again into

Normandy, which was invaded by the French; and when he was at some distance, Charles turned round upon Paris, with the hope of taking it during his absence. Several places in the neighbourhood opened their gates to him; but the walls of Paris were defended by the English; and in an assault on the suburb of St. Honore, headed by Joan, she was defeated. Joan had predicted that Charles and his captains should on that night sleep in Paris, and being taunted with her failure, she resolved to withdraw from the army; but Charles again persuaded her to remain. Charles now retired to Bourges, beyond the Loire, where he wintered; while the duke of Bedford sojourned in Normandy.

While Charles was at Bourges another miraculous woman appeared, whose inspiration was of a financial description. Charles wanted money; and Catherine of La Rochelle promised him abundance of riches, asserting, that she could tell at a glance all those who had concealed treasures. Catherine was accused by Joan of imposture; but Friar Richard supported the new prophetess, and both declared deadly enmity to the Maid of Orleans. In the spring of 1430, Charles, with his two prophetesses, advanced from the Loire to the Seine. It was asserted by Joan that peace lay at the end of the lance; but Catherine maintained, that it was only to be procured by treating with the duke of Burgundy. Joan's oracle prevailed, and war again commenced. She marched to the relief of Compeigne, which was besieged by the soldiers of duke Philip, now regent of France; and she fought her way into it with a considerable re-enforcement: but this was her last success. On the same day, the 25th of May, she made a sortie and fell upon the enemy's lines; but she was defeated and taken prisoner. On her capture, all the captains of the army of duke Philip ran to gaze at the prisoner, and the victorious Bourguignons and English sang "Te Deum," as if a great victory had been obtained. Three days after her seizure, Friar Martin, vicar-general of the inquisition of the faith, demanded, in right of the office he held under the pope, that Joan, called the Maid, should be sent to him, to be tried by the holy inquisition; but the prisoner had been sold to John of Luxembourg, who, without heeding the friar's demand, sent her to his strong castle in Picardy.

Joan was kept in prison six months; and at the end of that time, May, 1431, she was transferred to Rouen, where, according to some accounts, the English loaded her with

chains, and shut her up in an iron cage. Both Bourguignons and English clamoured for her death; and the learned doctors of the university of Paris asserted, that religion would be in danger if sorcery remained unpunished. Joan was therefore brought to trial; and though she made a noble defence, and often confounded the doctors, all the faculties of the university, and all the bishops present, agreed that she was heretical, and an impious impostor, and, as such, deserving death by fire. For a few days she averted her fate by signing a paper, containing a confession and renunciation of error. Her punishment was commuted into perpetual imprisonment, and diet on the "bread of sorrow and water of affliction;" but, by accident or design, the dress of a soldier was left in her prison; and Joan, recalling her former glories, put it on. This circumstance was considered as a sufficient proof that she had relapsed into heresy; and on the 30th of May, seven days after her abjuration, she was carried to the old market-place of Rouen, wearing the livery of the inquisition, and a cap, whereon was inscribed, "Heretic! relapsed, apostate idolator!" and was burned at the stake. As the smoke and flames ascended, she was seen embracing a crucifix; and the last word she was heard to utter was the name of "Jesus." Her death was an eternal disgrace to all those by whom it was encompassed.

The English hoped that the death of the Maid of Orleans would restore them their superiority over the arms of France. They were deceived. The instrument of their late reverses had been destroyed; but an impulse had been given to their enemies, and their arms no more prospered in France: it was in vain that Henry VI. was brought to Paris, and crowned at Notre Dame. In the year 1435 the regent Philip, duke of Burgundy, became reconciled to Charles; and by a treaty, which was signed at Arras, he was restored to his throne; and the English were deprived of all hopes of retaining their conquests in the kingdom. A desultory warfare continued; but in the year 1443 Calais alone remained of all the conquests that had been made in France. The ill-success of the English during this period may be in part attributed to the death of the duke of Bedford, which took place before the treaty of Arras; for though the duke of York, his successor, and the gallant Talbot sought to recover the country, they proved unequal to the task. In the end, all parties agreed to a truce for two years, to terminate in April, 1446.

Henry of Windsor was now in his twenty-fourth year; but he had no capacity for governing his kingdom. The duke of Gloucester wished to bring about a marriage between him and a daughter of the earl of Armagnac; but the earl of Suffolk counteracted this plan, and selected Margaret of Anjou, the cousin of the French queen, and the devoted friend of Charles, in whose court she had passed much of her time. The earl of Suffolk negotiated this fatal marriage, and even agreed to resign Anjou and Maine, which were in the possession of the English, as a price for the young lady's hand. The duke of Gloucester gave his approval in parliament to all the negotiations concluded by Suffolk, and the marriage took place; but it proved fatal to "the good duke Humphrey."

Three years before the marriage of Henry and Margaret of Anjou, the duke of Gloucester had been humiliated in a prosecution against Eleanor Cobham, his wife. The duke was much given to the sciences; and he had in his house, as chaplain, Roger Bolingbroke, who was skilled in astronomy, which in those days was generally made to include astrology. Gloucester's wife, aware that Henry was sickly, and that her husband stood next in succession, had frequent consultations with the chaplain and others, as to whether her husband would become king; and one day, after the duke had been quarrelling with cardinal Beaufort, she was accused of treason, she having by sorcery and enchantment intended to destroy the king, in order to advance her husband to the throne. The duchess, with Bolingbroke and others skilled in astrology, were arrested; and though the charge against her was frivolous, she was condemned to do public penance in three places within the city of London, and afterwards be imprisoned for life in the Isle of Man. The duke of Gloucester bore this affliction patiently; but his enemies were now preparing for him the silence of death: the new queen, Suffolk, Beaufort, and their associates, resolved upon his destruction. Early in 1447 he was arrested and imprisoned upon a charge of high-treason, and before any trial took place he was found dead in his bed. It was said that he died of apoplexy; but the general impression on men's minds was that he was murdered. Suffolk, who had been created marquis, seized all the estates of the deceased duke, part of which he kept for himself, and the rest he divided among his family and partisans.

It is probable that the marquis of Suffolk, in making the treaty of marriage, flattered himself that he should thereby ensure an honourable peace: this hope proved delusive. When the truce expired Charles consented several times to renew it for short periods; but this was only to gather strength, in order to strike a sure blow against the English. This was done in the year 1449. Some English soldiers, who had been expelled from Maine, plundered a town in Brittany; and though the duke of Somerset, who now commanded Normandy, offered reparation, Charles threw his troops across the frontiers of Maine, and called upon all his columns to fall upon both Lower and Upper Normandy. Fortress after fortress fell; and even Rouen, though bravely defended by the duke of Somerset and lord Talbot, was captured. Talbot was given as an hostage, and Somerset retired to Caen; but in the course of the next year he was driven from thence, and the whole of Normandy was lost. In the next year, 1451, Guienne was also conquered by the French, and nothing remained to the English in France save Calais, and a strip of land commanded by its batteries.

In the meantime the people of England had taken a terrible vengeance on Suffolk, who, rising as his country fell, had recently been created a duke. While the public mind was exasperated by the loss of Rouen, he was attacked in both houses of parliament, accused of high-treason, arrested, and sent to the Tower. Many charges were brought against him, but few, if any, were proved; and Suffolk threw himself upon the will of the king, his master. He was commanded to quit England, and to remain in banishment for the space of five years; but while sailing between Dover and Calais, in the "Nicholas of the Tower," a cock-boat came alongside, in which there were a block, an axe, and an executioner: Suffolk was handed over to the latter, who cut off his head as that of a traitor. His death, deserved or undeserved, gave great joy to the people, who generally feared that through the influence of Margaret he would soon be recalled to power and vengeance.

Great excitement prevailed at this period against the government. Before Suffolk's fall there had been partial insurrections; but immediately after that event there was a great popular movement. This movement was headed by John Cade, a native of Ireland, who assumed the noble name of Mortimer, and claimed a descent which made him a relation

of the duke of York. Cade arrived from Ireland when the excitement against the government was at the highest; and he threw himself among the men of Kent, who were more violent in their complaints than the rest of the nation, and among whom discontent was universal. Cade was selected to be their captain; and about the middle of June, 1450, he marched at the head of about twenty thousand men, and encamped at Blackheath. The king sent to demand why the good men of Kent had left their homes; and in two papers, entitled "The Complaints of the Commons of Kent," and "The Requests of the Captain of the great Assembly in Kent," Cade stated a long list of grievances, and made bold demands of redress. The latter document required that the king should resume the grants of the crown; that he should dismiss all the relations and friends of Suffolk from his court, and take about him those of the duke of York; and that he should punish the false traitors who had encompassed the death of the duke of Gloucester, and who had been the cause of all the losses in France. The king sent an army against Cade in reply to these demands; but Cade, who had fallen back from Blackheath to Seven Oaks, defeated a detachment of this army, and the rest refused to fight. The king's army was now disbanded, and he was conveyed for safety to the strong castle of Kenilworth. His way being thus opened, Cade marched into the capital, proclaiming himself "lord of the city of London." Having obtained possession of the persons of Lord Say, an obnoxious minister, and of Cromer, the sheriff of Kent, he caused them to be beheaded. At first the citizens favoured the demands of the insurgents; but, alarmed by some attempts to plunder, they attacked the main body of the rebels on the bridge, and drove them into Southwark: but the men of Kent were conquered rather by policy than by force of arms. While in Southwark a general pardon was issued to all such as should return to their homes; and this had the effect of creating a division among the insurgents, some being of opinion that they ought to accept the offer of the court, and others, that there was no faith to be put in it. Many retired into Kent, and then Cade accepted the pardon; but one thousand marks were offered for his apprehension, and he was slain by one Alexander Iden, an esquire, as he was making his way towards the coast of Sussex. Cade's head was stuck upon London-bridge, with the face turned towards the pleasant hills of Kent; and, sub-

sequently, many of his companions were captured, and executed as traitors.

It was thought that the duke of York, who commanded in Ireland, secretly instigated Cade to this enterprise. Be this as it may, it occasioned his right to the throne to become every day more and more the subject of conversation, and excited his partisans to maintain it on all occasions. It is probable that much attention would not have been paid to his genealogy, if the increasing incapacity of Henry, and the odium which his wife incurred, had not forced the subject upon the attention of the people. Still, though his right to the throne was stronger than that of Henry, the duke acted with great moderation; for, on his return from Ireland, in 1451, after paying a short visit to the king in London, he retired quietly to his castle of Fotheringay. He was mute as to his intentions; but the court took the alarm, and sought to oppose him by the duke of Somerset; but though violent quarrels arose between government and the Yorkists, and the duke on one occasion took up arms, he was still faithful to the king, and was easily persuaded to make peace. At the end of the year 1453 his rival, the duke of Somerset, was committed to the Tower by parliament; and early in the next year, the king being seized with a distemper, which so increased his natural imbecility, as to render him unfit for any of the offices of government, the duke of York was appointed lieutenant of the kingdom, with powers to open and hold a parliament.

In accepting his post as protector, York took care to obtain the most explicit declaration from the peers that he only followed their commandments. It was settled that his power was to last till the king's recovery, or, in case of his non-recovery, till prince Edward, then only a year old, became of age. In about nine months Henry recovered his reason, and the court having claimed for him the full exercise of royalty, the duke of York at once resigned the protectorate. The first act of Henry on resuming his authority was to liberate the duke of Somerset, and to restore him to the highest place in the administration. The banner of the duke of York was now first raised in civil war, and in a battle which was fought at St. Albans, he defeated the king's forces, and took Henry prisoner. Still the conqueror acted with moderation: he put forth no hereditary claim to the crown; but contented himself with again obtaining from par-

liament the protectorship of the kingdom. This time he was to hold his authority till discharged of it by the lords in parliament; and, to the surprise of most people, he was called upon to resign it after the Christmas recess in 1456, Henry having demanded back his authority as king.

The duke of Somerset had been slain, with other noblemen, in the battle of St. Albans; but all the officers appointed by the duke of York, during his second protectorate, were dismissed, and replaced by persons devoted to the queen. The Yorkists and Lancastrians now prepared to settle their differences by the sword. A hollow peace was, indeed, concluded between them in London; but causes of enmity multiplied between the two parties; and in the year 1459 a battle was fought at Bloreheath, in Shropshire, in which the Lancastrians were defeated. During the night, however, sir Andrew Trollop, who was marshal of the Yorkist camp, deserted, with all his men, to the king, and this defection finished the campaign: the Yorkists broke up from their intrenched camp near Ludlow, and retreated in different directions. The duke of York fled to Ireland, and the earl of Warwick, who supported him, and who was the true hero of those unhappy times, retired to Calais with the young earl of March, the duke's heir.

War was renewed in the year 1460. In that year the earl of Warwick recrossed the Channel, landed in Kent with fifteen hundred men, and marched onward to Blackheath. Before he reached this place his army was swelled to thirty thousand men; at the head of which, accompanied by the heir of York, and many bishops, knights, and nobles, he entered London. Without losing time, Warwick marched into the midland counties, defeated the Lancastrians at Northampton, and took the king prisoner a second time. Henry was treated with great tenderness and respect, and a parliament was summoned in his name at Westminster; but the duke of York soon after arriving from Ireland, at length made up his mind to claim the throne. On the 16th of October he sent a formal demand of the crown to the lords, requiring their immediate answer. On consulting the king, they were requested to make search for arguments and proofs against the duke's right; and the only objections they could raise were the duke's oaths of fealty, and the oaths they had all taken, to Henry; the many acts of parliament passed since the accession of the house of Lancaster; and that entails has



been made of the crown on the male line only, whereas he claimed through a female. These objections were easily answered, and the lords were compelled to acknowledge that the hereditary law was in favour of York; but it was finally agreed that Henry should retain the crown during his life, and that at his death it was to devolve to York and his heirs.

The war was not yet ended. When the king was captured at Northampton, his queen Margaret and her son fled into Scotland; and, excited by her, the nobles who supported the house of Lancaster again took up arms. A battle was fought at Wakefield, in Yorkshire, which was gained by her adherents, and the duke of York himself was slain. His son, Edward, earl of March, was at Gloucester when he received the news of the death of his father, and he hastened to the east, in order to join the earl of Warwick. In his route he defeated a great force of Irish and Welsh, under Jasper, earl of Pembroke; but before he could join the earl of Warwick, that nobleman had been defeated by the queen's forces, and Henry had been taken out of his power by the victors. Edward, "late earl of March," was declared a traitor; but since his victory over the earl of Pembroke, he had been reinforced by great numbers; and when he joined the earl of Warwick, he had an army more than equal to that of the queen. Before his forces those of the queen retired, and Edward resolved at once to seize the throne. In his designs he was favoured by the unanimous voice of the people: in a grand review of part of his army in St. John's Field, he was recognised king of England; and on the 4th of March, 1461, he rode royally to Westminster, and boldly mounted the throne.

#### EDWARD IV.

A. D. 1461. The stability of the throne of Edward was still to be purchased by the precious price of the blood of his subjects. On the 28th of March a battle was fought at Towton, in Yorkshire, in which thirty-eight thousand men were slain. Victory declared itself in favour of Edward; and on the 29th of June he was crowned at Westminster, with the usual solemnities. But though defeated, the queen was not conquered: she, with her son and her husband, and some of the Lancastrian nobles, fled to Scotland; and in the year 1464, her adherents again took the field. Their forces, however,

were dispersed at Hedgeley Moor and Hexham; and while Margaret and her son escaped by flight, Henry was a third time taken prisoner, and lodged in the Tower.

Edward's throne now seemed secure to him, for he had not only defeated the Lancastrians, but he had concluded treaties with Scotland and France, with other rulers on the Continent, and had received the congratulations of the pope on his accession. A sudden passion for a beautiful woman, however, shook his throne until it fell, and he in his turn was compelled to become, for a season, a fugitive in foreign lands. About the time the battle at Hexham was fought, he met with and married Elizabeth, daughter of Jacquetta, duchess of Bedford, and widow of sir John Gray, a Lancastrian. Elizabeth was acknowledged queen, and was publicly crowned at Westminster; and this union was followed by a chronicle of match-making and family intrigues. Up to the time of the marriage of Edward most of the offices and emoluments of government had been left to the family of the earl of Warwick; but now the relations and connexions of the new queen broke up their monopoly of honours and power. This gave the "king-maker," as the earl is called in history, great umbrage; and an event occurred which made him break with the king. In the year 1467 he had been sent to France to negotiate a marriage between Margaret of York and one of the French princes; but while he was on this mission she was married to Charles, duke of Burgundy. The proud earl considered himself juggled, insulted, and disgraced; and on his return, he retired in anger to his castle of Middleham. Having been on intimate terms with the French king, while negotiating the marriage of Margaret, it was considered that he was secretly disposed to restore the line of Lancaster; and all his family were now expelled from court. A seeming reconciliation took place, between the king and his old supporter, early in 1468; but Warwick could not tolerate the abridgement of his influence; and the flames of his resentment soon broke out into open war. In the year 1469 an insurrection broke out in Yorkshire, among the farmers and peasants: the earl of Warwick was induced to repress it; but the king was scarcely freed from the danger, when he found that he was a prisoner in the hands of his liberator, who carried him to his strong castle of Middleham. Subsequently another reconciliation took place, and Edward was allowed to return to London; but in the year 1470 open war

was declared between them, and after some military manoeuvres, the earl of Warwick was compelled to seek a temporary asylum with Louis, king of France.

While at the court of France, the earl of Warwick met Margaret of Anjou and her son Edward, prince of Wales. They had been sworn enemies of each other; and each had inflicted on the other deep and lasting injuries: yet now they entered into a solemn compact of friendship. It was agreed that Margaret's son, prince Edward, should marry the lady Anne, Warwick's second daughter, so soon as he should have recovered the kingdom of England for her husband, Henry. This was a strange match; for Warwick had recently married Isabella, his eldest daughter, to the duke of Clarence, brother to the reigning king Edward, and by making it, Isabella's prospects of being queen of England were destroyed. It was stranger still that Warwick should dethrone and imprison the father, and then marry his daughter to the son. Yet such was the conduct of Warwick; and as soon as he entered into this compact with Margaret, he proceeded to put his design of rescuing her husband from captivity into execution. This was soon effected: aided by Louis, he set sail for the coast of Devonshire, where he was joined by such an army that Edward, impelled by fear, fled to Holland; and Henry was then taken from prison, and re-instated in his palace at Westminster.

Edward's party, though repressed, was not destroyed. The earl of Warwick had, moreover, by his recent compact, deeply offended the duke of Clarence; and he resolved to assist his brother in regaining the crown. In nine months Edward returned; and after fighting a hard battle at Barnet, in which the earl of Warwick was slain, he again became king of England, and Henry was sent back to the Tower. Margaret landed at Plymouth on the very day on which Warwick was defeated and slain, and, still undaunted, she marched with the French troops who accompanied her, to join some forces under the earl of Pembroke, in Wales; but she was defeated by Edward, near Tewkesbury, and herself and her son were taken prisoners. The battle of Tewkesbury ended in murder. The queen and the prince were brought into the presence of Edward, who asked the latter, What brought him into England? The youth replied, "My father's crown, and mine own inheritance!" On which the monarch brutally struck him with his gauntlet, and those around him dispatched him with

their swords. Nor did the tragedy end here. Several noblemen and knights who supported Margaret of Anjou took sanctuary in a church at Tewkesbury; and they were dragged from the foot of the altar and beheaded. King Henry himself was soon after found lifeless in the Tower; but Margaret was kept prisoner for five years, when she was ransomed by the king of France. Other leaders of the Lancastrian party who had escaped were subsequently secretly assassinated; while others were shut up in prisons; and others fled to and lived as exiles on the Continent.

Peace being thus restored to the nation, a parliament was summoned, which ratified all the acts of the victor, and recognised his legal authority. Freed from all his enemies, Edward devoted himself to guilty pleasures and amusements. While indulging in dissipation he was aroused from his lethargy by a prospect of foreign conquests. In the year 1475 he contracted an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the dukes of Brittany and Burgundy; and, agreeably to this treaty, he crossed the Channel, with about sixteen thousand men, to invade the French territories. His enterprise was checked by his ally, the duke of Burgundy, who failed to bring the force promised; but he compelled the French monarch to pay him down seventy-five thousand crowns, and likewise fifty thousand crowns during their joint lives. It was also agreed that the dauphin of France should marry Edward's daughter Elizabeth, or, in case of her death, her sister Mary; and that a peace or truce for seven years, at least, should be secured, together with a free trade between the two countries.

England was tranquil for some years; but in 1478 the house of York became suddenly involved in one of the darkest recorded tragedies. Isabella, the wife of the duke of Clarence, had recently died, and he proposed himself as a husband to Mary, the rich heiress of Charles the Rash. As soon as Edward heard of this negotiation, his jealousy of his brother Clarence took the alarm, and he opposed it with all his might, and caused it to be set aside. Clarence had not been guarded before in his expressions, and he now put no restraint upon his tongue. This was fatal to himself and some of his friends. One Stacey, a priest in his service, and Thomas Burdett, one of his household, were tried on a charge of having recourse to magic, to hasten the death of lord Beauchamp; and they were convicted and executed. Clarence declared in the council that his

servants had met with an unjust doom; and he was committed to the Tower, for what was called an interference with justice. Soon after he was brought to the bar of the lords, and accused of dealing in magic; of having plotted to dethrone the king; and of having feasted the king's subjects, in order to induce them to believe that Stacey and Burdett had been wrongfully executed, and to spread a rumour that the king himself was guilty of the black art, and dealing with Satan. Clarence was found guilty, and received sentence of death; and though he was not publicly executed, he died suddenly in the Tower; and the common report was, that he was drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine by his own brothers, the king and Richard, duke of Gloucester.

It was said that Edward felt the pangs of remorse at this murder; but his outward conduct did not betray such feelings, for his life continued in the same round of dissipation and debauchery. His guilty pleasures were somewhat disturbed in the year 1480, by a war with Scotland, which continued for two years, and which was carried on successfully by the duke of Gloucester. At the end of that time, Edward having been refused the annual pension Louis had agreed to pay, he made preparations to invade France; but in the midst of these preparations, shortly after Easter, 1483, he was seized with a distemper, brought on by his excesses, of which he expired in the forty-second year of his age, and the twenty-first of his tyrannical reign.

The character of Edward was vindictive, cruel, ambitious, sensual, and debauched: he was one of the most odious of all the English monarchs. He knew, indeed, what was right, but he chose to pursue that which was wrong; and, in order to appease a guilty conscience, he had recourse to the deceptions of superstition—by the Romish clergy he was accounted pious. In his latter days, knowing the evil of sinning against God, he gave many directions to lord Rivers, governor of the prince of Wales, to promote virtuous conduct in his son, forgetting that example hath a louder tongue than precept. But, bad and evil as the character and habits of Edward were in many respects, he did great service to his country by the encouragement of literature, and by patronising the introduction of the art of printing into his dominions. It was in his reign that Caxton, the father of English printing, lived; and Edward greatly encouraged him in that noble art, which was destined soon to strike an effectual blow at the superstition and ignorance which pervaded all classes of society.

## EDWARD V.

A. D. 1483. At the time of his father's death, the young king, a boy of thirteen years of age, was at Ludlow Castle, and Richard, duke of Gloucester, was on the borders of Scotland. On receiving the intelligence, Richard immediately took measures to secure his nephew's accession; and both soon arrived in London. The duke of Gloucester seemed to act in good faith, and paid great respect to his nephew; but he soon threw off the mask of allegiance and friendship: under the pretence of guarding the person of young Edward and that of his brother, he had them both conveyed to the Tower. The 22nd day of June was fixed for the coronation; but, before that time, Richard gave full proof that he intended to seize the crown for himself. By his arts he obtained several supporters among the nobles; and on the 10th of June, he made a declaration that the queen's relatives and adherents were plotting his destruction; and he urged his friends in the north to hasten to his support. Among the nobles who held offices of state there were many who were opposed to Richard, and none more so than earl Rivers and lord Hastings. Earl Rivers had already been made prisoner, and Richard now resolved to rid himself of Hastings. At the council-board in the Tower, on the 13th, he suddenly demanded to know what those deserved who plotted his death. All acknowledged that such ought to be accounted traitors. Gloucester then bared his left arm, which was withered, and smaller than his right, and declared that this was caused by the witchcrafts of the queen and Jane Shore, the late king's mistress, who was now living with Hastings. All knew that Richard's arm had been withered from childhood; but Hastings, fearful that he only sought a quarrel, exclaimed, "If they have done this, they deserve punishment." "If," cried Richard, "dost thou answer me with ifs? I tell thee they have conspired my death, and thou art an accomplice in the crime." Then, striking the table, armed men rushed in and carried off Hastings, who was hurried to the green within the Tower, and there, after a short confession to a priest, was beheaded on a log of timber. On the same day, earl Rivers, lord Gray, and others were executed at Pontefract Castle; and lord Stanley, the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Ely were arrested and shut up in the Tower. Jane Shore:

was delivered over to the ecclesiastical court, to be punished for her immoralities; and she was condemned to walk through the crowded streets of the city on a Sunday, bare-footed, with no clothes on but her kirtle, and carrying a lighted taper in her hand.

On Sunday, June 22nd, the day appointed for Edward's coronation, Dr. Shaw, brother of the mayor, preached at Paul's Cross, and in his sermon he threw out the imputation that the late king Edward and his next brother, Clarence, were not lawful sons of the late duke of York. He then proceeded to tell his hearers that Richard, the lord-protector, was the very image of that noble duke; and as he said this, Richard, as had been previously arranged, made his appearance. It was expected that the hearers would have exclaimed, "Long live king Richard!" but they only stared on each other in silent astonishment. What Shaw failed to bring about, however, was accomplished by the duke of Buckingham. Two days after that nobleman presented himself on the hustings at Guildhall, and openly urged that Richard should be made king instead of the nephew; and though many of the respectable citizens required time for deliberation, others threw up their bonnets, and exclaimed, "Long live king Richard!" On the next day a deputation of the citizens, with Buckingham at their head, waited on Richard at Baynard's Castle, and with feigned reluctance he accepted the crown.

### RICHARD III.

Richard was crowned on the 6th of July in Westminster Abbey, with his wife Anne, the daughter of Warwick. He had acquired his crown at the cost of deep and complicated crime; and by crime he maintained it. At first he sought to render himself popular by acts of mercy: lord Stanley and the archbishop of York were released from their confinement in the Tower. He gave out that he meant only to keep the crown till his nephew was twenty-four years old and able to govern; but this was only to gain popularity, and to delude the people. After his coronation he began a tour through the country: he visited Warwick, Coventry, Leicester, Nottingham, Pontefract, and York; at the latter of which places he and his queen were again crowned. While in the north, a dark cloud arose in London, and was gradually overspread-

ing the whole of the south. Meetings were held by the friends of the queen-mother; and it was resolved to make an attempt to liberate the princes from the Tower. But the young princes were already liberated from their prison by death. In the course of his progress Richard had sent a letter to sir Robert Brackenbury, the governor of the Tower, ordering him to destroy them. Brackenbury nobly refused to imbue his hands in innocent blood; and Richard then sent sir James Tyrrel, with a commission to get and keep for twenty-four hours all the keys, and command of the Tower. Tyrrell was accompanied by Miles Forest, and John Dighton, men accustomed to dark deeds; and one night, in the month of August, these three ascended the staircase which led to the chamber where the young princes were sleeping. While Tyrrel waited at the door, his associates entered the room and smothered the children in the bedclothes as they lay; and when the deed was done, Tyrrel, having examined the dead bodies, ordered them to be buried at the stairs' foot, deep in the ground, under a heap of stones.

Richard did not intend to reveal this atrocious murder; but when the insurgents were up in arms he permitted the fact to be divulged. This news at first disconcerted the conspirators; but they had gone too far to expect mercy, and they resolved to raise up a new competitor for the crown, in the person of Henry, earl of Richmond, who represented the line of Lancaster by right of his mother, Margaret Beaufort, who was daughter of a duke of Somerset, and a great-grand-daughter of John of Gaunt. This new revolution was supported by many noblemen; and even the duke of Buckingham, by whose means Richard had been proclaimed king, was among the first to invite Richmond into England.

The day fixed for the general rising was the 18th of October, and on that day Henry was proclaimed at Exeter, Devizes, Maidstone, Newbury, and Brecknock. In the meantime Richard, who had heard of the intended insurrection, had summoned all his loyal subjects to meet him at Leicester, and had set a price upon the heads of the confederates. Richmond was in exile in France when these events happened; but on receiving the invitation he collected a force of about five thousand men, with whom he arrived at Milford-Haven, in Wales, where he landed without opposition. Before his arrival the earl of Buckingham had been deserted by his forces, and had been taken prisoner, and



executed in the marketplace of Salisbury. Others of his friends, also, had been compelled to take refuge in flight, and their estates confiscated to the crown, or given to those who were attached to Richard: but notwithstanding these adverse events, Richmond steadily proceeded in his course, and finally prevailed.

It was in the month of August, 1484, that Richmond landed at Milford-Haven; and after crossing the Severn he was joined by the Talbots and a few other families, with their retainers. His forces were still far inferior to those of his rival; but he knew that not one man in ten would fight for Richard, and he still pressed forward. In his route he was joined by many deserters from the enemy; and when he met Richard at Bosworth-field, many more rode over to him, while others stood aloof till they saw to which party victory would fall. Of all the lords that followed Richard scarcely one was true to him, except the duke of Norfolk and his son, the earl of Surrey. Had Richard hesitated, the defection of his forces would probably have been greater; but, still undaunted, he gave the order, and the battle commenced. The struggle was fierce, but brief: on a sudden Richard put spurs to his horse, and shouting "Treason!" galloped into the midst of the enemy. He had caught sight of Henry; and he hoped, by his personal valour and his skill in the use of arms, to gain the victory by slaying his enemy. Richard cut his way to the standard-bearer, sir William Brandon, and killed him; and was directing a deadly thrust at his rival, when a host closed upon him, threw him from his horse, and despatched him with many wounds. His blood-stained crown was then picked up and put on the head of Henry, who was saluted king by the whole army. The dead body of Richard, after being exposed for a few days, was buried, without ceremony, at the church of the Grey Friars, in Leicester. Such was the death of Richard III.; and thus ended the dynasty of the Plantagenets, and "the Wars of the Roses," which had so long desolated the kingdom.

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## CHAPTER XII.

THE RELIGION, GOVERNMENT AND LAWS, LITERATURE, ARTS, COMMERCE, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, ETC., OF THIS PERIOD.

DURING this period the Lollards, or followers of Wiclif, greatly increased, and became formidable to the Romish church. At the head of them was lord Cobham, whose character and death have been recorded in a previous page. After his death his inveterate enemy, the archbishop of Canterbury, commanded the university of Oxford to appoint twelve of its most orthodox members to examine the works of Wiclif, and extract from them his heretical doctrines. In compliance with this injunction, nearly three hundred doctrines, called errors by the Romish church, were transmitted to the primate, who sent them to the pope, with a request to condemn them, and to grant him permission to take the bones of Wiclif from his grave and cast them on a dunghill, that they might be trampled upon by all Christians. The pope condemned Wiclif's doctrines; but he would not permit the primate to disturb the ashes of the reformer. The truth, however, still prevailed: the doctrines of Wiclif not only were embraced in England, but in Germany. In both these countries men laid down their lives for the truth, and still the new opinions continued to spread. They were favoured by the Wars of the Roses, which had the effect of interrupting the persecution of the Lollards; the very storm proving their shelter. But though the Romish church was thus threatened, the clergy continued to set their faces against all reform or concession to the spirit of the age: greater stress than ever was laid on pilgrimages, processions, indulgences, confessions to priests, and pardons. Yet the general conduct and character of the priests of this age were such as to call forth the reprehension even of their own friends: by them they are denominated as profligate, illiterate, negligent of their cures, rapacious, lascivious, and drunken.

*Government and Laws.*—The constitution, government, and laws of England were considerably improved in this period. Philip de Comines, after describing the disorders that prevailed in the governments of France, Germany, and Italy,

and the cruel oppressions under which the people of all these countries groaned, remarked, "In my opinion, of all the states in the world that I know, England is the country where the commonwealth is best governed, and the people least oppressed." Great improvements were made in the constitution of both houses of parliament, and several valuable laws were enacted for the regulation and encouragement of trade, security of property, and the liberties of the people. Even Richard III., "the bold, bad man of Shakspeare's drama," was a "good legislator for the ease and solace of the common people." His laws consist of only one statute, and contains fifteen chapters: they were the first that were expressed in the English language, all former statutes having been written either in Latin or French, which were not understood by the common people, nor even by many of the legislators. The laws of Richard III. were also the first printed laws in England.

*Literature.*—The unsettled state of Britain, France, and other European countries, which were kept in continual agitation by wars and revolutions, proved unfavourable to the progress of literature. Learning, indeed, during this period, was very little esteemed. All the most valuable livings in the church were bestowed on men destitute of knowledge, or foreigners, by papal influence; while the best scholars in the kingdom were left to languish in obscurity, and were sometimes driven to the necessity of begging their bread from door to door, recommended to charity by the chancellors of the universities in which they had studied. Anthony Wood relates a story of two itinerating students, who, having one day presented themselves at a baronial castle, and sought an introduction by the exhibition of their academical credentials, in which they were described as having a taste for poetry, were ordered by the baron to be suspended in two buckets over a draw-well, and dipped alternately into the water until each should produce a couplet of verses on their awkward situation. After a considerable number of duckings, which afforded great amusement to the baron and his menials, the unfortunate captives finished their rhymes, and were then set at liberty. Yet the love of knowledge was still alive and active in many minds, prompting them to zealous exertions both in its acquisition and diffusion. In the course of the fifteenth century about forty new universities were founded in Europe, and several new colleges were added both to Oxford

and Cambridge. During this period printing also, which has contributed so much to dispel the darkness in which the world was involved, and to diffuse the light of every species of knowledge, was invented on the Continent, and introduced into England. William Caxton, a mercer of London, claims the honour of first practising the art in England: the works he printed consisted chiefly of translations from the French and German; and the productions of Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate. The translations were partly of a religious nature, and partly relating to romance and chivalry. Wiclif's translation of the Old Testament still remained in manuscript.

*Arts.*—Great improvements were made in architecture in this age. The style called the Perpendicular Gothic, which is essentially English, was brought to perfection in the fifteenth century, while the continental Gothic was on the decline. In this style many churches were erected, as well as castles and mansions. All these were elaborately ornamented; and in the deviations of the perpendicular style heraldry was introduced in profusion. Internal fittings and decorations in houses, however, were still in a rude state: neither linings nor plaster ceilings were yet introduced; and tapestry or hangings were still used as ornaments, and for covering all the deficiencies of ill-closed doors and windows. One marked feature in the history of the architecture of this period is the revival of building with brick, which eventually effected a total revolution in the art of building.

In the fifteenth century, English music began to take a form in which something like melody and harmony are found. The art of music, though rude and in its infant state, was then practised by every person of rank, and all who had received an education then called liberal. Even the hero of Agincourt was a performer on the organ, as was also his more refined contemporary, James II. of Scotland. Ecclesiastical music was studied by the youths at the universities; and bachelors and doctors' degrees were taken in that science. Minstrels, says Warton, were paid much higher for their services than priests; but this is only true with reference to a few minstrels who excelled in the art. The minstrel profession was chartered by Edward IV.; and the guild or fraternity was governed by a marshal and two wardens, chosen annually.

*Commerce.*—Although the English in this age were much engaged in war, yet commerce increased. The articles of

export were much the same as in the preceding period ; but there were some new articles of English manufacture, among which may be mentioned both gunpowder and guns. There were many opulent merchants in this period, which clearly indicates the growing extension of the commerce of the kingdom. Individuals, indeed, rose to great wealth, and sometimes to rank and power, through the successful pursuit of trade. Thus, William de la Pole, a merchant, who flourished in the time of Edward III., was, for his opulence, made chief baron of the exchequer, and a knight banneret ; and his successors eventually became earls, marquises, and dukes of Suffolk, and were finally ruined by a royal alliance and a prospect of the succession to the crown. Another of the opulent commercial men of this age was Richard Whytington, who is especially famous in story. The history of Whytington's cat, however, belongs to the region of poetry and fable : he was not a poor scullion boy, but the son of sir William Whytington, knight. Through his opulence, he was thrice elected lord-mayor of London ; and his almshouse at Highgate still remains, a monument of his munificence and benevolence. Commerce was not carried on in this age by regular merchants alone. Frequent mention is made in those times of trading vessels which were the property of kings, nobles, bishops, and other ecclesiastics of rank. Edward IV. made great gains by his own commercial undertakings ; and William of Trumpington, abbot of St. Albans, traded extensively in herrings, for the purchasing of which he had agents at Yarmouth. Fish were exported and imported ; for while herrings were sent into foreign countries, other fish were procured from Ireland in exchange for cloth, wine, ale, corn, and salt. In connexion with the subject of trade and commerce, it may be mentioned, that at the close of this period public posts for the conveyance of intelligence were first established, both in England and France. By means of post-horses, changed at every twenty miles, letters were forwarded at the rate of one hundred miles a day ; but these posts were exclusively for the use of the government.

The English coins of this period, with two exceptions only, were gold and silver pieces, of the same denominations that have been already mentioned. The new coins were nobles and angels, the former worth nineteen and the latter fourteen shillings of the present money. These were much admired, both at home and abroad, for their purity and beauty.

*Manners and Customs, &c.*—As the country advanced in wealth, and intercourse with foreign countries became more extended, improvements of various kinds were introduced in all the accommodations of life. This was especially the case with regard to the furniture of this period. Classically shaped chairs and stools, elaborately worked tables, Arras tapestry, beds of feathers and leopards, gold swans, and silk, clocks with strings and weights, reading-desks, brass chandeliers, etc., are represented in the MSS. of this period; all which exhibit a great improvement in ancient furniture.

In the early portions of this age the extravagant fashions of dress, introduced by Richard II., underwent very little alteration. The principal change appears in the fashion of the hair, which, instead of being worn long or in natural curls, as it was from the time of the conquest, was now cropped close, except by aged or official persons, and the military. During the fifteenth century the general costume of the people appears to have been a mixture of all the fashions of the preceding century, with some few additions to their absurdities and extravagancies. The kings of this period were notorious for their love of dress and finery; and this example was naturally followed by their subjects. At the same time there was a distinction made in the materials of the dresses of the different classes. By a sumptuary law enacted in the last year of the reign of Edward IV., cloth-of-gold, or silk of a purple colour, was permitted to none but the royal family: cloth-of-gold of tissue was confined to the use of dukes; plain cloth-of-gold was appropriated to lords; velvet and damask satin were allowed for the gowns and doublets of knights; and damask or satin doublets, and camlets were assigned to esquires and gentlemen. Only noblemen were allowed to wear woollen cloth made out of England, or furs of sables; and no labourer, servant, or artificer might wear cloth which cost more than two shillings per yard.

The spirit of chivalry, from various causes, rapidly declined during the fifteenth century. The few combats that occurred were commonly judicial encounters, intended to decide the truth of charges of treason, or other criminal accusations. The few tournaments held commenced with the idle splintering of lances without points, and ended in a regular number of strokes dealt with blunted swords or axes. By some, this decline in chivalry was considered foul degeneracy, and expedients were devised for its restoration; but the

growing sense of the people at large saw its decline without regret. Printing itself was made the medium of an endeavour to revive the ancient spirit of knighthood; but the effort failed: "chivalry had fulfilled its purposes in the great process of civilization, and it passed away with the occasion that called for it, and the peculiar condition of things by which it had been maintained."

Hospitality, however, the usual attendant of chivalry, still survived this change. The castles of powerful barons were still daily crowded with their numerous retainers, who were always welcome to their plentiful tables. The civil wars, indeed, made it the interest of each noble to strengthen the side he espoused, as well as to endeavour to secure his own personal safety by the maintenance of as great a crowd of retainers as he could afford. It was by this hospitality that the celebrated Warwick became "the King-Maker." It is related that thirty thousand men were daily maintained at his different manors and castles; and that while he stayed in London six oxen were usually consumed by his attendants at breakfast, while every tavern was full of his meat. The nobles of this period vied with monarchs in their establishments; for, besides their armed retainers, they had their privy-counsellors, treasurers, secretaries, chaplains, choristers, stewards, pages, mimics, jugglers, tumblers, rope-dancers, and buffoons.

At this period the two meals a day, introduced into England at the Norman conquest, were increased to four: these were breakfast, which was taken at seven o'clock in the morning; dinner at ten; supper at four in the afternoon; and liveries, which consisted of a collation taken in bed between eight and nine in the evening. The breakfast, although taken so early in the morning, was a substantial meal, arising from the fact that those who partook of it were actively employed for three hours previous. It is stated in the "Northumberland's Family Book," that the breakfast for an earl and his countess was a loaf of bread in trenchers; two manchetts, or small loaves, of the finest flour, weighing each six ounces; a quart of beer; a quart of wine; two pieces of salt fish; six baconed herrings; and four white herrings, or a dish of sprats." This was on a fast-day; but on flesh-days the fish at breakfast was exchanged for mutton or beef. Dinner, supper, and liveries were all of the same abundant and substantial character; and, from the quantity of food consumed, this period may be called "The age of gluttony." Princes,

nobles, and priests alike were devoted to good cheer: the secular clergy even pressed religion itself into the service of gormandizing, by the institution of glutton masses, which were held five times a year, in honour of the Virgin Mary. On these occasions the villagers repaired to the church, laden with provisions and liquor; and when mass had been hurried over the viands were produced, and priests and laymen addressed themselves to the feast, converting the church into a tavern; and the scene frequently ended in intemperance and riot. The staple of subsistence for the common people was joints of meat, brown coarse bread, and ale or beer; and it is remarkable that they breakfasted at eight, dined at noon, and supped at six, which were later hours than those of the nobility.

The sports of the nobility and gentry during the present period differed very little from those of the preceding age. Hunting, hawking, and mumming were still their chief amusements. With mummings, the splendid pageantries with which the English kings were occasionally received into London may be fitly classed: they were nothing but great national mummeries, on a correspondent scale of grandeur and extravagance. The theatrical exhibitions of this age, also, partook of the nature of buffoonery, mingled with licentiousness and infidelity. A taste for these exhibitions prevailed among both the higher and the lower classes, though the amusements of the inhabitants of the towns and villages were on a smaller scale than those of the nobles and citizens of the metropolis. The species of drama most in use at this period was the mystery, which was recommended and generally composed by the clergy. These mysteries were frequently formed on biblical subjects, in which a profane use was made of the word of God; but there were also secular plays, acted by itinerant buffoons, wherever they could find listeners or place.

To the sedentary sports, noticed in the last period, may now be added that of card-playing; the oldest and most favourite games with which seem to have been Trump and Primers, the latter resembling the modern game of whist. Among the active sports of the commonalty, in addition to those of running, leaping, and throwing heavy weights; wrestling, bowling, and games of ball, which were of various kinds, may be mentioned. The game of tennis seems also to have been introduced into England at this period; and



skating, with the shank-bones of sheep tied to the feet, was practised by the youth of the metropolis. Other games in use at this time were bays, base, or bars, or prisoners-bars; hood-man-blind, the same as the modern blindman's-buff; leaping the hoop; and battledore and shuttlecock. The other sports of children were similar to those of the present day.

One feature of English manners at this time reflects great disgrace on the national character; this was the practice of profane swearing. Military men were especially addicted to this evil practice, which brought the English at large into great contempt on the Continent. It is mentioned by an historian of the reign of Henry VI., as a commendable singularity in his character, that he did not swear in common conversation, and that he reproved his ministers and officers of state for this evil habit.

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## CHAPTER XIII.

THE PERIOD FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VII. TO  
THE END OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

### HENRY VII.

A.D. 1485. HENRY's first act after his victory in Bosworth-field, was to cause Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, son and heir to the late duke of Clarence, who was the next heir of the house of York after the princess Elizabeth, to be conveyed to the Tower of London, and put under safe and sure custody. This done, he marched towards the capital, where he was joyfully received; and on the 30th of October, he was anointed and crowned king by Bourchier, the cardinal-archbishop. It had been stipulated by his supporters that he should marry the princess Elizabeth, the heiress of the house of York; and though, after his victory, he seemed unwilling to fulfil his engagement, yet, on receiving a petition from parliament requesting that he would marry her, he consented. The marriage between Henry and Elizabeth took place early in the year 1486, and thus the long-desired blending of the White and Red Roses was accomplished.

It was hoped that by this union an end would be put to the civil wars which had so long raged in England. Although

Henry, however, had, according to the wish of his parliament, united the claims of the two Roses, he still remained the enemy of the house of York. On this account he was hated by the adherents of the fallen house; and many conspiracies were plotted against him, and many tumults excited. Henry was even jealous of his own wife, in a political sense, and he only allowed her a small share of authority or influence. Shortly after his marriage he made a royal progress throughout the kingdom; but he did not take his queen with him, which everywhere disappointed his people. This conduct towards Elizabeth, together with his known hatred of the house of York, created him many enemies, and at different periods threatened the stability of his throne.

Henry's first danger arose from an adventurer. It has already been related that the young earl of Warwick was confined in the Tower. Nothing had been heard of him for some time; and, encouraged by this circumstance, Simon, a young priest of Oxford, instructed a youth named Simnel, the son of a baker, to counterfeit the young earl. It was obvious that this scheme would be most successful at a distance, and Simnel and his tutor proceeded to Ireland. The house of York had many friends in Ireland; and believing the priest's tale, that Edward Plantagenet had escaped from the Tower, Simnel was received with open arms in Dublin, and was crowned under the title of Edward the Sixth. On hearing of this event, in order to counteract its effects in England, Henry first issued a general pardon to all the adherents of the house of York, and then brought young Edward Plantagenet from the Tower, and conducted him in the most public manner through all the principal streets of London. This public exhibition had its effect in England; but in Ireland it was asserted that Henry, to mock the world and blind the eyes of simple men, had tricked up a boy in the likeness of Edward Plantagenet, and showed him to the people. The Irish lords sent emissaries to Flanders, where John, earl of Lincoln, and lord Lovel, with others, were living as exiles; and, aided by the duchess of Burgundy, all these exiles set sail for Ireland, with a body of two thousand Germans, to support Simnel's pretensions. On their arrival, Simnel was crowned in the cathedral church of Dublin; the crown used being a golden diadem from a statue of the Virgin Mary. It was now determined that Edward VI. should, with his faithful army, cross St. George's Channel. To meet

the coming danger, Henry levied troops in different parts of the kingdom; and while he lay at Kenilworth, at the head of them, the counterfeit monarch landed in the southern extremity of Furness. The invaders were joined on landing by sir Thomas Broughton, and from the coast they advanced towards York; but though they expected to be joined by many malcontents, "their snowball did not gather as it went; for the people came not unto them, neither did any rise or declare themselves in any part of the kingdom for them." Though thus disappointed, the invaders turned southward to meet Henry, and the two armies met at Stoke, near Newark, and a battle was fought, in which the forces of Simnel were utterly defeated. One half of the invaders perished, with most of their leaders, and Simnel and his patron were taken prisoners. Simnel was sentenced to turn the spit in Henry's kitchen; but he was afterwards made one of the king's falconers, while the priest, Simon, was imprisoned for life. After the victory of Stoke, Henry travelled northward to punish such persons as had assisted or favoured the invaders; but his object was more to satisfy his avarice than to take revenge, for his punishments consisted of fines and ransoms. On his return, for reasons of state, Elizabeth, his wife, was crowned at Westminster, Henry witnessing the ceremony from behind a screen or lattice that concealed his person.

During the next three years Henry was chiefly engaged in obtaining subsidies from his parliament and levying them from his people, under pretence of assisting the duke of Brittany against the French. In the year 1489, the harshness used in levying a subsidy drove the northern counties into an insurrection, which at one time threatened to shake the throne, but which was put down by an army commanded by the earl of Surrey. In 1492 Henry again called upon parliament to vote him fresh supplies, to enable him to unite with Spain and Austria, against Charles VIII. of France, whom he denounced as a disturber of the Christian world. An act was passed to allow those who were eager for glory to alienate their estates without payment of the ordinary fines; and many persons of the best quality, knights, and noblemen, thus encouraged proceeded to sell their estates, or to raise money upon them; hoping to indemnify themselves by conquests and possessions in France. A large army was raised, and Henry embarked and set sail for Calais; but his object was not war: his design was to obtain money from Charles, in which he

succeeded. By a treaty concluded at Etaples, Charles stipulated to pay him £140,000 sterling, on which Henry returned to England, to the great discontent of those who had sold their estates to accompany him to France.

In the same year in which Henry undertook his inglorious expedition to France, his throne was again threatened by an adventurer. During the preceding year a handsome young man landed in the Cove of Cork, and gave himself out to be Richard, duke of York, the second son of Edward IV. This young man, whose real name was Perkin Warbeck, admitted that the elder son of Edward IV. was murdered in the Tower, but that he had escaped; and after being a fugitive and wanderer for seven long years, he had come to claim his inheritance. Many of the Anglo-Irish nobles were ready to draw the sword in his favour; but the powerful earl of Kildare was reluctant to support him, and Warbeck was induced to accept a pressing invitation to the French court. At the court of king Charles he was treated as heir to the crown of England, and many English exiles went over to Paris and bound themselves to his service; but after the treaty of Etaples, Charles turned the adventurer out of France, and he retired for protection and assistance to the duchess of Burgundy. By this princess he was embraced as her dear nephew, and she bestowed on him the poetical surname of "The White Rose of England." While at her court a correspondence was opened on his behalf in England, while Henry sent his emissaries into Flanders to report that the "White Rose" was one Perkin Warbeck, the son of a merchant, a converted Jew of the city of Tournay. In 1493 Henry demanded the surrender, or at least the expulsion of Warbeck; and when this was refused by archduke Philip, now duke of Burgundy, because it was not in his power to interfere with the duchess-dowager, Henry withdrew the mart of English cloth from Antwerp to Calais, and prohibited all intercourse with Flanders. At the same time he arrested and executed many knights and noblemen, in Warbeck's favour; and his party, from the numerous executions, were filled with despair. His situation was the more critical because the Flemings, who suffered severely from the loss of their trade, began to murmur. In this dilemma, Warbeck adopted the bold resolution of invading England: he, with a few hundred men, landed at Deal; but the country people took many of them prisoners, and the rest returned with a press of sail to Flan-

ders. In 1496, however, a treaty of commerce between Henry and the archduke Philip took place, and Warbeck took refuge in Scotland, where he was received at the court of James IV. with open arms. It would appear that the Scottish monarch believed Perkin Warbeck to be the real duke of York, for he married him to the lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley, who, on the mother's side, was related to the house of Stuart. While in Scotland, the pretender was also aided by the French king and the duchess-dowager of Burgundy, and he soon found himself at the head of fourteen hundred men of various nations. James now concluded a treaty with Warbeck as with a sovereign prince, and resolved to assist in placing him on the English throne. Both crossed the borders at the head of an army; but seeing that the people were generally opposed to his pretensions, they returned to Scotland without waiting to see an English army. Their retreat was followed by a rebellion in Cornwall, the people of which county marched, to the number of sixteen thousand men, to Blackheath, where they were defeated with great slaughter, and many of them taken prisoners. About the same time James, king of Scotland, again crossed the Tweed in favour of Warbeck, but he was compelled to retire; and being threatened by the English in his own dominions, he concluded a treaty with Henry, and dismissed Warbeck from his court. The adventurer again went to Ireland; but he once more failed in raising the people of that country, and he resolved to try his fortune in Cornwall. He was soon at the head of a host of Cornish men; but his forces were defeated at Taunton. Warbeck took refuge in the sanctuary of Beaulieu, in the New Forest; but finding himself without help or hope, he was induced to accept the royal pardon. He lived at the court of Henry, whence he contrived to escape; but he was again taken, and after being compelled to read a confession of his imposture in a pair of stocks at Westminster Hall, he was committed to the Tower. In the Tower he became acquainted with the young earl of Warwick, likewise a prisoner, and they agreed to make their escape together; but their design was discovered, and they were both executed: Warbeck was hanged at Tyburn, and the earl of Warwick beheaded on Tower-hill. A. D. 1499.

From this time Henry reigned without a competitor. His remaining years were chiefly spent in amassing wealth. He dispensed with parliaments, not caring for their votes; but

levied money by the arbitrary and illegal method of benevolences. By this means his coffers became full to overflow; but still he endeavoured to amass more riches. In the year 1500 he married his eldest son, Arthur, to Catherine, the daughter of Ferdinand, king of Spain: and this young prince dying soon after, unwilling to lose her marriage portion, he caused her to be married to his remaining son, Henry, then only eleven years of age. His own queen, Elizabeth of York, died in 1503, and then Henry looked through all Europe for a rich wife for himself. Several new alliances were projected; but he was a suitor difficult to please in point of money, and something or other interposed and caused each of them to end in negotiation. Money was his one desire; and he little cared by what means he could obtain it, so as he could increase his stores. In his pursuit he was aided by his ministers, lawyers, and priests, who did their best to gratify his ruling passion, and to prove to the people that passive obedience and payment of taxes, however imposed, was the duty of all loyal subjects.

In the year 1506 an event occurred which aptly illustrated Henry's avaricious character. As the archduke Philip of Burgundy was sailing with his wife Joanna, for Castile, a storm drove their vessel into the port of Weymouth. Henry entertained them with great courtesy at Windsor; but Philip soon found that he had to pay a dear price for their entertainment. While exercising the rights of hospitality, Henry drew up a treaty of commerce in his own favour; requested the immediate surrender of the earl of Suffolk, who had recently offended him and taken refuge in Flanders; and demanded Philip's sister, Margaret, duchess of Savoy, for his wife, with a portion of three hundred thousand crowns; and that Philip's infant son Charles should be married to the princess Mary of England, Henry's youngest daughter. The archduke found himself a prisoner till he consented to these terms; but he was not even then allowed to depart till the earl of Suffolk was safely lodged in the Tower.

Soon after Philip's departure he died in Spain, and Henry, thinking his widow would be a better match than his sister, dropped the treaty for the duchess, and proposed for Joanna, who was queen of Castile. In this he was opposed by her father, Ferdinand of Spain; and, finding his suit was vain, he declared that if he was not permitted to marry Joanna, his son Henry should not fulfil his marriage contract with

her sister Catherine. In the end, however, he agreed that his son should complete the marriage with the infant as soon as he should receive her marriage portion, but not before.

Henry received some of the infant's dower; but he did not live to witness the celebration of her marriage with his son Henry. His health had long been in a wretched state, and his declining strength and sufferings at length made him think seriously of the world to come. He had amassed riches, but they could bring no comfort to him in the near approach of death. Nay, they only added to his sorrows; for with them were connected the sufferings of his people. To satisfy his conscience, in the spring of 1507, he distributed alms among the poor, and discharged all prisoners in London that were confined for debts under forty shillings. In the next year, also, he listened to the bitter cries raised against his rapacious ministers, Empson and Dudley, and their accomplices, and ordered justice to be done to all persons who had suffered wrong. Soon after, however, growing better, his greediness for money returned, and he continued to grind his wealthier subjects to add to his immense treasures. Many were prosecuted under frivolous pretences, and condemned to pay enormous fines; and if they refused they were thrown into the Tower. At length, all hope of his recovery vanished, and again Henry's thoughts were turned to repentance. In his last hours he drew up a will, which enjoined his young successor to repair the injuries he had committed, and make restitution to the victims he had plundered. But even in his penitence his love of a good bargain did not forsake him: he ordered two thousand masses to be said for his soul, but he expressly commanded that they should cost only sixpence each. Henry died on the 21st of April, 1509, at his new palace of Richmond, and was buried in the magnificent chapel he had built in Westminster Abbey.

The reign of Henry was an uninterrupted series of craft, treachery, stratagems, and intrigues; partly arising from the difficulties with which he had to contend in establishing himself on the throne; and partly from his natural temperament and the force of habit. His capacity for governing was excellent; but this was rendered in a great measure nugatory by narrowness of principle. He possessed insinuation and address; but never employed those talents except where some great point of interest was to be gained. Henry remains, indeed, a singular instance of a man placed in a high station,

and possessed of talent for great affairs, in whom avarice was more predominant than ambition. By his contemporaries he was called a second Solomon; but he rather resembled Machiavelli, most of whose notions he anticipated and put in practice.

### HENRY VIII.

A.D. 1509. Henry, prince of Wales, now in his eighteenth year, ascended the throne, to the universal joy of the nation. He was proclaimed on the 22nd of April; was married at Greenwich, on the 3d of June, to Catherine, infanta of Spain; and was crowned with his queen on the 24th of the same month. His early conduct, as a monarch, endeared him to his people. Dudley and Empson, by whose advice and instrumentality the people had been plundered in the late reign, were punished by death for their exactions, and in some cases restitution was made to their victims. This gave great satisfaction to the people; and they were further delighted by the young monarch's profusion. The son of a miser is generally a spendthrift, and Henry formed no exception to the rule: he dipped deeply into his father's coffers for his coronation, and still deeper for the jousts, tournaments, and banquets with which he constantly entertained the people. But the people had no cause to be pleased with this profusion; for when his father's coffers were emptied, they were called upon to replenish them.

The first demand Henry made upon his parliament was in the year 1512, and this was to make war upon France. Henry, anxious for military glory, demanded of Louis XII. of France the cession of Anjou, Maine, Normandy, and Guienne, "his lawful inheritance;" and when this was refused, he asked for money to enable him to fit out a proper army. A war with France was still popular with the nation, and sufficient supplies were granted to enable him to undertake the expedition in a manner which augured success. France, moreover, was not threatened by Henry alone: the Swiss, and Ferdinand of Arragon, were preparing to invade it from other quarters. The French monarchy had never been in so distressed a situation before; but the errors of its assailants procured its safety. Henry led his army in person into France, in the year 1513; but before he arrived Ferdinand had made peace with Louis; and on his arrival, instead of concerting a grand scheme with



the Swiss, amused himself by the siege of Terouenne. This town was taken, dismantled, and burned; and subsequently Tournay was captured: but by this time the Swiss had concluded a treaty with the king of France; and Henry, after spending some money in jousts and tournaments, returned, well satisfied with his doughty exploits, to England.

In the meantime there had been war nearer home. In the month of August, James, king of Scotland, made an incursion into England; and the earl of Surrey having marched to oppose him, a battle was fought at Flodden-Field, an offshoot of the Cheviot, in which the king of Scotland, and most of his nobles were slain. Henry might now possibly have reduced that kingdom to subjection; but he generously granted a peace to his sister Margaret, who was appointed regent during the infancy of his son. About the same time Henry made peace with Louis, king of France, and bestowed on him his sister Mary in marriage.

Henry preferred pleasure to active service in the field or in the cabinet. He had as little inclination, says an old writer, to trouble himself with business as a wild ox has to be yoked to the plough. There was one man in his court, indeed, who was more king of England than Henry himself; that man was Thomas Wolsey.

Thomas Wolsey was the son of a wealthy butcher at Ipswich: he studied at Oxford, where, on account of his precocity and early attainments, he was called the "Boy Bachelor." For some time he taught the grammar-school adjoining to Magdalen College; and he was afterwards made rector of Lymington by the marquis of Dorset, whose children he had instructed. By the marquis he was introduced to the notice of bishop Fox, who recommended him to his master, the late king. He was employed by Henry VII. in certain secret affairs of great moment, in all of which he acquitted himself to his master's satisfaction. Upon the death of Henry there was a struggle for supremacy between bishop Fox and the duke of Norfolk, then earl of Surrey; and the bishop, in order to counteract his opponent's influence, introduced Wolsey to Henry. Wolsey, who could change hue like a chameleon, supplanted both the rivals, and soon acquired more power and influence at court than they had even possessed between them. Though nearly twenty years older than the king, Wolsey adopted all his tastes and habits: he sung, laughed, and danced, and was as merry as any layman

at his court; and, being at once complying, submissive, and enterprising, he soon became the young monarch's chief favourite. He was made chancellor of the kingdom, and to him was entrusted the chief administration of affairs. This high promotion was soon followed by another of an ecclesiastical description, for Leo X. appointed him to the important and lucrative post of papal legate. Wealth now poured in upon him, and with it he assumed a splendour rarely seen in a subject. His taste was rather for spending than accumulating, and from this cause he was less envied by the nation than might have been expected. Wolsey, indeed, though the most absolute minister of an absolute master, was popular with the people, until Henry's wants obliged him to overtax them. As chancellor he dispensed strict justice; he repressed with a strong hand the arbitrary power of the aristocracy; and he put down thieves and robbers, by improving the police, and encouraging the sheriffs and local magistrates. His liberality was unbounded: he gave largesses to the people, and alms to the poor; encouraged men of learning; and exerted himself for the revival of classical literature and endowed colleges. With all his faults and vices, therefore, the home government of Wolsey was a blessing to the country.

In the year 1517 Francis I., now king of France, gained a great victory over the Swiss, near Milan; and the military glory which he acquired beyond the Alps excited the jealousy of Henry. Wolsey recommended his master to form an alliance with the emperor Maximilian, in order to expel the French from Italy; but Henry wanted money, and the scheme was abandoned. Two years after, the emperor Maximilian died suddenly, and Henry and Francis became candidates for the vacant dignity. Recently, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, had been entered into between the two monarchs, and it was feared that this rivalry might have interrupted their harmony; but a new competitor arose in the arena, in the person of Charles of Austria, king of Spain, who carried off the prize, which event seems to have preserved peace.

The situation of their dominions, as well as a personal feeling, made Charles and Francis each other's rivals; and Henry's power being sufficient, when united with either, to crush the other, his pride was gratified by the eagerness both showed to secure his friendship. A personal interview between Henry and Francis had been arranged before their

recent rivalry took place; and now the latter was particularly anxious for this interview, hoping to turn it to his own advantage. On the other hand, Charles was desirous to prevent their meeting, and came to England for the purpose of doing so. While Henry was preparing to cross the Channel in May, 1520, he received news that Charles was on the coast, and Wolsey, who had concerted this visit, was detached from Canterbury with a splendid train to meet the imperial guest. The emperor was hospitably entertained by Henry; and though he could not prevent his interview with Francis, he by large presents, and by a promise to support Wolsey in the design he had long entertained on the triple crown, prevented any evil consequences arising therefrom. On his departure, Henry, with the cardinal, the queen, and the whole court, sailed for Calais; and on the 4th of June he removed to Guisnes, near to which, at a place called Ardres, within the English pale, he met Francis.

The tents which were erected for the accommodation of the two courts were principally composed of silk and cloth-of-gold, from which circumstance, added to the magnificence of the apparel displayed by the French and English, the meeting is recorded by the name of "The Field of Cloth-of-Gold." The ceremonies of this meeting were regulated by Wolsey; and were at first in conformity with the strictest court etiquette. Such formality, however, was not in accordance with the notions of the light-hearted Francis; and he resolved to associate with Henry on more familiar terms. Early one morning he rode to the English quarters, attended only by a page and two gentlemen, and presenting himself to Henry, who was still in bed, told him, playfully, that he was now his prisoner. Touched by this mark of confidence, Henry leaped out of bed and thanked him; and from this time the intercourse between the two courts was more familiar. Before, there had been jousts and tournaments, the ladies acting as judges; but now there were banquets and balls, masking and mumming, in which the two kings and the ladies played their parts. After thus consuming a fortnight, Henry returned to Calais, and Francis returned to his capital.

In the course of this interview, Francis, by treaty, agreed to pay a high price for the neutrality of England in the war with Charles, which he saw was inevitable; and renewed a recent marriage treaty, by which the infant dauphin, the son of Francis, was to be united to Henry's infant daughter, the

princess Mary. At the same time he preserved his friendship with Charles. The first thing he did when the meeting was over, was to go to Gravelines, and pay a visit to the emperor, who accompanied him back to Calais to concert measures with Wolsey, who had so recently pledged himself to his rival Francis. The emperor spent three days at Calais, after which he rode back to his Flemish dominions, "mounted on a brave horse, covered with a cloth-of-gold richly beset with stones," which Henry had given him. Henry, also, after spending a few more days at Calais, embarked with his court for Dover; and then returned, "all safe in body, but empty in purse," to London. The most lasting effect, indeed, of the meeting on "The Field of the Cloth-of-Gold," was the ruin of many of the nobility, both English and French, who, in their insane rivalry, contracted debts they were never able to pay.

In these times it was dangerous to oppose or criticise the tastes of the king; but there were yet some men who expressed their disapprobation of the ruinous expense into which the nobility of the kingdom had been led by this meeting. Among these murmurers one of the loudest was Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, who was descended from the ancient line of the Plantagenets, and who was one of the richest men in England. Stafford had long been an object of jealousy and suspicion, and there was a mutual enmity between him and Wolsey: soon after Henry's return, therefore, he was accused of treason; and though the charges brought against him were frivolous and untrue, he was found guilty, and was beheaded on Tower-hill.

While the blood of Buckingham was fresh upon him, Henry set himself up as a defender and champion of the Romish church. At this time the doctrines of Luther were eagerly embraced in England; and, while Wolsey issued orders to all the bishops of England to seize all heretical books containing Luther's errors, his master took up his pen to refute his doctrines. He wrote his celebrated defence of the Seven Sacraments, which was presented to the pope; and Leo X., after having read the treatise, declared in an express bull, "that he found it sprinkled with the dew of ecclesiastical grace; and that he rendered thanks to God for having inspired the king to write it for the defence of the blessed faith." At the same time Leo conferred on Henry and his successors the proud title of "Defender of the Faith."

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While Henry was employed in authorship, Francis and Charles were engaged in war. Francis sought the aid of Henry; but though Wolsey was sent to negotiate a peaceful and honourable arrangement, it was finally resolved to assist the emperor. In a league signed at Calais between the pope, the emperor, and the king of England, it was agreed that in order to check the ambition of France, each of the contracting powers should fall upon Francis from different quarters, and that the marriage between the dauphin and the princess Mary should be set aside, and that princess be married to Charles. Soon after this Leo died, and Adrian was chosen his successor by the conclave. It was expected that, as Charles had not kept his promise with Wolsey, this would have caused a rupture between the new contracting parties; but in the spring of 1522, the emperor again visited Henry, by whom he was hospitably entertained. In the summer of the same year an army was sent into France to his aid; but the season was far advanced when the campaign commenced, and the earl of Surrey, who commanded, after advancing to the banks of the Somme, was compelled to retreat to Calais, without even meeting the French. Francis retaliated on Henry by stirring up a rebellion in Ireland, and exciting the Scots against his sister Margaret of Scotland; but these insurrections were put down, and in the year 1523 another English army invaded France: this army, which was under the command of the duke of Suffolk, was equally unsuccessful with that which had preceded it under the earl of Surrey; and though the people were heavily taxed for the aid afforded to Charles, Henry never afforded him any real assistance. He triumphed; but it was by the force of his own arms, and not by the aid of the English.

The success of Charles in the year 1525 aroused the zeal of Henry; and he now, in order to check his victorious arms, entered into a treaty with Francis. His finances, however, were in such a wretched condition from his lavish expenditure, that he could not afford any more effectual aid to Francis than he had to Charles: moreover, he became involved in a quarrel with the church of Rome, which left him neither time nor inclination to assist either; and they fought on, single handed, till in the year 1529 both, exhausted by war, sighed for, and agreed to a treaty of peace.

Little did pope Leo think, when he gave Henry the proud title of "Defender of the Faith," that he would one day be-

come a more powerful enemy to the church of Rome than Luther himself; yet so it proved. The cause of his hostility, however, was not from a love of truth, but merely the effect of evil passions. In the year 1527, under the pretext of scruples of conscience, he wished to be separated from his wife Catherine, who, as before recorded, was the widow of his own brother. His object was to marry Anna Boleyn, maid of honour to Catherine, of whom he had become enamoured for her great beauty. A divorce was pronounced by his own clergy; but the pope, Clement, who had recently succeeded Adrian, principally from friendship to the emperor Charles, Catherine's nephew, opposed it. Henry, however, set the pope at defiance: he was divorced from his queen, and married to Anna Boleyn; and this step was followed by papal excommunication, and a complete rupture with Rome. His parliament prohibited every kind of payment, and every kind of appeal to the pope; confirmed Henry's title of supreme head of the church; and vested in him alone the right of appointing to all bishoprics, and of deciding in all ecclesiastical causes. During the rest of this reign the Catholic clergy were plundered and hanged without remorse; but at the same time, to prove his orthodoxy, Henry extended his fury to the Lollards: the protestant fires were made to blaze with greater fury, whenever any terrible blow was struck at the established church.

Henry was married to Anna Boleyn in the year 1533. Catherine at first resided at Ampthill, near Dunstable; but she subsequently retired to Kimbolton, where she died in 1556, from extremity of grief. Her fall involved that of another, greater in the state than herself—the king's long-tried and faithful servant, Wolsey.

Wolsey, from sheer hatred to the emperor Charles, who had twice deceived him in the matter of the popedom, was willing that Henry should be divorced from the queen; but then he wished his master to marry a French princess, and not Anna Boleyn. Finding the king resolved upon the latter choice, he sided with the pope; and when Henry discovered this he withdrew his favour from him. The sudden loss of the royal favour was to him like the removal of the bright sun from the heavens. He sought its restoration by transferring his entire personal estate to Henry; but this noble gift was not sufficient to stay his "gracious master's" resentment. He was arrested at Cawood, near York, on a

charge of high-treason, but he was never brought to trial; for while on his road to London he was seized with a mortal sickness, and he died in Leicester Abbey. Among his last words were these:—"Had I but served my God as diligently as I have served my prince, he would not have forsaken me in the days of my grey hairs." His successor in the favour of Henry was Cranmer, through whose means chiefly the divorce was brought about, and who was appointed archbishop of Canterbury and primate of all England. Cranmer had been a member of the college of Jesuits at Cambridge; but he was at this time zealously devoted to the cause of the Reformation.

Another name, introduced into the roll of history by these events, was that of Thomas Cromwell, who was the son of a blacksmith, and who had been in the service of Wolsey. On the fall of his patron, Cromwell played his part so well at court that he was confirmed in the stewardship of the lands of some monasteries dissolved by Wolsey, and made secretary of state. Cromwell had been employed in the dissolution of these monasteries, and, on his exaltation, he was empowered to send commissioners into the several counties of England, to inspect those remaining, and to report the conduct and deportment of those resident therein. The clergy hated Cromwell; Cromwell hated the clergy; and Henry wanted money; and the result was such as might have been expected. The commissioners reported, that everywhere vice and immorality prevailed; and, by the year 1540, all the monastic establishments of the kingdom were suppressed, and their gold and silver shrines, with their landed property, were shared by Henry and his courtiers and parasites. In the same period many monks were condemned for high-treason and hanged, because they would not proclaim in their churches and chapels that the pope was antichrist; and bishop Fisher and sir Thomas More were beheaded because they would not subscribe to the Act of Supremacy, recently passed by parliament. These murders spread a panic throughout the nation; and in all foreign countries where civilization had progressed, the death of Fisher, and of that great wit and scholar, More, the author of *Utopia*, excited universal execration.

It is said that Anna Boleyn exulted in the death of Catherine, and that she boasted she was now indeed a queen. She herself, however, was already doomed: Henry had cast

his eyes on one of her maids of honour. She was accused of adultery; and though on her trial her innocence was made clear, she was condemned, and beheaded on the Green in the Tower. On the following morning Henry married Anna's maid of honour, Jane Seymour: his cruel heart rejoicing over the fate of one that had been so lately the object of his warmest affections. In the interval between her sentence and execution Henry demanded a divorce; and even Cranmer, who had made Anna Boleyn queen, and who in heart believed her innocent of the crime imputed to her, pronounced that her marriage was, and always had been, null and void, in consequence of certain just and lawful impediments. After her death the process was submitted to the convocation and the two houses of parliament, and the church, lords, and commons confirmed it, thereby cutting Anna's infant daughter Elizabeth off from the succession.

In the year 1536, while the work of spoliation was being carried forward, and while the king was issuing decrees in matters of religion, an insurrection broke out in Lincolnshire, which spread throughout Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire. Nothing seemed wanting but a proper leader, and courage and resolution in the noblemen and gentry to overthrow Henry's tyrannical government. At one time the insurgents were estimated at forty thousand; and they gave a religious character to their rising, and bound themselves by oath to stand by each other, for the love which they bore to Almighty God, his faith, and the holy church. They painted on their banners the figure of Christ in his agony; they wore upon their sleeves the emblem of the five wounds of the Saviour with the name of Jesus; and they called their march "The pilgrimage of grace." Wherever they advanced they restored the monks and nuns to their houses, and by threats they compelled the people to take their oaths and to join their ranks. Many noblemen joined the insurgents, and many cities admitted the pilgrims of grace, and took the vows. Demands were made by them of the king: but there were traitors in their camp; and early in the spring of 1537, every man doubting the good faith of his captain, on being threatened by a royal army, returned to his home. Lord Darcy, Robert Aske, and most of their original leaders were taken and executed; and it was not till the north had been converted into a shambles, and the pleasant banks of the Tweed, the Tyne, the Tees, the



Don, and the Trent, had been made loathsome with dead bodies, that pardon was proclaimed. Even the persecution of the monks continued. Prisons throughout the country became crowded with priors and monks; and they died so rapidly in their places of confinement, as to excite dreadful suspicion. At the same time the Lollards also experienced the tyrant's vengeance: Henry was alike the enemy of Romanism and Lollardism; he conceiving that he was entitled to regulate, by his own single opinion, the religious faith of the whole nation.

During the year 1537, Jane Seymour died in childbed, after having given birth to a son, who was named Edward, and who was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester. After her death, incensed by the recent insurrection, Henry proceeded with greater vigour in the spoliation of the monasteries, and the persecution of his subjects, be they of what faith they might. So depressed were the clergy, by his iron rule, that few of them had the means of subsistence. Patrons of livings gave them to their menials, as wages or rewards; to their gardeners, to the keepers of their hawks and hounds; or otherwise they let in fee both glebe and parsonage. Parish priests, in some instances, even kept ale-houses: thus uniting the more profitable calling of a tapster to that of a preacher of the gospel. Even Miles Coverdale, who translated the first complete English Bible—the greatest achievement of the age, and the measure that most effectually promoted the Reformation—was left in great poverty. Henry was “much prone to reformation,” but it arose from his desire to possess the wealth of the church; and it was no sooner possessed than it was lavished away. In the end, indeed, the king demanded and received, from parliament, compensation for the expenses he had incurred in reforming the religion of the state!

Henry continued a widower up to 1540, when he was married to Anne of Cleves. This match had been promoted by Cromwell, and it was hoped that as Anne was a protestant, his union with her would have the effect of finishing his conversion. This union, however, was fatal to Cromwell. Hans Holbein had taken the likeness of Anne of Cleves; and when the king saw the nice performance of his favourite artist, he fancied himself in love: it was so beautiful. But the original did not answer to the picture: when Henry first met Anne he shrunk back from her with dismay; and though he

consented to marry her, lest he should give offence to the princes of the Protestant Confederacy, it was clear that he would not be happy in the union. It was not long after his marriage with Anne of Cleves, that lady Catherine Howard, who was as entire a papist as Anne was a protestant, was introduced to Henry, by Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; that popish prelate and his party hoping that her charms would make an impression upon him. The device succeeded: Henry was captivated; Cromwell was executed as a traitor; Anne of Cleves was divorced; and Catherine Howard became queen of England. With Cromwell fell doctor Barnes, who was burnt alive with Garret and Jerome, as a heretic; while, at the same time, three Catholics were hanged and quartered for denying the king's supremacy. Anne of Cleves was in danger of perishing; but she escaped out of the lion's jaws, by submitting to the king's will and pleasure.

Henry thought himself happy in his new marriage; he was never so happy before, he said, and he pronounced lady Catherine to be the most perfect of women, and most affectionate of wives. He lived with her for more than a year; but at the end of that time, his faith in the virtue of his wife was annihilated by Cranmer. On his return from a progress in the northern counties, he had a tale for his master which struck him dumb, and even drew tears from his eyes; and after witnesses had been examined, and confessions extorted from the lips of Catherine herself, she also, in February, 1542, was brought to the scaffold; and lady Rochford, who had borne false testimony against Anna Boleyn, perished with her, as a participator in her immoralities. It would appear, however, that her immoralities were committed *before* and not *after* her union with Henry; and it was enacted in the bill of attainder against Catherine, that all persons who concealed their knowledge of the incontinence of any future queen, whether before or after marriage, should be guilty of high-treason!

Henry for nearly eighteen months after the death of Catherine Howard, devoted his time to divinity and politics. At this time there were various sects in England, as Anabaptists, Antinomians, Arians, Unitarians, Libertines, and others of stranger names, some native and some foreign. These sects were hostile to each other; and Henry was hostile to them all. "Behold," said he in a speech in parliament, "what love and charity is among you, when the one calleth another

Anabaptist, and he calleth him again Papist, hypocrite, and pharisee! Alas! however can the poor souls live in concord, when you, preachers, sow amongst them in your sermons, debate and discord? Of you they look for light, and ye bring them to darkness." Yet Henry set the worst example of what he condemned. Believing himself to be God's vicar and high minister on earth; he sought, by his laws and his writings, to rule the faith of the nation; and when these failed he had recourse to the fire and the sword. At this time, however, the fury of persecution was somewhat allayed: seeing that indiscriminate execution was done upon Papists and Protestants alike, they ceased to inform against each other: during the last four years of this reign *only* twenty-four persons were put to death for religion; fourteen of these being Protestants, and ten Papists. The names of some of these will occur in the following paragraph.

In the year 1543, Henry was married to his sixth wife, Catherine Parr, widow of Neville, lord Latimer. It is said that Catherine was well versed in the new learning, and a sincere convert to the Christian faith. It is quite certain, however, that while Protestants rejoiced at the union, only sixteen days after the marriage three of that body were burnt alive in Smithfield. How Catherine Parr escaped destruction is almost miraculous, for she was several times in imminent danger. At this period of the reign of Henry the court had become entirely changed: all pageantries and gaieties were banished, and men and women gave themselves up to polemics. Catherine ventured to read some of the works of the reformers, which had recently been prohibited; and as the king, who had been long afflicted, grew worse and worse, she ventured to dispute with him upon faith and doctrine. Henry was exasperated: "A good hearing this," he exclaimed, "when women become such clerks; and a thing much to my comfort to come, in mine old age, to be taught by my wife." Bishop Gardiner and Wriothesley, the chancellor, received orders to prepare articles of impeachment against her; but Catherine was warned in time, and adroitly escaped the danger. On the next evening, when the subject of religion was, as usual, introduced, she spoke submissively of the inferiority of her own understanding, and of the great blessing she enjoyed in having so learned a prince for her husband and instructor. "Not so, by St. Mary," exclaimed Henry: "I know you, Kate; you are become a doctor." Catherine replied, that he

had mistaken her meaning and her motive: she had ventured to argue with his grace, but it was only to amuse him, as she had seen that in the heat of religious controversy, he would forget his bodily pains. "Ah!" replied Henry, "is it so, sweetheart: then we are friends again:" and on the following day, when Wriothesley came, with forty men of the guard, to take Catherine into custody, Henry called him knave, fool, and beast, and dismissed him. But if Catherine escaped, the ladies, through whose agency the books had been introduced at court, were much less fortunate. Thus Anne Askew, who attempted to convert several of the ladies about the court, giving them books and tracts, was put to the rack, and perished at the stake in Smithfield. Three others perished with her: John Lascelles, a gentleman of the royal household, who did not believe in transubstantiation; Nicholas Belerium, a Shropshire clergyman; and John Adams, a tailor, of London, who had also offended against some of the six articles. A nobler victim on the other side perished soon after on the scaffold. This was the accomplished and poetical earl of Surrey, who was falsely accused of aspiring to the throne; and his father, the duke of Norfolk, was sentenced to the same fate, but was saved by the death of Henry.

Henry had been for some time approaching fast towards his end. An old issue in his leg had become an inveterate ulcer; and the pain he endured, added to his great corpulency, which rendered him unable to stir, made him furious as a chained lion. Several persons had been put to death for saying that he was dying or likely to die; and in his last hours, those about him were afraid to tell him of his condition. On the approach of certain symptoms, the physicians wished his courtiers to warn him of his true state; but they all hung back in affright, like unarmed men in the presence of a wounded and dying beast of prey. At length Sir Anthony Deny undertook the task: going direct to the bedside, he told him that the hope of human help was vain, and recommended him to turn his thoughts to heaven. Henry still wished to live; but finding that his physicians had no hope, he submitted to the hard law of necessity. In reflecting upon the course of his life, he found much to give him uneasiness; but he still professed himself confident, that, through Christ, all his sins would be pardoned. In his last moments he was speechless; and when Cranmer desired him to give him some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ, he

grasped his hand as hard as he could, and immediately expired. He died A.D. 1547, after having lived fifty-five years and seven months, and reigned thirty-seven years, nine months, and six days.

A catalogue of the vices of Henry would comprehend many of the worst qualities incident to human nature. In the course of his reign, some thousands of individuals were executed: queens, nobles, ecclesiastics, and the common people all sharing in the same fate. Yet, by an overruling Providence, it has been ordered, that the tyrannical reign of Henry should become a blessing to the country. A less arbitrary disposition than his would not have succeeded in shaking off the degrading domination of the see of Rome. But though Henry laid the foundation of the Reformation, the solid erection of that precious edifice belongs to a later period: he commenced the work; but its completion was left for holier and wiser men.

## EDWARD VI

A.D. 1547. A few weeks before the death of Henry, he made his will; by which he left his crown first to prince Edward; then to the lady Mary, and next to the lady Elizabeth. When the crown descended upon Edward's head he was only ten years of age; and in his will his father had ordered that sixteen executors and twelve counsellors should administer the affairs of the kingdom, and superintend his education during his minority. Henry expected that his directions would have been implicitly obeyed; but at the first meeting of the executors after his death, they showed their contempt of his will by making lord Hertford, the young king's eldest uncle, duke of Somerset, and protector of the kingdom. When this was done, the new government turned their thoughts to burying the old and crowning the new king. Henry was buried in St. George's chapel, Windsor, on the 16th of February; and four days after Edward was crowned at Westminster Abbey. As usual, a general pardon for state offenders was proclaimed on this occasion; but the duke of Norfolk was an exception, though his sentence of death was commuted to imprisonment.

The frame of government being thus settled, the attention of the protector was immediately called to foreign affairs. Francis, king of France, died two months after the English

monarch, and Henry II., his son and successor, under the control of the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine, the brothers of the queen-dowager of Scotland, entered into a close alliance with the Scots, in order to annoy and embarrass England. The Scottish government had taken up arms, and Henry now sent six galleys to assist the regent in reducing the castle of St. Andrews. The protector, therefore, collected an army for the invasion of Scotland; and by the end of August he set out for the north, at the head of about twenty thousand men, of whom six thousand were cavalry. At the same time sixty-five vessels, of which thirty-five were ships of war, accompanied the expedition, under lord Clinton. Somerset defeated the Scots with great slaughter near Musselburgh, and the fleet swept the sea of all Scottish vessels; but the protector, not deeming it expedient to follow up his victory, recrossed the borders, and returned to London.

The duke of Somerset was a declared friend of the Reformation; and from the commencement of the reign the work of carrying it forward received his attention. Associated with him in this great work were Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; Holgate, archbishop of York; Holbeck, bishop of Lincoln; Goodwin, bishop of Ely; and Ridley, who was appointed to the see of Rochester. The young Edward was greatly in favour of the Reformation; but his sister, the princess Mary, generally looked upon as the heiress presumptive, was a zealous Catholic. Somerset and his adherents had to maintain their position against the envy and resentment of the whole faction of the ancient houses, and they were also opposed in their work by Bonner, bishop of London, and Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. The mass of the people were, likewise, averse to changes. Under these circumstances, it was prudently resolved, on the advice of Cranmer, that the Reformation should be carried on by slow degrees, and that too much should not be hazarded at once. They commenced their work by a visitation of dioceses: visitors were sent into the several districts, invested for the time with supreme spiritual authority, and supplied with injunctions relating to a great variety of points of religious belief and worship, which they were to publish wherever they went, with intimation that the refusal or neglect to obey them would be punished with the pains of excommunication, sequestration, or deprivation. At the same time a collection of homilies was drawn up, which were required to be read in every

church on Sundays and holidays: and every parish church in England was ordered to be provided with a copy of a translation, made for the purpose, of Erasmus's Paraphrase on the New Testament, and also a copy of the English Bible. When parliament met, stronger measures were adopted to advance the cause of the Reformation. All the old laws against the Lollards, and all the new felonies created during the last reign, were swept away; it was ordered that in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, the cup should be delivered to the laity as well as the clergy; that bishoprics were in future to be made by direct nomination of the crown; and that all chantries, colleges, and free chapels, throughout the kingdom, which yet remained, should be confiscated. After the rising of parliament, Cranmer continued to urge on his ecclesiastical alterations with great activity. Orders were issued by the council, prohibiting the carrying of candles on Candlemas-day, of ashes on Ash-Wednesday, or of palm on Palm-Sunday; denouncing imprisonment against whosoever preached without a licence from the king, the visitors, the archbishop of Canterbury, or the bishop of the diocese in which he so preached; directing the removal of all images from churches and chapels; and ordering that the sacrament should be given to the people in both kinds, that there should be no elevation of the host, and that the whole service should be in the English language. In the next parliament, 1549, a bill passed, allowing the marriage of the clergy; and a reformed liturgy, lately drawn up, was established. Against both these bills many of the bishops and some lay lords entered their protest; although Gardiner and Bonner had before been committed to the Tower for their opposition to the recent changes.

The duke of Somerset was brave, inclined to good, and sincerely zealous in the cause of his young king, and of the Reformation. Unfortunately, however, he wanted firmness of purpose sufficient to keep in check the many enemies which his measures created. It was impossible to enforce the measures adopted by him and his associates without giving offence to individuals. Many were offended with him, and among those was his own brother, lord Seymour: this nobleman had recently married Catherine Parr, Henry VIII.'s widow; and though he held the distinguished office of lord-high-admiral of England, he aspired to the still higher post held by his brother. In his design he was

aided by the artful and unprincipled Dudley, earl of Warwick, one of the king's council. By Dudley's advice, lord Seymour proceeded from one step to another, until at length he was committed to the Tower and executed. His great offence was, that after his wife, Catherine Parr, died, he aspired to the hand of Elizabeth; but he was also charged with abusing his authority and powers as lord-high-admiral, and spreading abroad sundry slanders touching the king's person, the lord-protector, and the whole council.

The death of lord Seymour was followed by a summer of popular tumult and confusion. The whole country, from various causes, was in a state of excitement, disorder, and commotion. Strype says, that the first insurrection appeared in Hertfordshire, Northall, and Cheshunt; and that from thence it proceeded into Gloucestershire, Wilts, Hampshire, Sussex, Surrey, Worcester, Essex, Kent, Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Yorkshire, and Norfolk. In some of these parts it was for religion that the people took up arms, while in others their turbulence arose from grievances affecting their worldly condition, and points of temporal politics. All these insurrections were put down; but they were attended with great loss of life and property.

It was asserted by some that these insurrections arose from the duke of Somerset's misgovernment. They do not appear to have been justly laid to his account; but he acquired no credit by any promptitude, decision, or ability he had shown in encountering and putting them down. In this he was outshone by the earl of Warwick, who, from the moment of their suppression, became his rival and competitor for the supreme power. In this he was assisted by the earl of Southampton, one of the council, who hated the protector, and did all he could to form a party against him. There were many vulnerable points in which Somerset might be assailed. The Scots, aided by France, were still in arms against England, and he had taken no active measures to suppress their hostility; he was rapacious to a degree which had shocked the public sense of decency, as well as of justice; and he was ambitious, causing himself to be styled, in a patent he had obtained, authorising him to take possession of ecclesiastical manors, "Duke of Somerset, by the grace of God," as if he had been a sovereign prince. At this time he was erecting a new palace for himself in London; and the erection of this splendid pile, which stood on the site where Ro-



merset house now stands in the Strand, exposed its owner to the reflection that, while the king was surrounded with difficulties, he was bringing architects from Italy, and designing such a palace as had not been seen in England. It was while the public mind was thus excited against him, that the duke of Somerset was attacked by his enemies. Finding the coalition too powerful for him, the protector fled with the king from Hampton-Court to Windsor. He first surrounded himself with an armed force, intending to set his enemies at defiance; but this bold resolution was soon set aside, and he wrote to the council at London, informing them, that if they intended no hurt to the king's person, he would agree to any reasonable conditions they might require. No notice was taken of this and other subsequent proposals; and at length, finding all negotiation hopeless, Somerset consented that a warrant should be sent to London to invite the council to come to Windsor. On their assembling there twenty-eight articles were drawn up against him, charging him with crimes and misdemeanors, and he was conveyed to the Tower. A bill of pains and penalties was brought against him in the House of Lords, in 1550, the allegations in which were supported by a confession he had made during his confinement. He had submitted to this humiliation on an assurance being given that he should be dealt gently with if he confessed his errors; but the bill deprived him of all his offices, and forfeited all his personal property and two thousand a year of his revenue from his lands; and it passed both houses without opposition. Somerset was released from the Tower, and was afterwards restored to favour, and sworn of the privy-council; but he was shorn of all power and authority.

By the fall of the protector, the government was placed in the hands of his rival, Warwick. His friend, Southampton, hoped to share the supreme authority with him; but instead of this he was removed from the council, and soon after died, either of vexation or by poison. Warwick also deceived others: in heart he was a papist, and the popish party eagerly expected that a large share in the management of affairs would fall into their hands; but he forsook them, and took up a profession of zeal for changes in the church, that contravened the views of most Protestants. For some time, indeed, the affairs of religion and of the church chiefly occupied the attention of government; these affairs being for the most part

episcopal appointments, punishments of the clergy for contumacy, and persecutions for opinions in religion. No Papists were burned in this reign; but about this time one Joan Barber, or Joan of Kent, who held peculiar notions about the incarnation of Christ, was executed as a heretic at Smithfield. It is recorded, to his honour, that the young king at first refused to sign the warrant for burning her; and that, when he did, he shed tears, and told Cranmer, who urged him to the act, that if it was wrong he must answer for it to God.

It would have been well for Somerset if his ambition had not revived with his security. Soon after his liberation an apparent reconciliation took place between him and Warwick; the lord Lisle, Warwick's eldest son, being married in the presence of the king to the lady Ann, one of Somerset's daughters. It was impossible, however, that the fallen lord-protector, and the man who had supplanted him, could ever cease to be rivals so long as either lived. Somerset entered into various intrigues to overthrow Warwick, who, in the midst of them, became duke of Northumberland; and at length, in 1551, he was sent to the Tower on a charge of having formed a design to raise an insurrection in the north; of attacking the train-bands on a muster-day; and of plotting to secure the Tower, and to excite a rebellion in London. All these charges were denied by Somerset; but he seems to have confessed that he had plotted the deaths of Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, at a banquet given by lord Paget, and upon this confession he was condemned, and brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill. Several were apprehended as his accomplices, and sir Miles Partridge, sir Ralph Vane, sir Michael Stanhope, and sir Thomas Arundel were tried, convicted, and executed; all of them with their last breath protesting their innocence. It was, in fact, generally believed that all this pretended conspiracy, and the confession of the duke of Somerset, was only a forgery.

In the year 1552 acts were passed in parliament for enforcing throughout the realm the use of the book of Common Prayer, as recently amended; for maintaining the observance of fast-days and holidays marked in the calendar; for legalizing the marriages of priests, and legitimatizing their children; and for the relief of the poor, in which churchwardens were empowered to collect contributions for that purpose, and bishops were directed to proceed against those who refused

to contribute. In the next parliament, 1153, the bishopric of Durham was suppressed, and two new dioceses were created in its stead; one comprehending the county of Durham, and the other that of Northumberland. At the same time bishop Tunstall was deprived by a bill of pains and penalties, he being charged with having excited an insurrection in the north in concert with the late duke of Somerset.

While the duke of Northumberland was thus ruling with absolute sway, a new prospect opened to his ambition. For some time past the health of the young king had been in a very infirm state, and recently it had been visibly and rapidly declining. In this state of affairs, while Northumberland showed every solicitude for the young monarch, he made preparations for the aggrandizement of his family: having in view no less a prize than the crown. His son, the lord Guildford Dudley, by his means married to the lady Jane Grey, daughter of Frances, duchess of Suffolk, who was the eldest of the two daughters, and only surviving child of the princess Mary, daughter of Henry VII. By this union Northumberland proposed to bring the crown into his own family, by securing it for the head of his new daughter-in-law. The plan was unfolded to the king; and having made an alarming representation of the calamities which would befall the nation, should either of his sisters succeed him, the king agreed to have the succession submitted to the council; and it was entailed upon the lady Jane Grey, the great seal being affixed on the instrument.

Edward survived the completion of this transaction only a few days. It is said that when his physicians declared his case hopeless, he was entrusted to the care of a woman, who offered to undertake his cure; but under this woman's treatment he grew worse every day, and the physicians were recalled. He still continued to sink; and on the 6th of July, while engaged in prayer, he breathed his last, having lived fifteen years, and reigned seven. He was regretted by all faithful subjects, as his early virtues gave a prospect of a glorious and happy reign.

### MARY.

A.D. 1553. The earl of Northumberland did not realize the object of his ambition. In preferring the amiable and accomplished Jane Grey to the king's half-sisters, Mary and

Elizabeth, he neither knew the sentiments of the people nor those of the chief men. The members of the council had concurred in his views; but in heart they were, for the most part, opposed to his project: this was soon discovered. Jane was proclaimed queen by his faction in London; but Mary received the homage of the nation, and after a few days made her triumphant entry into the capital. Northumberland, with other heads of the party, was executed; and the innocent Jane and her young consort were first imprisoned in the Tower, and finally expiated a ten-days' reign upon the scaffold.

Happy had it been for the nation had lady Jane Grey swayed the sceptre instead of queen Mary. Her very coronation showed what would be the nature of her rule: she was crowned in St. Peter's church by Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who had been imprisoned by Cranmer for his contumacy. Mary was in fact a fanatic Papist: she had been bred up among Romanists, and had been taught to prefer martyrdom to the denial of her belief. For her attachment to the Romish church, her father had alternately threatened to make her a nun, and to take off her head; but still she adhered to her opinions. Persecution seems, indeed, to have had the effect of confirming her in her religious belief, and at the same time to cause her to resolve that, when she came into power, she would avenge on the reforming party what she considered to be the wrongs done on her own. Moreover, she had a deep conviction that the re-establishment of Popery would be pleasing to the Almighty.

At first Mary issued a declaration that she would constrain nobody in religious matters; but would only insist that her people should refrain from the offensive expressions of "heretic," and "papist." This mask of toleration, however, was soon taken off: Cranmer, Latimer, and others were, in November, committed to the Tower; and, a few days after, parliament, by one vote, repealed all the statutes in favour of the Reformation, and re-established Popery. Soon after, a convocation was summoned to settle once more all doubts and disputations concerning the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and mass was restored. By this convocation the book of Common Prayer was declared to be an abomination; the reformed English Catechism was suppressed; and violent measures were recommended against all such of the clergy who would not dismiss their wives,

and adopt the Catholic opinion as to the real presence. About half of the English bishops, bending to the storm, conformed to these momentous changes; and those who did not, or were obnoxious to the dominant party, were cast into prison. Holgate, archbishop of York, was committed to the Tower for marriage; Ridley, bishop of London, for preaching at Paul's Cross in defence of queen Jane's title, and for heresy; and Poynt, the Protestant bishop of Winchester, for being married. Hooper, bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, with others, were deprived on similar charges; while Barlow, of Bath and Wells, and Bush, of Bristol, voluntarily resigned their seats. On the other hand, Gardiner, Bonner, Tunstall, Day, Heath, Vesey, and other Catholic bishops, were restored to their sees. In a little time there was scarcely a pulpit in the kingdom from which the doctrines of the Reformation were promulgated, Mary being resolved not only to re-establish the Romish church, but to prevent the teaching and preaching of the reformed doctrine.

Early in the year 1554 a treaty of marriage was signed between queen Mary and Philip, prince of Spain, son to the celebrated Charles V. This projected union gave great umbrage to the people, conceiving a frightful notion of the cruel bigotry and grasping ambition of the Spanish court. Insurrections broke out in Devonshire and Kent, which at one time threatened the stability of the throne. In Devonshire the insurgents were headed by sir Peter Carew; and in Kent by sir Thomas Wyatt, son of the poet of that name, who has been associated in glory with the earl of Surrey. Neither of these leaders, however, received the support promised; and sir Peter Carew was put to flight in the west; while Wyatt, who advanced to London, being deserted by most of his troops, was taken and conveyed to the Tower: in the end, about fifty officers, knights, and gentlemen, and several hundred common men were put to death. This insurrection also endangered the liberty of Mary's sister, Elizabeth, who was confined to the Tower, although she had taken no part in it; and it was at this time that lady Jane Grey and her husband suffered death, Mary being led to believe that the life of lady Jane was incompatible with her own safety.

Mary was married to prince Philip in the month of July. This proved to be an ill-omened marriage for the nation. Philip was as gloomy a bigot as Mary, though he was less anxious about the question of religion than he was about ob-

aining absolute power in England, and his aggrandizement on the Continent. His manners disgusted even the corrupt courtiers of Mary's court, although he distributed gold among them with a liberal hand. Soon after the marriage of Mary, cardinal Pole was sent over to England as legate; and through his persuasions, parliament was induced to vote an address to Philip and Mary; acknowledging that they repented of the schism in which they had been living; declaring their readiness to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice of the holy church; and imploring them and the lord cardinal to intercede with their holy father, the pope, for their absolution and forgiveness. Pole at once gave the required absolution; and, in token of sincerity, parliament revived the old brutal laws against heretics, and enacted statutes against seditious words. But, though thus compliant in matters of faith, parliament refused to entertain a project proposed for Philip's coronation, and refused to grant supplies to assist him and his father, the emperor, in the wars in which they were engaged with France.

The way was now prepared for persecution; and the year 1555 opened most gloomily for the Protestants. Ambassadors were sent to Rome, to confirm the conciliation of the nation with the Romish church, and to concert measures for the promotion of the old religion to the exclusion of all others. At the same time Mary wanted no foreign advisers to urge her into the paths of intolerance and persecution: there was a conviction deeply settled in her heart and in her brain, that it was her duty to exterminate heretics. She had already many in her power: the prisons were crowded, and the inquisitors had only to choose their victims, and light the fires. The revived statutes against heretics were to take effect from the 20th of January, and previous to this day Bonner, with eight bishops and a hundred and sixty Romish priests, made a grand procession through London, to return thanks to the Almighty for the "sudden renewal of divine grace in the land!" Coming events cast their shadows before: these shadows were transient, and followed by awful realities. Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's, was the first victim; and his death was quickly followed by the deaths of Ferrar, bishop of St. David's; Hooper, bishop of Gloucester; Dr. Rowland Taylor, rector of Hadleigh; archbishop Cranmer, Ridley, Bradford, Latimer, and a numerous army of martyrs among the laity. For three years the fires of perse-

cution were lit up throughout the land: and from the martyrdom of John Rogers, in 1553, about six months after Mary's accession, to the five last victims, who suffered in 1558, only seven days before her death, two hundred and eight individuals perished at the stake. Yet, after all, Protestantism spread: every execution made converts, and tended to awaken a lasting abhorrence of the Romish church.

In the midst of her zeal, Mary was one of the most wretched of women. She was hated by her own husband, who, soon after the persecution commenced, passed over to the Continent, and seldom wrote to her, except when he wished to obtain money for his use from parliament. In 1557 Philip became king of Spain, and absolute lord of Naples, Sicily, the Milanese, the Low Countries, the Indies, and other fair and fertile countries. When thus exalted, he paid Mary a short visit; but the object for which he visited her was to drive her and her council into a declaration of war against France. Philip obtained forces to aid him in his war, and he then took his departure; and, happily for England, he never returned. But while the flower of the English troops was assisting him in Flanders, a blow was struck against the English possessions on the Continent: Calais was captured by the duke of Guise; which event filled the whole kingdom with murmurs, and the queen with despair. At the same time, the Scots, acting on the usual impulse from France, began to reappear upon the borders. These complicated evils—a murmuring people; ill success in her endeavours to extirpate Protestantism; a disdainful, if not an unfaithful, husband; loss of dominion; the prospect of Elizabeth's succession; and other untoward events—made fearful depredations on Mary's health. While thus weakened by grief, she was seized with a sickness which brought her to her grave: she died on the 17th of November, 1558, after having reigned five years four months and eleven days, and lived a wretched life of forty-three years and nine months. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, had been laid in the tomb before; and within twenty-two hours of the queen's death, Reginald Pole, cardinal-legate and archbishop of Canterbury, expired at Lambeth: his death being a more fatal blow to the Romish church than that of Mary, whose fierce bigotry had greatly advanced the cause of the Reformation.

From some writers it would appear that Mary was possessed of good and generous qualities. She was, they say,

sincere and high-minded; capable of lasting friendships; liberal to her domestics; and charitable to the poor. She was also noted for acquirements and accomplishments. Besides her maternal and natural English, she was acquainted with the Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian languages; and she was skilful in embroidery, dancing, and music. But, as queen, all these qualities and accomplishments were useless: their insignificance is exhibited in the records of her miserable reign, and they are all lost sight of in the blood that was shed by her bigotry.

## ELIZABETH.

A. D. 1558. Elizabeth was at Hatfield when she heard of her sister's death. She immediately repaired to London, where she was received with demonstrations of great joy. When the demise of Mary was notified to the parliament, the two houses resounded with the acclamations of "God save queen Elizabeth: long and happy may she reign!" She was crowned in Westminster Abbey, on Sunday, the 15th of January, A. D. 1559.

Before the coronation, Elizabeth had authorized the reading of the liturgy in English, and had shown a fixed determination to prevent the Romanists from re-lighting the fires at Smithfield; but at the same time she forbade the destruction of images, kept her crucifix and her holy-water in her private chapel, and prohibited all preaching on controversial points. She seemed to be halting between two opinions; but it was policy that led her thus to act. After her coronation, in conjunction with the parliament, she hastened forward the work of Reformation: act after act was passed; and in a single session that form of religion was established which is the glory of our nation at the present day. The pontiff, Paul VI., may be said to have aided this good work: when Elizabeth's accession was notified to him, he replied, that he looked upon her as illegitimate, and that she ought to lay down the government, and submit to his decision. This determined Elizabeth in the course she had contemplated pursuing: before the end of the first year of her reign, the English church was lost for ever to the Papists. The change was rendered more memorable by the fact, that though Bonner and other Romish bishops had revelled in the blood of Protestant martyrs, no fagots were kindled to consume



them. Some were imprisoned; but, after passing different periods in the Tower, they were released, and were quartered by government upon the Protestant bishops who had succeeded them, or upon rich deans or other dignified churchmen.

In the first year of Elizabeth's reign, a treaty of peace was signed at Cateau Cambresis, by which it was agreed that Calais should be retained by the French king for eight years, and that at the end of that period it should be delivered to Elizabeth or her successor, upon certain conditions. Scotland, as the ally of France, was included in this treaty; but there was a cause of quarrel between Elizabeth and Mary of Scotland, which, if it did not lead to war, engendered strife. Mary laid claim to the crown of England, as the granddaughter of Henry VII.: Anna Boleyn's, Elizabeth's mother's marriage, being represented as unlawful. In a fatal moment for Mary, she and her husband, Francis, dauphin of France, quartered the royal arms of England with their own, and even assumed the title of king and queen of Scotland and England. But Elizabeth was too refined a politician for Mary. Taking advantage of the divided state of Scotland, she formed a party there, by which Mary was obliged to suspend her claim. Elizabeth's party were Protestants, with whom Mary, who was devotedly attached to the church of Rome, was at variance. In Scotland there were many reformers who considered the remaining quiet under the rule of the Papists as a connivance with Satan. When they preached they were surrounded by armed men, ready to do anything the preachers commanded. Thus, after John Knox preached at Perth against the mass, idolatrous worship, and the adoration of saints and images, the people destroyed pictures, statues, marble fonts, and the surrounding churches. It was, in fact, a maxim with John Knox, that the best way of preventing the crows from returning was to destroy their nests. Mary had no means of checking the destruction of the churches, and she was compelled to conclude a treaty with the reformers. Neither party, however, regarded this treaty; and in less than a month the destruction of the churches recommenced: they fell almost as suddenly at the voices of the reformers, as the walls of Jericho at the trumpet of Joshua. Nearly the whole body of the Scottish nobility enrolled themselves under the banner of Knox: some from their dislike of the old superstitions, and others for plunder. Mary called in the aid of the French; but this only made matters worse. The

reformers sought and obtained aid from Elizabeth; and in the year 1560, Mary was obliged to sue for peace. A treaty was concluded at Edinburgh, which secured the triumphant supremacy of the Protestant party in Scotland; and at the same time, by a separate treaty, France recognised the right of Elizabeth to the crown, and agreed that Mary should no longer assume the title or bear the arms of England.

At the close of the year 1560 Mary's husband, who had recently become king of France, died. By his death the English queen was freed from the perils attending the close union of Scotland and France, and from pretensions which, if urged with the whole power of the French monarchy might have proved dangerous. On her husband's accession to the throne of France, Mary went with him to Paris; but she returned to Scotland about six months after his death. On her return she found the Romanists, as a party, crushed; and she herself was compelled to issue proclamations of banishment against the monks and friars. Mary was, indeed, a prisoner among her own people, and she was constantly preached at by Scotland's fiery reformers. Every pulpit and hill-side was made to shake with awful denunciations of God's vengeance against her as a Papist; and even before any circumstance had occurred calculated to throw suspicion on the propriety of her conduct, she was openly called Jezebel in the pulpit.

It was in vain that Mary tried to win the favour of the Scottish reformers. Their enmity to her for "hearing vile masses," daily grew stronger, and they only waited for some indiscretion on her part to break out into open opposition. An opportunity too soon offered itself. In the year 1565 Mary was married to Henry, lord Darnley, who was the son of her aunt, the lady Mary Douglas, and the grandson of Elizabeth's aunt, Margaret Tudor. Darnley was in his twentieth year, well proportioned, and possessed of all the courtly accomplishments of the times. Queen Elizabeth had endeavoured to promote this match; but no sooner had it taken place, than she was greatly displeased at it. It served her as a pretext not only for refusing to acknowledge Mary's title to the succession of England, but for encouraging the discontents and rebellion of the Scottish nobility and clergy. The marriage of Darnley and Mary was followed by a series of dark plots and conspiracies, which ended in a fearful tragedy.

Mary had been allured by the youth, beauty, and exterior accomplishments of her husband; but she had overlooked the qualities of his mind. Violent, fickle, insolent, ungrateful, and addicted to low pleasures, he was incapable of all the true sentiments of love and tenderness. Mary had, on her marriage with him, exalted him beyond measure; and had even fought for him against the earl of Murray, clad in light armour, and carrying pistols at her saddle-bows. Her love, however, soon grew cold; and her admiration gave place to disgust. Enraged at her increasing coldness, Darnley pointed his vengeance against every person he supposed the cause of this change in her conduct. In her court was a person named David Rizzio, a musician, who was in such favour with her that he was consulted on all occasions, and without whose intercession no favours could be obtained. Darnley was easily persuaded that Rizzio was the person who had estranged the queen's affections from him; and entering her closet with some lords of his party, the hated favourite was assassinated in Mary's presence. Apprehensive of Mary's resentment, the conspirators detained her prisoner in her palace; but having regained the confidence of her husband, by her arts, she engaged him to escape with her to Dunbar. At Dunbar she collected an army; and, advancing to Edinburgh, obliged the conspirators to flee into England. Her principal vengeance she reserved for Darnley, whom, while she caressed, she hated.

While at Edinburgh, Mary took the earl of Bothwell, a nobleman of considerable power and influence, but of profligate manners, into her confidence. At the intercession of queen Elizabeth she also granted the murderers of Rizzio a free pardon. Among these was lord Morton, a man whom Darnley had good reason to dread; and on hearing that the queen had caused the privy-seal to be put to his pardon, he quitted Stirling Castle for Glasgow. While at Glasgow, Darnley was seized with the small-pox; on which Mary first sent him her own physician, and then, when the infection had passed away, she went to visit him herself. A fresh reconciliation took place; but it was only in appearance. Darnley returned with Mary to Edinburgh, and while she resided at Holyrood-house, he was lodged, "for his health, in a lonely house called 'The Kirk of Field.'" Mary here continued to treat him with kindness, daily visiting him, and sometimes sleeping in a chamber below his. In the month of February, 1567, however, about three hours after the queen's departure

from him, The Kirk of Field was destroyed by gunpowder, and the bodies of Darnley and his valet were found lying in the garden without any marks of violence on their persons. Suspicion immediately fell upon Bothwell; and it was afterwards proved that the queen, Morton, and others had been either accessaries or participators in the deed with him.

Bothwell was tried for the murder of Darnley; but, through his own influence and that of the queen, he was acquitted. His acquittal, however, proved fatal to himself and Mary. A few days after, as the queen was on her route from Stirling Castle, she was seized by Bothwell, probably by her own connivance, and carried to the strong castle of Dunbar; and shortly after they were married, Bothwell having obtained a divorce from his own wife for that purpose. This caused a great commotion throughout the country; and an attempt made by Bothwell to get the young prince James, who was lodged in Stirling Castle with the earl of Marr, into his hands, drove the nobles into open rebellion. Armies were raised on both sides, and they met at Carberry Hill, where Mary, deceived by promises, put herself into the power of the insurgents, who carried her as a prisoner to Edinburgh. Bothwell escaped to the coast of Norway, where he was taken by the Danish government, who considered him as a pirate, and threw him into the castle of Malmoe, where he is said to have gone mad, and to have died a miserable death ten years after. Mary regained her liberty by resigning the crown to her son, who was proclaimed as James the Sixth; but finding it impossible to remain in her own kingdom, she resolved to take shelter in England. Elizabeth had often promised her a safe and honourable asylum; but, unfaithful to her professions of friendship, on her arrival, Mary was kept close prisoner for eighteen years. During her confinement there were several attempts made to rescue her; but these all failed, and only tended to render her captivity more severe. The last attempt to liberate Mary ended in her death. This was made by the enthusiastic Babington; and it embraced the assassination of Elizabeth. This having failed, Mary was accused; but upon very equivocal testimony, as an accomplice. A commission of forty men, most of whom were the enemies of Mary, was constituted to judge her, and she was condemned to death. Parliament urged the execution of this sentence, and though Elizabeth long refused to sign the decree of death, she finally consented. Mary was

led as a criminal to the scaffold, where she suffered death with firmness and dignity. A. D. 1587.

During these events Elizabeth had afforded assistance to the Huguenots of France, who at this time were, from the bitter persecutions to which they were subjected from the Romanists, driven into open rebellion. This first of Elizabeth's continental wars, was, however, unsuccessful. She was, indeed, compelled to give up the cause of the Protestants in France, and to conclude a fresh peace with the queen-regent Catherine de Medici. By this treaty of peace, which was signed at Troyes, in April, 1564, Elizabeth delivered up hostages which the French had given for the restoration of Calais; and the questions of the surrender of Calais and other matters were left in the state they were in before hostilities had commenced.

Elizabeth's transactions with Spain, which formed the main business of her government, brought greater glory to her reign than her wars with France. Various causes combined to make Philip, the husband of her predecessor, Mary, her most deadly enemy. When the death of his queen was announced to him by Elizabeth, that monarch, regardless of canonical laws, made her an instant offer of his own hand. At that time Elizabeth was anxious to recover Calais through his means, and was still involved in a war both with France and Scotland on his account; and as it would have been dangerous to have given him any offence at this moment, she gave Philip a certain degree of hope. Philip, however, in the end, found that Elizabeth never intended to marry him, and this gave him great umbrage. In the year 1568, Elizabeth, induced by a measure of very questionable morality, gave deadly provocation to the powerful Philip. A Spanish squadron of five sail, carrying stores and money for the payment of Philip's army in the Low Countries, where he was carrying on war, took refuge on the English coast, to escape a Protestant fleet which had been fitted out by the prince of Condé. Elizabeth was at peace with Spain; but as the money was destined for the support of those who were bent upon destroying a brave people, who professed the same religion as her own subjects, and as she wanted money, the specie was seized upon pretence that it did not belong to the king of Spain, but to certain Italian bankers and money-lenders, who had exported it upon speculation. Philip retaliated by seizing all the goods, and imprisoning all the persons of the English mer-

chants in Flanders; and Elizabeth then seized a packet addressed to the Spanish ambassador; closed and sealed up the warehouses of all the subjects of his Spanish majesty; and sent out ships to close the Straits of Dover, and seize whatever they could. These measures were followed by a series of retaliations: English ships were put to sea with permission to take and plunder the ships of France as well as Spain; and corsairs, under the French and Spanish flags, pillaged English merchantmen, and occasionally committed depredations on the English coast. The courts of France and Spain even encouraged the attempts mentioned as being made to liberate Mary, and to dethrone Elizabeth, which probably was the chief inducement to sign that unfortunate woman's death-warrant. The causes of rupture between England and Spain multiplied: commissioned buccaneers, as Drake and Hawkins, followed a system of plundering, from the year 1570 through several successive years, in the West Indies, in Spanish America, and in the Pacific. Drake, in the course of three expeditions, plundered the Spanish town of Nombre de Dios and Carthagena, and nearly all the towns on the coast of Chili and Peru, and destroyed or captured an immense number of Spanish ships, returning from each voyage with great booty. At the same time Elizabeth furnished aid to the people of the Netherlands against Philip: first covertly and then openly. In the year 1585, the earl of Leicester, who had been a great favourite with Elizabeth, but whose favour he had lost on his marriage with the countess of Essex, was sent to the Netherlands with an army; and though he did not prove formidable to the forces of Philip, the expedition increased that monarch's resentment. His greatest affair of arms was an attack upon Zutphen, which failed, and which was chiefly memorable for the death of the gallant and accomplished sir Philip Sidney.

At length, in 1586, there was a rumour that the king of Spain was preparing to invade England, and that some catholic plot was about to be revealed at home. In the autumn of this year a plot *was* discovered, at the head of which was Anthony Babington, a young English Papist, who was brought to consider that it would be glorious in this world, and acceptable in the next, if he could assassinate Elizabeth and establish Mary on her throne. This conspiracy was discovered by an accomplice, named Pooley; and Babington, with several others, all young men of fortune and acquire-

ments, were taken and executed. This conspiracy, as before related, led to the death of Mary, and Mary's death was followed by a direct war with Spain. Philip, exasperated by the expeditions of Drake and others to the West Indies, branded Elizabeth as a murderer, and animated his people with a desire of vengeance. On discovering this, Elizabeth made some politic efforts to disarm his resentment; but it was all in vain: no sacrifices could set aside his purpose, and every wind brought news of naval and military operations in Spain and Portugal.

While Elizabeth was negotiating, sir Francis Drake was despatched with a small fleet of thirty vessels with orders to destroy all the Spanish ships he could find in their own harbours. Drake destroyed more than one hundred vessels, and his operations tended to delay the operations of Philip, and to give Elizabeth time to prepare for her defence. It is said that the mischief done by Drake caused the death of Santa Cruz, the best sailor of Spain, who had been destined to command the fleet. Still Philip went on with his preparations, and was not to be defeated in his purpose of invading England. Supplies of money were obtained from the pope; troops were levied in all directions; ships were constructed in Spain and Portugal, and hired from the republics of Genoa and Venice; and flat-bottomed boats were prepared in Flanders for the transport of the duke of Parma and thirty thousand men. Thus threatened, Elizabeth summoned a great council of war, in which it was determined to meet the invaders by sea. At this time the royal navy of England did not exceed thirty sail; but merchant-ships were fitted out by the nobles and people at their own expense; and finally nearly two hundred ships were collected for the occasion. Lord Howard, of Effingham, was appointed to the chief command, and under him were Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, whose names have scarcely been eclipsed by any hero in England's naval history. The naval force under the lord-high-admiral was divided into three squadrons, and stationed at different points to watch the motions and arrest the progress of the enemy. At the same time great preparations were made by land to meet the coming storm: there was not a corner of England in which an armed force was not mustered.

At length, in the month of May, 1588, the INVINCIBLE ARMADA, as the Spaniards in their pride called it, set sail from the Tagus. It was under the supreme command of the

duke of Medina and Sidonia, who was a person utterly inexperienced in sea affairs. When it sailed it consisted of about one hundred and thirty vessels, of all sizes; but when steering towards C  runna it was overtaken by a tempest and dispersed. It was reported that it could not sail during that year; but the lord high-admiral having proceeded to C  runna, to ascertain its real condition, found this to be a false report, and he returned to Plymouth. On the 19th of July, while most of his captains and officers were on shore playing at bowls, intelligence arrived that the Spanish fleet had been seen off the Lizard. There was a loud call for the ships' boats; but Drake insisted that the match should be played out: there was plenty of time, he said, both to win the game and beat the Spaniards. On the following day the Armada was seen standing majestically on, the vessels being drawn up in the form of a crescent, which from horn to horn measured about seven miles. The first object of the duke of Medina was to steer through the Ch  mel till he should reach the coast of Flanders, where he was to make a junction with the duke of Parma, and bring that prince's forces with him to England. He was allowed to pass; but the English followed in his rear, and for several days a running fight took place, in which the Armada was greatly weakened. On the 27th of July the two fleets came into more direct contact before Calais. A general sea-fight commenced; and, in the midst of it, Howard sent eight small ships, filled with combustible materials, close to the Spanish line. This act decided the victory: the Spaniards, taking these for fire-ships, which they seemed to be, fled in great disorder; and the English, profiting by the panic, took several of their ships. The rest of the fleet rallied, and its captains cried for revenge; but the duke of Medina resolved to make his way back, by sailing round Scotland. His fleet rounded the Orkneys; but it was there scattered and shattered by a tempest: some of the ships were dashed to pieces among the Orkneys, some were stranded in Norway, some were sunk, and others were driven on the coasts of Scotland and Ireland. Of the whole Armada only fifty-three ships returned to Spain; and those were in a miserable condition, their crews, worn out with cold, hunger, and sickness, looked like spectres. Such was the result of this great enterprise, which had been preparing for three years, which had exhausted the revenues and force of Spain, and which had long filled all Europe with anxiety and expectation.



The discomfiture of the Armada was followed by a series of expeditions against the Spanish territories, in the course of which many of their rich ships were captured. In most of these expeditions the command was given to Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, whom the queen had recently taken into her favour. The passion of Essex for glory made him desire a continuance of the war, and he encouraged the queen in the prosecution of it. In this council he was opposed by Cecil, lord Burghley, Elizabeth's tried minister; but Essex prevailed, and a desultory warfare continued down to the year 1597. In that year Cadiz was captured by the English, and Philip of Spain resolved to prepare a new armada; indulging, it is said, in the hope of placing his own daughter upon the English throne. This attack was anticipated by the English cabinet: a powerful armament was fitted out, and placed under the command of Essex, who had orders to destroy the new armada in its own ports, to intercept the treasure-ships, and to harass the Spanish coasts and colonies. This expedition, however, did not answer the expectations of the people. Essex captured three Spanish ships, and the isles of Fayal, Graciosa, and Flores; but a Spanish fleet had threatened the English coast in his absence, and on his return the queen received him with frowns and reproaches. Essex retired to his house at Wanstead, and refused to go either to court or parliament; but Elizabeth tempted him back, by creating him hereditary earl-marshal. In the year 1598 proposals were made for a treaty of peace with England and Spain; and while lord Burghley strongly advised its acceptance, Essex argued hotly for a continuance of hostilities. These two rival statesmen also differed on another subject of importance during this year. For some time Ireland had been in an unsettled state; and its affairs had become so alarming that it was deemed expedient to send over a new lord-deputy with extraordinary powers. Lord Burghley proposed one officer and Essex another; and the queen sided with the former. On this occasion she attacked her favourite with her usual severity of language; and the earl, forgetting himself and his duty, turned his back upon his sovereign in a kind of contempt. For this conduct Elizabeth gave him a box on the ear; and the earl immediately clapped his hand to his sword, and swore that he would not bear such usage from her father. Essex again retired to his house at Wanstead; but in a short time he returned to court and was restored to the queen's favour.

During his seclusion lord Burghley died, and Elizabeth is said to have wept bitterly at his death. About the same time, however, she was comforted by the demise of her arch enemy, Philip of Spain; and upon the accession of his son, Philip III., the war was allowed to languish.

A gloom was thrown over the last years of Elizabeth's reign by persecutions, state trials, and sanguinary executions. That which more nearly concerned the queen was the trial and execution of her favourite, Essex. In the year 1599 an insurrection broke out in Ireland, which was headed by Hugh, son of a baron of Duncannon, who had been exalted by the queen to the earldom of Tyrone, and who had exalted himself to be the O'Neil, and rightful Irish sovereign of Ulster. The earl of Tyrone defeated the English troops at Tyrone with great slaughter, and was proclaimed by the Irish the saviour of his country. By the particular request of the queen, the earl of Essex was appointed to measure swords with this rebel chieftain; and he left London for Ireland, surrounded with the flower of the English nobility. This appointment had been made at the suggestion of the Cecils, sons of lord Burghley, who wished to remove him from court, in the hope that it would involve his disgrace if not his death: in that hope they were not disappointed. On reaching Ireland he appointed the earl of Southampton to be general of the horse; but the queen compelled him to revoke it. Shortly after, having done nothing to put an end to the insurrection, he was accused of wasting time and money; and the queen broadly stated that she had great cause to think that his purpose was to prolong the war. In the month of August he marched for the first time into Ulster, the centre of the rebellion, where he met the earl of Tyrone; but instead of fighting with him he concluded an armistice, and then returned to England.

On the return of Essex from Ireland, the anger of Elizabeth knew no bounds. He was placed under restraint; and this restraint drove him into rebellion. In the year 1600 he made a touching appeal to the queen; but, though he was shortly after released from custody, he was told that he was not to appear at court. This touched his pride to the quick, and a few days after, the queen having refused to continue him in possession of a valuable patent for the monopoly of sweet wines, he became desperate. Unfortunately, there was one in his service, Cuffe, his secretary, who fomented the dis-

position for rebellion, which the queen's slight of him had induced. It was suggested by Cuffe, that he might recover his ascendancy by the removal of sir Robert Cecil, sir Walter Raleigh, and others from court; and, relying on his popularity with the Londoners, he resolved to carry this plan into effect. He was joined by some noblemen, gentlemen, and others, and the attempt was made early in the year 1601; but the good citizens of London, on whose aid he had relied, did not respond to his call, and he, with the earl of Southampton, were taken and committed to the Tower, while others of his followers were lodged in various gaols in London and Westminster.

Essex and Southampton were tried by the peers on the 19th of February. Among these peers were Cobham, Grey, and other enemies of Essex; men whom he had recently accused of seeking his life. His case seems to have been prejudged; but that he was guilty there could be no doubt. The proofs of his sedition and treason were considered all-sufficient; and he, with his friend Southampton, was pronounced guilty. He was advised to submit, and implore the queen's mercy by acknowledging and confessing all his offences; but he replied that he could not ask for mercy in that way, though, with all humility, he prayed her majesty's forgiveness. Subsequently, it is said, Essex made an ample confession, which implicated several individuals, and among others, James, king of Scotland. This confession filled four sheets; but its accuracy may be doubted, as may, also, the story of the queen's reluctance to sign his death-warrant, and the romantic incident of the ring, said to have been given him by Elizabeth for the purpose of insuring his safety from her anger in any emergency of this nature. Her regard for Essex had been extinguished for some time; and there are letters and documents in the State-Paper Office which prove that, as soon as his confession was obtained, his execution was prepared by the full consent of the queen. He was beheaded in an inner court of the Tower, on the 25th of February, and his death was followed by those of Cuffe, his secretary; Merrick, his steward; sir Charles Danvers; and sir Christopher Blount, his step-father. The earl of Southampton was kept close prisoner in the Tower; and others suffered imprisonment, or paid large sums of money for their pardon.

In the meantime the lord Mountjoy, who succeeded Essex in the command of Ireland, had to maintain a desperate

struggle with the earl of Tyrone. In 1601, Don Juan D'Aguilar landed at Kinsale, with four thousand insurgents, to aid the Irish; but Mountjoy collected all the forces he could and shut up the Spaniards within their lines. The earl of Tyrone advanced to the assistance of his friends with an army of six thousand Irish and four hundred foreigners; but he was defeated with great loss, on which D'Aguilar capitulated, and was permitted to return to Spain. Tyrone was subsequently compelled to capitulate; and, upon promise of life and lands, he surrendered to Mountjoy. A.D. 1602.

The warlike operations of this long reign were closed by some minor naval conflicts on the coast of Spain and in the British Channel. At this time Elizabeth was fast approaching the grave. By some, her illness was supposed to have been brought on by her displeasure touching the succession; by others, that it had been caused by the affairs of Ireland, her council having constrained her to pardon the earl of Tyrone; and, by others, that it was induced by the death of Essex. She became very melancholy; but it seems probable that the sufferings incident to her age, and the fear of death, were the chief causes of that melancholy. For two days she sat on cushions on the floor, neither rising nor lying down, her finger being almost always in her mouth, and her eyes open and fixed on the ground. She took to her bed on the 21st of March, 1603, partly by force; after which she listened attentively to the prayers and discourses of the bishops of Chichester and London, and archbishop Whitgift, of Canterbury. On her dying bed she was entreated to name her successor, on which she exclaimed, that her seat had been the seat of kings, and that she would have "no rascal" to succeed her. The lords not understanding, she was asked what she meant by the words "no rascal?" when she replied, that a king should succeed her; and who could that be but her cousin of Scotland? She died on the 24th of March, in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign.

Elizabeth understood the art of reigning in an eminent degree. Her wise ministers, and her brave warriors, share the praise of her success; but they owed their advancement to her choice, were supported by her constancy, and, with all their abilities, could never obtain an undue ascendancy over her. In her family, and in her court, she remained equally mistress. She reigned alone; and, like her father, Henry VIII., reigned absolutely. The force of her affections was

great over her; but the force of her mind was still superior. In many respects her character was unfeminine; but this may be attributed chiefly to the age in which she lived, and to the circumstances by which she was surrounded. Perhaps a mind less stern than that of Elizabeth would never have been able to control the courtiers and subjects of that age; and if at times she appeared to be too severe, it must be recollected that events called forth her severity. One thing, at least, is certain, that the reign of Elizabeth was a happy one, not only for her subjects but for posterity.

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## CHAPTER XIV.

THE RELIGION, GOVERNMENT AND LAWS, COMMERCE,  
MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, ARTS AND LITERATURE OF  
THIS PERIOD.

FOR more than a third of the present period the ancient Romish faith was almost the universal belief of the people: this was the age of Wolsey, the most gorgeous and powerful prelate that had arisen since the days of Becket. In no period, indeed, did the church enjoy more authority than it now enjoyed. All the highest and most influential offices in the state were in the hands of churchmen, and the management of ecclesiastical and civil affairs were under their control. Their power and authority were so great that they were led to persecute those who adopted the opinions of Wiclif. In the year 1494, the first English female martyr, Jane Bough-ton, suffered martyrdom for holding these opinions, and her death was followed by numerous others throughout the country. But the barbarities of the Romish clergy acted otherwise than was intended: instead of moving the people to a horror of the new opinions, they moved them to a horror of the Romish church. This horror was increased by the dissolute lives of the clergy; their profligacy being such as to prove to all around that they were not the servants of Christ. An impulse was also given to the coming storm of the Reformation in the reign of Henry VII., by the revival of learning and by the printing of books, which tended to increase the knowledge of the people. The works of Martin Luther, who in this period wrote and preached against the

abuses and errors of the church of Rome, greatly enlightened the public mind, not only in Germany, the scene of his labours, but over all the Continent and in England. The principles of Luther were similar to those of Wiclif, and they were eagerly adopted by the people. Henry VIII. opposed his authority against the new tenets; but Henry soon after opposed his authority also to the Romish church. It was his ambition to become supreme head of the church, and when this power was conferred upon him by parliament, he took means to destroy the power of the pope and the clergy. Monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues applied to other purposes. At the same time the doctrines and ceremonies of Rome were in a great measure retained. Henry was in heart attached to those doctrines and ceremonies; and hence while he executed Papists for denying his supremacy, he executed Protestants for not holding the faith of the Romish church. In his time the great Wolsey threw a temporary protection over the church: in reality he was king of England, and his greatness was linked to the ascendancy of the ancient religion. But his greatness in the end contributed to its downfall: when he fell, that fell likewise. It was after his death that Henry dealt such mortal blows at the power of the church of Rome, and took the first great steps in the work of the Reformation. No praise is due to him for the measures he pursued, as they emanated from ambitious and corrupt motives; but God overruled these motives for the salvation of England. Among the blessings which arose out of his antagonism to the pope, was the destruction of the monasteries, which were for the most part dens of infamy; and the translation, printing, and promulgation of the Holy Scriptures. This latter measure spread a light throughout the nation, which has burned brighter and brighter through every succeeding generation. The people were enjoined to read the word of God, as that which every Christian man was bound to embrace, believe, and follow, if he expected to be saved. Among the advisers of Henry were men, as Cranmer and Cromwell, who were from principle attached to the work of the Reformation; and it was to them that its success in the reign of Henry must be chiefly attributed. But at the close of this reign the Church of England, although it had cast off the Roman supremacy, was still, according to its public formalities and the law of the land, one with the church of Rome, in all the fundamental points of doctrine and belief.

The seven sacraments of the Romish church, the corporeal presence in the eucharist, the denial of the cup to the laity, auricular confession, the celibacy of the priesthood, and the ceremonial of the mass, were the doctrines of the English church as long as Henry lived. At his death, however, a great and glorious change took place. In the reign of the youthful and good king Edward, by the wise counsels of Cranmer, and the firm and bold arguments of Hooper, Ridley, Latimer, and other celebrated preachers, the ancient religion was completely overthrown, and the new doctrines were firmly established. The Book of Common Prayer was substituted for the ancient Latin Mass-Book; images were thrown down; the ecclesiastical or canon law was reformed; and the doctrines of the English church settled in forty-two articles, similar in point of doctrine to the present Thirty-nine Articles. Yet, after all, the reign of Mary, more than that of Edward, really made England a Protestant country. The first year of her reign saw everything that had been set up in the matter of the national religion, by her brother, thrown down; and all that he had thrown down again set up: fires also were kindled at Smithfield and elsewhere, which were never suffered to go out till the day of her death. Notwithstanding all this, however, Protestantism grew day by day. No preaching told upon the public mind like that of the martyrs from the midst of the flames: men were convinced by their deaths of the superiority of their faith; and a horror of popery was created which could never be effaced. At the accession of Elizabeth there was a national manifestation of Protestantism: people of all classes hailed her, not only as their queen, but as their deliverer. The Protestantism of her subjects was, indeed, stronger than her own; and, swayed by the public opinion, she not only restored all that Mary had thrown down in matters of religion, but settled the Protestant faith on a basis which rendered it impregnable to all future attacks. "So mightily grew the word of God, and prevailed."

*Government and Laws.*—At the accession of Henry VII., by the cruel contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, the once formidable power of the feudal aristocracy had disappeared. The king had become more powerful than the king of England had been for many generations. Henry VII. was, also, a king who neither wanted ability nor inclination to avail himself of every means of strengthening his own position, and still further weakening that of his nobility.

Judging from past history, he considered it his interest to depress so far as to hinder them from again becoming formidable. To this end statutes were enacted; and he applied himself to amassing money, and increasing the splendour and power of the crown. But it was in the reign of Henry VIII. that the royal prerogative reached its greatest height. In his reign parliament had not a will of its own: a great variety of statutes were enacted, but they all emanated from Henry. The divine right of kings was distinctly claimed by and acceded to him in a statute, the preamble of which sets forth the contempt and disobedience of the king's proclamations by some who did not consider what a king by his royal power might do; which, if it continued, would tend to the disobedience of the law of God, and the dishonour of the king's majesty. By another statute, the king's style and title was settled in the following words: "Henry VIII., by the grace of God, king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the church of England, and also of Ireland, on earth the supreme head;" and it was declared high-treason to attempt to deprive him of it. All the enactments concerning religion, also, proclaimed the absolute power of the crown; and even those respecting common offences exhibit the royal authority. His parliaments were, indeed, the servile executioners of his imperious mandates. At his commands they attainted his queens, when he wished to get rid of them: and at his commands they enacted laws dangerous alike to the liberties and lives of his subjects. Judging from the general administration of criminal law in this reign, from the trials that have come down to us of eminent persons, it appears that the lives of the people were entirely in the hand of the crown. A trial seems to have been nothing more than a formal method of signifying the will of the prince, and of displaying his power to gratify it. Laws seem to have been made for every individual case, as it arose; thus exemplifying a state of society in which men lived without other law than the capricious will of the monarch. The principal legislative acts of the reign of Edward VI. chiefly related to religion and the church; but one statute abolished most of the treasons and felonies created in the preceding reign. Mary confirmed this on her accession, but treasons and felonies were soon created by her, equally arbitrary with those which had been abolished: that blood-thirsty queen astonished the world with her cruelties. Under the long and brilliant reign of Elizabeth, however,



there was greater freedom and toleration. The star-chamber, that effectual instrument of the tyranny of the two Henrys, yet continued; the inquisitorial tribunal of the high-commission was even instituted; and the yoke of arbitrary power still lay heavy upon the subject: but all this was rendered tolerable by the brilliancy of the reign, and the affection of the people for the queen. Elizabeth herself, indeed, was no friend to liberty, but watchfully checked those faint dawnings of its splendour, which occasionally broke through the gloom of despotism. Her government was little if at all less arbitrary than her father's; and if it was less offensive and less hated, it was because it was economical, and was known to be exerted for the advancement of great national objects.

Within this period begins the regular succession of prime or chief ministers in England. The earlier kings were often their own chief ministers; but from the accession of Henry VIII., there has always been one of the council recognised as acting in that capacity. The revenues of the crown during this period, in addition to the usual sources, were derived by exactions from the people. The kingcraft of Henry VII. consisted in his dexterity in plundering his subjects. Henry, however, did not choose to establish new claims; he chose rather to proceed in his work of plunder by the revival of old and obsolete ones. Thus benevolences were restored by him on the pretence that the statute of the late reign, by which they were abolished, was a dead letter, as they had been passed while the throne was occupied by a usurper. The exactions of Empson and Dudley were, in fact, almost all founded on rights which had belonged to the crown in former ages, although they had ceased to be exercised. The work of spoliation was carried on in the reign of Henry VIII. on a more extended scale. His father had left behind him nearly two million marks: but Henry was a spendthrift; and after this large sum was expended, and after having exhausted all the resources both of the ordinary parliamentary grants, and of every kind of irregular supply that had ever before been made available, he seized the immense property of the monastic orders. It has been calculated that the lands of which he thus took possession were worth six millions sterling; and his annual revenue is said to have amounted to £800,000, which was twice as much as any former king had enjoyed. The next reign was equally rapacious with

that of Henry: most of the means to which Henry had recourse continued to be pursued to satisfy Edward's hungry courtiers; even the plate, jewels, and furniture of the churches were seized by them. Edward's successor, Mary, finding great difficulties in obtaining any supplies from parliament, was driven to extortion and rapine in other directions: money was raised by embargoes, monopolies, compulsory loans, and various other illegal and violent expedients. Both Edward and Mary died deeply in debt; but Elizabeth, by her economy, discharged their debts, with the interest. With the accession of Elizabeth commenced a new era in the history of the public revenue. Her expenditure was great, and her resources, compared with her predecessor's, limited; yet she not only maintained the dignity of the crown, but also relieved her people from taxation by her economy. Thus, towards the end of her reign, when some murmurs arose in parliament against the exclusive traffic for commodities in which patents had been granted by her to her courtiers, she at once declared them null and void; for which she obtained an address of thanks, wherein she was compared, in many respects, to the Deity: like him, she was the agent of the blessings conferred upon her people; like him, she was "all truth;" and, like him, she "performed all she promised."

*Commerce.*—The present period was an age of remarkable progress in the commerce and general industry of the kingdom. Henry VII.'s love of money naturally led him to encourage commerce: laws were passed, and treaties were made with foreign countries for its promotion. This reign is also memorable for the two greatest events in the history of nautical discovery, and of modern commerce; the discoveries of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, which was made by Vasquez de Gama, a Portuguese; and of the new world of America, by the illustrious Genoese, Columbus. Both these important discoveries were made in the search after the same object—the route to India by sea. Other discoveries were also made by the Cabots, who were patronized by Henry; and commissions were likewise granted by him for the "discovery and investing of unknown lands" to other merchants and adventurers. All the discoveries made tended not only to the extension of foreign trade, but to give an impulse to native industry. During the early part of the next reign the increase of the foreign trade of the country, and of the wealth of the people, and their command over the conve-

niences and luxuries of life, proceeded at an accelerated rate. At this time, however, most of the artificers of costly articles in England were still foreigners. This gave rise to an insurrection in London in the year 1517, in the details of which there are some curious particulars concerning the branches of industry then carried on in the capital. The popular complaints against the foreigners were, that there were such numbers of them employed that the English had little to do, and had but small custom: Englishmen, it was said, starved, whilst foreigners lived in abundance and pleasure. It was further objected, that they monopolized the trade in silks, cloths-of-gold, wine, oil, iron, tin, lead, and wool; and that Dutchmen, in particular, brought over "timber, iron, leather, ready-manufactured nails, locks, baskets, cupboards, stools, tables, chests, girdles, ladles, and painted cloths." The chief instigator of this insurrection was one John Lincoln, who prevailed upon Dr. Bell, a canon of the Spital, to read from his pulpit a written detail of the popular grievances, and to follow up that text by a sermon. In his discourse, Bell showed that this land was given to Englishmen, and that, as birds defend their nests, Englishmen ought to cherish and maintain themselves, and to defend their rights against aliens. This was followed by action: the apprentices rose *en masse*, broke open the Compter and Newgate prisons, and then fell to plundering the houses of foreigners. At first the authorities were unable to resist them; but finally three hundred were captured. Many of them were brought to trial, and being found guilty, were condemned to be drawn, hanged, and quartered: but only Lincoln was executed; the rest received the king's pardon. The affair seems to have excited much attention; for an act was passed, in which it was enacted that no foreigner should in future take any apprentice who was not a native; or should keep more than two foreigners as journeymen at the same time. Subsequently, fifteen thousand Flemings were obliged to leave the country by an order of council, the king declaring in an edict of the star-chamber that the foreigners starved the natives, and obliged them to have recourse to theft, murder, and other enormities.

In the reign of Edward VI. one Richard Chancellor sailed into the White Sea, then unknown to the English, and having landed at Archangel, travelled on sledges to Moscow, and there obtained from the czar valuable trading privileges for his employers, the London merchants. This was the

origin of the English Russia Company, which was incorporated by a charter from queen Mary, and soon became a flourishing and important association. About the same time the cod-fishing of Newfoundland was established. But the most important measure taken in relation to the foreign trade of the country, by the government of Edward VI., was the abolition of the privileges of the Steel-Yard Company, which was a famous association of German and Hanseatic merchants resident in England. This act had a tendency greatly to increase the trade of the English merchants: in the same year, it is said, that they shipped off forty thousand pieces of cloth for Flanders. In the reign of queen Mary the trade opened with Russia was vigorously prosecuted. Chancellor was again sent to Moscow, where he arranged a commercial treaty with the czar, in which all the usual privileges were accorded to the English traders. But the greatest impulse given to commerce, during this period, occurred in the reign of Elizabeth. That queen, conscious what addition must accrue to the strength and wealth of the nation from the extension of trade, gave great encouragement to commerce and manufactures. It was in her reign that the building of the Royal Exchange, in the city of London, was begun by sir Thomas Gresham, who is styled "The Queen's Merchant." In her reign, also, there was a series of voyages of discovery, which, under her auspices, were undertaken by Frobisher, Drake, Davis, Cavendish, sir Richard Hawkins, and Weymouth. In the reign of Elizabeth, also, a direct commercial intercourse with India was opened by the English, which subsequently led to wealth and dominion. Among the new branches of trade commenced in this period, may be mentioned the detestable slave-trade, and the whale-fishery, both of which grew into great importance. In the latter part of this reign a great impulse was given to the manufacturing industry of this country by the fall of Antwerp, which was destroyed by the Spanish commander, the duke of Parma: many of the manufacturers and merchants, who wrought and dealt in silks, damasks, bays, serges, stockings, etc., settled in England, by which a great portion of the trade in these articles was transferred to this country. The internal trade of England was still dependent upon the periodical fairs or markets held in great towns. Bartholomew-fair was in those days a great annual mart, to which merchants resorted from various parts of the country, and perhaps from other coun-

tries, to make their wholesale purchases, as is the practice at this day on the Continent.

The silver coins of Henry VII. were testoons, or shillings, groats, pennies, and farthings; and his gold coins, sovereigns, sometimes called the rose-rial, or the double-rose-noble, half-sovereigns, and double-sovereigns. The state of Henry VIII.'s money was, like his mind and humour, very changeable and uncertain. At first, he observed the same standard as his father; but he afterwards greatly debased both his gold and silver coins, by mixing the ore with brass, or rather copper. The shameful debasement of the money was one of the most imprudent, dishonourable, and pernicious measures of his reign: it was productive of great inconvenience in business, and the restoration of it to its standard purity was found to be a work of great difficulty. At first, the debasement of the coinage was carried on by Edward VI.; but the public inconvenience and confusion arising therefrom came at length to be so severely felt, that measures were taken to restore it to its ancient standard. Mary carried on these measures; but the complete restoration of the coinage was reserved for queen Elizabeth. All the debased money of her father and brother was recalled and melted down, and new coins struck with pure metal. Her gold coins are sovereigns and half-sovereigns, crowns and half-crowns, angels, half-angels, and quarter-angels, nobles and double-nobles; and her silver coins, crowns, or dollars, shillings, sixpences, groats, and pennies.

*Manners and Customs.*—Considerable improvement was made in furniture during this period. Among the additions may be enumerated looking-glasses, round tables with pillar and claw, table-clocks, straight high-back armed chairs, elegant bedsteads, rich carpets, screens, writing-desks, and knives for the table: articles of dress were ever varying, so that a complete description of them in a single article is impossible. The costume of the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. has, indeed, been rendered very familiar to every one by the numberless prints of those monarchs after the portraits of Holbein; and the general costumes in the time of Henry VIII. may be seen in Holbein's "Dance of Death;" and of Edward VI., in the ancient picture of his coronation procession from the Tower to Westminster. There was no striking change in the costume of England upon the accession of Mary; but in the reign of Elizabeth an entirely

new style of dress was adopted; this, however, has been rendered as familiar as that of Henry VIII.'s time, by the paintings and prints of the celebrated warriors, statesmen, poets, and ladies of the "Golden Days of good Queen Bess," so that a description is rendered unnecessary.

At the commencement of this period chivalry had fallen into decay; and though Henry VIII. made strenuous efforts to restore it, he could not raise it from the dead. Out of ancient chivalrous combats arose the duello, or duel; a change which introduced an entirely new system of feuds. Fencing-schools were to be found in almost every town in England; and they were greatly encouraged by the kings and queens of this age. The first combats waged, whether in sport or in earnest, after the lists had been abandoned, were those of sword and buckler; but in the reign of Elizabeth a more deadly weapon, the rapier, was introduced, instead of the sword; while a dagger, wielded in the left hand, for the purpose of parrying, superseded the buckler. Much time and attention were devoted to this new art in the court of Elizabeth; and as the use of the rapier was most complete in the schools of the Continent, gentlemen went thither to be perfected in the science; while foreigners were frequently invited to give lessons in London. Before the close of this reign however, the rapier was found to be too dangerous to be lightly provoked, and this kind of duel was abolished.

Another important change took place within this period in the practice of archery. During the reigns of the two Henrys the bow still continued to be the principal weapon of an English army, and both these kings encouraged its practice; but towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth guns were exchanged for the "grey goose wing," and the bow was chiefly used as an instrument of the chase, or for the purposes of healthful exercise. Thus fell chivalry and archery; and with them fell those ancient appendages of rank, large trains of followers. This latter change was brought about gradually. In the reign of Mary some of the higher nobility had still two hundred retainers; but Elizabeth curtailed this number to one hundred, and these were only allowed to be armed on occasions of particular display. The royal train, however, still continued to be numerous. Elizabeth, in removing from one place to another, is said, on some occasions, to have required twenty-four thousand horses for the conveyance of her household. Her attendants were knights,

nobles, guards, gentlemen-pensioners, and yeomen; and those of noblemen were the youngest sons of knights and esquires; persons of an inferior description, properly called retainers; and servants, who were chiefly confined to domestic duties. Persons of a lower description had also their attendants: the citizens of London and their wives were attended in their evening excursions by their apprentices, who carried a lantern in one hand, and a club in the other.

The kings and queens, as well as their subjects, of this period were great lovers of pageants and processions. Courtly pageants attained the utmost splendour and refinement during the reign of Elizabeth. Her progress to Kenilworth to visit the earl of Leicester, as described by two writers of that period, seems more like a fairy-tale than stern reality. Mirth, pomp, and flattery, crowned every hour of the nineteen days she spent there; and the original programme of the amusements was even then materially curtailed, in consequence of the time proving insufficient for the exhibition of all the intended devices.

In the course of this period theatrical representations furnished amusement to all ranks. A new era now commenced in the history of the English drama. The author who wrought the greatest revolution in theatrical representations was Shakspeare, whose immortal productions are still the delight of the world. The happiest creations of the age of Elizabeth, however, could find no better shelter than a shed; for the first regular theatres in London were nothing but wooden booths, and the dresses of the actors and the scenery were of the most inconsistent and beggarly description. Sometimes there was no scenery at all; and to direct the imaginations of the audience, a label was suspended over the front of the stage, to tell in what place or country the action was going on. This defect is finely ridiculed by sir Philip Sidney. "Now," he says, "you shall see three ladies walking to gather flowers; and then we must believe the stage to be a garden. By and by we have news of a shipwreck in the same place; then we are to blame if we accept it not for a rock. Upon the back of that out comes a hideous monster with fire and smoke; then the miserable beholders are bound to take it for a cave. While, in the meantime, two armies fly in, represented with four swords and two bucklers; and then what heart will not receive it for a pitched field?" Some of these theatres, however, and especially that at

**Blackfriars**, where the plays of Shakspeare were acted, were crowded with people of fashion. A new play in those days passed through the fiery furnace of public criticism, as it does in the present: if a piece was not approved of, it was loudly condemned by caterwauling and other hideous noises.

Great improvement took place in the manners of the people at the dinner-table during this period. Huge joints of salted beef, platters of wood and pewter, together with jesters, tumblers, and harpers, were succeeded by a stately ceremonial and solemn silence, and a large variety of dishes, consisting of beef, mutton, veal, lamb, pork, kid, coney, capon, pig, with store of red and fallow deer, and varieties of fish and fowl. Sumptuous meals were now not confined to the tables of nobles: private gentlemen and merchants fared as sumptuously as they. In this age, indeed, the characteristic English custom of assembling to eat in love and good fellowship fairly commenced. The lord-mayor became the grand impersonation of the national hospitality, being required, during his year of office, to keep open table for natives and strangers; and the exclamation, "I have dined as well as my lord-mayor," became the crowning eulogium of a good meal among all classes. This feasting was accompanied by excesses in the use of wine and intoxicating liquors, which was now the common charge against the English. In the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, smoking also became a custom; the use of tobacco being introduced by sir Walter Raleigh. Almost every man became a smoker; and without going far, he was sure to find a tobacco ordinary, the original of our modern cigar divans. Smoking in those days was a slow and solemn process, in which the luxury was drawn out to the utmost: the smoker slowly puffed the smoke both through mouth and nostrils, thus gratifying two organs of sense at once. A good dinner was incomplete without this luxury, and cards were often its companions. The consequence of this dissipation was debt, and duns clamoured for payment: such is the fruit of excess.

Hunting, hawking, and fowling still continued to be followed. During this period, also, horse-racing commenced as a regular systematic amusement; but it was uncontaminated by that reckless spirit of gambling for which it is now noted. Among the elegant accomplishments now studied, dancing was one of the chief: it was practised at court, in private houses, and at merrymakings and fairs. Some of the English



sports at this time, as bear-baiting, bull-baiting, and cock-fighting were infamous for barbarity, and excited the astonishment and disgust of strangers. All the various old festival days were still scrupulously observed by all classes. Thus at Christmas, work and care were universally thrown aside; and, instead of those devotional practices by which other countries commemorated the sacred occasion, England rang from one end to the other with mirth and jollity. Carols were trolled in every street, and masquerades and plays took possession of both houses and churches. The other festivals were those of Plough-Monday, which fell on the first Monday after Twelfth-day; May-day; St. Valentine's-day; Midsummer-eve, or the vigil of St. John the Baptist; New-Year's-day; and Palm-Sunday: all which were accompanied with feasting and merriment. They were also attended with the practice of profane swearing, which in common conversation had now reached its height in England. Kings and queens, courtiers, the clergy, scholars, soldiers, citizens, and the common people were all addicted to this profane and impious habit.

*The Arts.*—During the distraction of the civil wars agriculture and gardening had been much neglected; but in this period they received great improvement. Fruit-gardens were enriched by various trees from foreign countries; as the pale gooseberry, the apricot, pippins, currants, and several varieties of plums. The hop-plant was also cultivated in gardens; and salads, cabbages, carrots, turnips, potatoes, the muskmelon, and the artichoke were now first introduced. The delights of the garden were heightened by the introduction of the gillyflower, the carnation, the rose of Provence, and the damask and musk-roses. In agriculture, clover was introduced from the Netherlands, and its great value consisted in supplying green food where pastures were scarce, and enabling the former to keep more cattle. The land of England was, at this time, both cheap and productive. In one of his sermons, Latimer says that his father was a yeoman, and had a farm of three or four pounds per annum, of which he tilled enough to keep half-a-dozen men; while he had pasture sufficient for one hundred sheep and thirty cows. The good bishop adds: he kept his son at school till he went to the university; married his daughters with five pounds apiece; kept hospitality with his neighbours; and gave alms to the poor: all this he did out of the same farm.

Among the national handicrafts and manufactures of this period woollen cloth maintained its old pre-eminence. Several classes of workmen were employed in making of cloth, as weavers, fullers, walkers, fullingmill-men, shearmen, dyers, forcers of wool, carders and sorters of wool, spinners, carders and spullers of yarn. Next in importance to the woollen was worsted manufactures, of which Norfolk was the principal seat of trade. Connected with these manufactures was the art of the dyer, which was one of considerable importance. The linen manufacture was on a very small scale during this period: all the finer linens were obtained from abroad, and the coarser descriptions were chiefly made by industrious matrons for family use. Woollen caps for a long period had been a staple manufacture, but in the reign of Elizabeth they were nearly superseded by hats made of felt.

In England the history of ecclesiastical architecture may be said to terminate with the reign of Henry VII.; but this rather had the effect of advancing architecture with a fresh impetus. The sixteenth century is, indeed, marked as an era of palaces. These were erected in a mixed system of Gothic and classic architecture; the finest example of which was Theobalds, the magnificent seat of the celebrated lord Burleigh. Kings, queens, and nobles appear to have conceived a passion for building, and artists from Italy were called into their service. Henry VIII. is said to have improved or completed ten palaces, of which only Hampton palace now survives with any semblance of its original state. The whole of his palaces, however, were in the Tudor Gothic style, with an infusion of classical decoration. It was not till the middle of the sixteenth century that the Gothic and classical styles of building were blended, as regards the exterior; and then nobles vied with each other in producing gorgeous palaces. Town buildings still retained the form which characterises them from the earliest period of their history: and the more ordinary dwellings of the commonalty were so imperfect in the sixteenth century, that Erasmus attributes the frequent sickness which visited England, in a great measure to defective ventilation.

Italy was the seat of the fine arts in the sixteenth century. That age produced in Italy the celebrated painters, Bramante, Michael Angelo, Titian, Corregio, and Raphael. The meridian splendour which painting and sculpture had attained in Italy at this time, cast its rays all over the Continent, and

these rays extended to England. Hans Holbein, the scholar of Albert Durer, with several other artists of note, resorted to and were patronised in this country. Holbein was the most famous; and his works so attracted the notice of Henry VIII. that he took him into his own service, and assigned him an apartment at Whitehall, with a salary of two hundred florins, besides paying him for his pictures. An anecdote is related of Holbein, which attests the high estimation in which he was held by Henry. A nobleman of high rank had roused his anger to such a degree by intruding upon him while he was drawing a lady's portrait for the king, that the artist threw him down stairs. Alarmed for the consequences of his rash act, Holbein instantly sought Henry's protection. The nobleman followed to present his complaint; but Henry sided with the painter, and threatened his antagonist with his severest displeasure if he sought any means of revenge. "You have not now to deal with Holbein, but me," said the king: "remember, that of seven peasants I can make as many lords, but I cannot make one Holbein." The strength of Henry's friendship for the artist is also shown by his conduct towards him when he found that he had flattered Anne of Cleves: his anger fell upon the minister who had promoted the match, and not the painter who had misrepresented her beauty. During the short reign of Edward VI. painting lay dormant; but under Mary it was enlivened by Antonia More, a native of Utrecht, who was sent over to London that he might paint her portrait for Philip. Elizabeth appears to have had no real taste for the arts; but she encouraged them in order to feed her vanity: so anxious was she concerning the transmission of her features to posterity, that she issued a proclamation forbidding the multiplication of her portraits by any but "special cunning painters." And yet there is not a single portrait of her that can be called beautiful. A pale countenance and Roman nose, a head of hair loaded with crowns and powdered with diamonds, a vast ruff, a vaster fardingale, and a bushel of pearls, are the features by which everybody knows at once the pictures of Elizabeth.

*Literature.*—The sixteenth century is marked by the foundation of colleges and other seminaries of learning. These colleges and schools were for the most part established for the cultivation of the classics: Greek, Latin, and Hebrew were sedulously inculcated. No rank was deemed so exalted as to exclude the necessity of a thorough acquaintance with the

learned tongues. Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth were proficient in literature. To an address of the university of Cambridge, written in Greek, Elizabeth made an extemporary reply in the same language; and she translated into English the orations of Isocrates, and the Consolations of Philosophy, by Boetius. This queen's example had great influence on the tastes of her subjects: both the clergy and laity vied with each other in learning and literature. Hers was a learned age, as the numerous works in all departments of literature published in her reign testify. "To the singular commendation of both sorts and sexes of our courtiers here in England," says an old writer, "there were very few of them which have not the use and skill of sundry speeches, beside an excellent vein of writing, beforetime not regarded." Towards the close of her reign, the English language reached, in regard both to its vocabulary and its structural and syntactical character, very nearly the state in which it exists at the present day. Literature, both prose and poetry, was cultivated by all classes of the community. Among the most celebrated prose writers of this period, may be mentioned the names of sir Thomas More, William Lily, dean Colet, sir Roger Ascham, sir Thomas Smith, sir Philip Sidney, Webster, Puttenham, and the "venerable Hooker:" and among the poets those of lord Surrey, sir Thomas Wyatt, Stephen Hawes, John Shelton, Edmund Spenser, sir John Davies, lord Broke, Michael Drayton, Nicholas Breton, Henry Lok, Geoffrey Whitney, sir Philip Sidney, the countess of Pembroke, George Gascoigne, Barnaby Barnes, sir Walter Raleigh, Thomas Tusser, George Whetstone, Samuel Rowlands, Thomas Churchyard, and William Shakspeare. The chief glory of the poetry of the age of Elizabeth consists in its great purity. Sacred song seems to have been the delight of all classes of poets: even Shakspeare and the contemporary dramatists of his age occasionally attuned their harps to the songs of Sion. By the Reformation the moral atmosphere had become cleared, and while it introduced a fresh principle in the habits and feelings of the people, it especially affected the structure of English poetry.

## CHAPTER XV.

THE PERIOD FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES I. TO THE  
RESTORATION OF CHARLES II.

## JAMES I.

A. D. 1603. The crown of England was never transmitted from father to son with greater tranquillity than it passed from the family of the Tudors to that of the Stuarts. James VI., king of Scotland, son of the unfortunate Mary, queen of Scots, was proclaimed by the title of James I., and all classes hailed his accession with delight. As he approached the capital, hosts of people met him to do him homage; and although a plague was raging in London, he was crowned with great joy on the 25th of July. On his accession, special ambassadors flocked to him from all parts to congratulate him; to all of whom he said, that he desired "peace at home and abroad—above all things, peace."

It was not long, however, before a plot was discovered, which threatened not only to disturb peace at home, but also to deprive James of his throne and his life. Sir Walter Raleigh, lord Cobham, and the lord Grey of Wilton, all of whom were smarting with the pangs of disappointed ambition, and transported with jealousy of the influence of Cecil, entered into a conspiracy against the government, and to seize the king on his road to Windsor; but it was discovered, and the conspirators taken and condemned to die. Some of their associates, as George Brook, Cobham's brother, were executed; but Cobham himself and Grey were pardoned, after they had laid their heads on the block, and sir Walter Raleigh having received a respite, was remanded to his confinement, in which he continued for several years.

Both Romanists and Puritans expected toleration under the rule of James; but he was surrounded with advisers who urged him to a rigid enforcement of the penal statutes against them. With the Puritans he had long had a quarrel, and they soon found that he was their mortal enemy. His insults and persecution of them, however, were borne meekly: they wisely abstained from returning evil for evil. But it was not so with the Romanists. Enraged at the increased severity of

the law directed against them; they contrived a project to cut off, at one blow, the king, lords, and commons. This scheme was broached by one Robert Catesby, who conceived that a train of gunpowder might be so placed under the parliament-house, as to destroy the king and all its members at once. Horrible and desperate as this plot was, Catesby soon found men as implacable and furious as himself to join in it. At first there were only seven conspirators, but finally, in the whole, fourteen men joined in the plot. The names of these conspirators were, Robert Catesby, Thomas Winter, Guy or Guido Fawkes, Thomas Percy, Robert Kay, John Wright, Christopher Wright, John Grant, Thomas Bates, sir Edmund Baynham, Robert Winter, sir Everard Digby, Ambrose Rookwood, and Francis Tresham; most of whom were gentlemen of ancient families and good estates.

The plan of the conspirators was this: to hire a house adjoining the parliament-house, to penetrate from thence through the ground under its walls, and to lay a mine in the excavation. They commenced their operations in December, 1604, and by the month of February they had nearly penetrated through the stubborn walls. While working in their mine, they heard a loud rumbling noise nearly over their heads, and they feared they were discovered; but Fawkes soon brought intelligence that it was nothing but one Bright, who was selling off his stock of coals, intending to remove his business from a cellar, under the parliament-house, to some other place. This cellar was immediately below the house of lords; and they now resolved to abandon their mine, and to take this place. This was done; and thirty-six barrels of gunpowder were conveyed thither, and the whole was covered with coals and fagots. All this was completed by the month of May, and the conspirators then separated.

Parliament was to have met on the 7th of February; but it was prorogued, first to the 7th of October, and then to the 5th of November. Before that day arrived, it was agreed that Fawkes should fire the mine, by means of a slow-burning match, which would allow him time to escape. It was expected that the king, queen, and prince Henry would all be present at the opening of parliament; and it was further agreed that Percy should seize or assassinate his son Charles, and that sir Everard Digby should seize the princess Elizabeth, who was kept at lord Harrington's, in Warwickshire, and proclaim her queen. All rejoiced in the prospect of suc-

cess ; but there was one among them whose heart was not so hardened in crime as the rest. Francis Tresham wished to save his friend and brother-in-law, lord Mounteagle, and he sent him a letter, advising him not to attend the opening of parliament. This letter, which was delivered by a person in disguise, set forth that God and man had concurred to punish the wickedness of the times, and that parliament should receive a terrible blow, and yet not be able to see who struck that blow. Lord Mounteagle, who although he was a Romanist, was on good terms with the court and council, and he carried the letter to Whitehall, and showed it to Cecil and several of the ministers. It is generally related, that none of the ministers of king James could fathom the meaning of this letter, and that James himself first suspected some sudden danger by gunpowder ; but it is proved, beyond all doubt, that both Cecil and Suffolk, the lord-chamberlain, understood the riddle, and had even communicated it to several of the lords before it was mentioned to the king. Cecil's advice was, that nothing should be done to interrupt the plan till the night before the king went to the house, but rather suffer the conspirators "to go on to the end of their day." The conspirators were warned that the plot had been discovered ; but they had a vessel in the Thames, ready to slip its cable at a moment's notice, and they still pursued their design. At length, on the evening of the 4th of November, Fawkes went to keep watch in the cellar. He had not been there long, when Suffolk, whose duty it was to see that all arrangements for the meeting of parliament were properly made, accompanied by lord Mounteagle, descended to the vaults and cellars, pretending that some of the king's stuffs were missing. They threw open the door of the powder cellar, where they saw Guido Fawkes standing in a corner ; and the chamberlain asked him, with affected carelessness, who he was. He was servant to Mr. Percy, he said : and was looking after his master's coals. "Your master," returned the courtier, "has laid in good stock of fuel ;" and then retired with his companion. When they were gone, Fawkes hurried to acquaint Percy with their visit, and then returned to the cellar, still hoping they had escaped detection. But he was mistaken : early on the morning of the 5th of November, as he came forth, booted and spurred, to look about him, he was seized and pinioned by a party of soldiers, and carried to Whitehall, where, in presence of the king and council, he boldly avowed

his purpose, and said he was sorry it was not effected. He was pressed to disclose his accomplices, but for three days he refused; and it was not till he was put to the torture of the rack, that he made the discovery.

In the meantime all the conspirators, except Tresham, had taken refuge in flight: they fled into Warwickshire and joined sir Everard Digby, who was surrounded by a few armed men waiting the issue of the plot. On discovering its failure the conspirators were quickly deserted, and they then resolved to retreat into Wales, where they hoped to raise an insurrection. But vengeance followed them: they were pursued by sir Richard Walsh, of Worcester, and were overtaken at a house called Holbeach, where they resolved to defend themselves. Sir Everard Digby, however, stole away for fear, and he had scarcely left the house when some damp gunpowder, which they were drying before a fire, ignited and blew up with a tremendous explosion. Catesby and several others were seriously injured: while in this state, they were summoned by sir Robert Walsh to lay down their arms; but they refused to surrender, and defied their numerous assailants. They fought desperately; and Catesby, the two Wrights, and Percy were killed, while the others were captured: sir Everard Digby, also, and Tresham were afterwards captured, and they were all lodged in the Tower. They were brought to trial in January, 1606, and were all condemned to die the usual death of traitors, which sentence was executed at the west end of St. Paul's churchyard. Three Jesuits, named Garnet, Gervis, and Greenway, were privy to the plot, and Garnet was taken and executed; but the others effected their escape to the Continent. Several other Romanists were put to death in Warwickshire and the adjoining counties, some for being personally concerned, and others for harbouring the traitors. There were other victims of a more elevated rank, as the earl of Northumberland, the kinsman of Percy, and the lords Stourton, Mordaunt, and Mountague, who were arrested upon the ground that they meant to be absent from parliament, and were therefore privy to the plot; but not one of these was punished capitally: they were condemned to heavy fines and to imprisonment during the king's pleasure. Several penal statutes were, moreover, enacted against the Romanists by the parliament which was to have been blown into the air; and although James, who had now opened a matrimonial engagement for his



son, prince Henry, with the Catholic court of Spain, endeavoured to moderate their severity, he was obliged to assent to them.

James now devoted himself to festivities and hunting. His court became profligate in the highest degree: men, shy of good liquor before, wallowed in beastly delights; and ladies were seen to roll about in intoxication. So deeply was the king absorbed in his pleasures, that his subjects could rarely gain access to him; and when they did it was to little purpose. He called himself a most royal and heaven-descended prince, and an image of the Godhead; but his address and demeanour to his subjects clashed strangely with such notions. His conduct estranged the people's affections from him, and they were especially disgusted with his monstrous favouritism. His favourites, in succession, were sir John Ramsay, viscount Haddington, sir Philip Herbert, and Robert Carr, or Ker. All these were loaded with honours and titles, to which they were neither entitled by services nor by merit. Robert Carr, who had been page to James, was successively knighted, created viscount Rochester, honoured with the order of the Garter, made a privy-councillor, and finally created earl of Somerset. This produced a rivalry between Carr, Cecil, and Suffolk; and the history of the reign of James for several years is chiefly a history of their intrigues. Good government languished under this state of things; and the commons became antagonistic to the monarch. Cecil endeavoured to obtain supplies; but he met with refusals, session after session, and at length, in 1612, worn out with anxious cares, and the mortifications he received in parliament, he died. After his death Robert Carr became the first man in the kingdom: the post of lord-chamberlain was given to him by the earl of Suffolk, who succeeded Cecil as lord-treasurer. In effect, he was prime-minister of England as much as Cecil had been, though nominally he held no official situation.

At this time prince Henry, heir to the crown, was in the eighteenth year of his age: his character was the very reverse of that of his father; and he was the idol of the people. Henry's disposition was warlike: he loved arms better than books or hunting. The pedantry of his father seems to have been a great annoyance to him, and his mother is said to have encouraged this feeling, and to have represented to him, out of contempt for her husband, that so

much learning was inconsistent with the character of a great general and conqueror, which *he* ought to be. When a child, sir Walter Raleigh, the brave and scientific soldier and sailor, who was still languishing in the Tower, became an object of his admiration; and he was often heard to say that no other king but his father would keep such a bird in such a cage. His chief study was the exercise of arms; and, had he lived long, it is possible that the peace which his father loved would have been exchanged for the tumults of war. In other respects, however, the character of prince Henry was superior to that of his father. Thus, James was a profound swearer, but Henry swore not at all; and he had boxes kept at his three houses to receive fines on profane swearing, which fines were given to the poor. A story is related, that one day when the prince was hunting the stag, a butcher's dog met with it and killed it; on which the huntsman and company endeavoured to incense the prince against the butcher. The prince replied, "What if the dog killed the stag, could the butcher help it?" His attendants replied, "If his father had been served so, he would have sworn as no man could have endured it?" "Away!" exclaimed the prince: "all the pleasure in the world is not worth an oath." Day by day the young prince grew in the public favour, and his court was more frequented than his father's. On one occasion James was heard to say, "Will he bury me alive?" There was envy in that question; but James had not to envy his son long. It was remarked by an old writer, that he was too soon a man to be long lived. And so it proved. He was seized with a dangerous illness in October, and died on the 12th of November, 1612; and the grief of the people at his loss was unbounded. James himself exhibited a culpable indifference to the fate of his son: only three days after he recommenced a matrimonial treaty, in the name of Prince Charles, with madame Christine, second daughter of the king of France, which—that with Spain having failed—he had begun for Henry; in a few days more he prohibited all persons from approaching him in mourning; and shortly after he married the princess Elizabeth to Frederick V., the count-palatine, with an expense and magnificence hitherto unknown in England.

In the year 1613, the two noble Howards, the earls of Suffolk and Northampton, finding there was no possibility of checking the rise of Robert Carr, sought to bind him to their

family. He was married to the countess of Essex, who obtained a divorce from her husband for that purpose. This marriage proved fatal to sir Thomas Overbury, whose abilities and experience had mainly tended to support Somerset in his power as prime-minister. Overbury opposed this match, and he was first confined in the Tower, and then poisoned. This shameful marriage, and the dark deed which followed it, brought the king, with his favourite and the bishops, into great contempt: it also ended in the fall of Somerset. From the time of the death of Overbury, a cloud settled upon his brow, and he became absent-minded, moody, and morose, even in the king's company. James, having first adopted a new favourite, George Villiers, resolved at length to get rid of him. On a sudden, he was attached by the warrant of the lord-chief-justice Coke, while in the king's presence, and he was brought to trial on a charge of poisoning sir Thomas Overbury. Several of his accomplices were executed, and he himself, with his countess, were condemned; but they were pardoned by the king, and, after a few years' imprisonment, they retired into the country, "to reproach and hate one another."

Villiers, the new favourite of James, became far more powerful and mischievous than his predecessor, Somerset. Like him, he rose through several gradations of rank, and was finally created earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham. An old writer says of him at this period of his career:—"He now reigns sole monarch in the king's affections: everything he does is admired for the doer's sake. No man dances better; no man runs or jumps better; indeed, he jumped higher than ever Englishman did in so short a time, from a private gentleman to a dukedom. But the king is not well without him: his company is his solace. All addresses are made to him, either for place or office, in court or in commonwealth. The bishops' sees, also, ebb and flow from the wane or fulness of his influence upon them." Dancing was the best thing that Buckingham could do; and the court was made by him almost a constant scene of balls and masks. The familiarity of James and his favourite was most offensive to good taste, and gave great umbrage to the great body of the people. The ill-will of the nation was greatly increased by the methods adopted by James to support his revelry. The parliaments continued to be parsimonious in granting subsidies and even diminished them; and this induced the

king to resort to arbitrary imposts, increased duties, forced loans, fines, and the like odious means. There was no end to complaints; and a permanent party was formed for the maintenance and extension of liberty, which increased daily in numbers.

This universal discontent was heightened by an act of severity which has blackened the name of James for all ages. In the year 1594 sir Walter Raleigh, in the course of one of his adventurous voyages, had visited Guiana, in South America, the fabled land of gold, which, though discovered by the Spaniards, had not been settled. He found the country to be fertile and beautiful, and he discovered at one point, near the banks of the mighty Orinoco, some signs of a gold-mine. He had in vain solicited his liberation when Somerset was in power, that he might set out on a voyage to take possession of this treasure; but when Buckingham succeeded to power he succeeded in his suit. A fleet of fourteen vessels was fitted out by private munificence for this expedition, and Raleigh set sail in the month of March, 1617. On his arrival, however, he found that the Spaniards were there to dispute with him the possession of the treasure. They came into collision. St. Thomas, which was inhabited by the Spaniards, was captured and destroyed by fire; but all that was found therein was two ingots of gold, and four empty refining-houses. Raleigh's crew became mutinous, and he was obliged to return to England. James had been induced to sanction this expedition on a promise of his being put into possession of one-fifth of the gold; and he had often dreamed of his coming wealth; but when he found that the enterprise had failed, and that it was likely to create a breach, if not a war, between England and Spain, he issued a proclamation, accusing Raleigh of scandalous outrages in infringing the royal commission, and inviting all who could give information to repair to the privy-council, in order that he might be brought to punishment. The court of Spain, likewise, clamoured for revenge; and, on his return, Raleigh was arrested and again immured in the Tower. Had he returned with the gold he had promised, his fate would have been far different to that which awaited him. He was brought to trial on various charges connected with this expedition; but it was found difficult to convict him on these charges: it was fully resolved, however, that he should lose his head; and he was executed on his conviction of

high-treason, previous to his long confinement in the Tower, and which had never been proved. As he was on the scaffold, this great man felt the edge of the axe, and remarked, with a smile, "that it was a sharp medicine, but it would cure all diseases." He then laid his head on the block, and the headsman, at two blows, severed the neck of the soldier, sailor, statesman, and poet. James made a merit of this execution with the court of Spain; but the people set it down to his eternal disgrace. A.D. 1618.

The death of sir Walter Raleigh was soon followed by a war in which his genius and bravery would have rendered essential service. The son-in-law of James, the elector palatine, was, in 1619, made king of Bohemia by the people of that country, who threw off the yoke of the emperor of Germany. This was the signal for war; and James raised and equipped four thousand volunteers, to aid Frederic in the struggle. This force, however, was too small, and was raised too late, to be of much service. In the year 1620 the Imperialists and Spaniards gained a decisive victory at Prague, and Frederic fled with his wife and children into Holland. After his flight his patrimonial possessions were overrun by his enemies, and there was no power to restrain them; the people of England were eager for war to restore him; but James fondly hoped that he could reinstate his son-in-law by his skill in diplomacy. Ambassadors were sent in all directions, with instructions that were deeply laid, but frequently very contradictory. All these missions failed; and without kingdom or electorate, without a province, without a house or home of his own, the palatine, with his wife and family, was left to subsist at the Hague upon a Dutch pension. The desertion of his cause by James was severely censured in England; and on the Continent his conduct was held up to ridicule: at Antwerp he was represented on the stage with a scabbard without a sword; and in Brussels he was painted with his pockets turned inside out, and his purse empty.

James might have collected a force sufficient to restore his son-in-law to his dominions; but the truth is, he was reluctant to proceed in this war, as he was now engaged in a treaty with Spain, for a wife for his son Charles. In the year 1621, he deluded himself with imagining, that he had removed all obstacles to the marriage of Charles with the infanta. In that year Philip III. died, and was succeeded by his son, Philip IV., brother to the intended bride of Charles. Lord

Digby, special ambassador to the young sovereign, reported that he was favourable to the match; but that Philip could not marry his sister to a Protestant without a dispensation from the pope, and a full assurance that she should be left to the enjoyment of her own conscience and her religion in England. Philip wrote to Rome for a dispensation, and James himself secretly wrote two letters to the pope in furtherance of his object. To conciliate the pontiff, James also issued pardons for recusancy, to all English Catholics that should apply for them; and he ordered the judges on their circuits to discharge from prison every recusant that could find security for his reappearance. This created an alarm among his Protestant subjects, and the peace of James was menaced. Still negotiations for the marriage proceeded. In January, 1623, James and his son signed articles, promising that the English Catholics should be relieved from all kinds of persecution, and be permitted to have their masses and other ceremonies in their houses; and the Spanish king agreed to give his sister two millions of ducats, and to celebrate the espousals at Madrid, within forty days after the arrival of the dispensation from Rome. At this stage of the business, Charles, who was eager for the marriage, conceived a design of visiting the court of Spain, to see his bride. He set out on his journey, accompanied by the duke of Buckingham, and on discovering his departure there was great consternation among the people: it was said that he never would return alive, or if he did, he would come back a Papist. The prince and Buckingham travelled in disguise through France; and on their arrival at the English ambassador's residence at Madrid, they announced themselves as Thomas and John Smith. They were, however, soon recognised, and the court of Spain was made acquainted with their arrival. Charles was received by the Spanish monarch with every token of respect and attention; and, by his prudent demeanour, joined to his youth and advantageous figure, he endeared himself to the whole court. But, by this time, Charles had resolved never to marry the infant. In his route through France, he, with Buckingham, had contrived to spend an evening at the French court unknown, and he there saw the princess Henrietta Maria, with whom he became enamoured. Still he kept up the appearance of an ardent lover at the Spanish court. Had not events occurred at the Vatican, indeed, to delay the marriage, it would have been difficult for Charles

to have returned without his bride: so deeply did he stand pledged to its consummation. A difficulty, however, arose which favoured his design, when the dispensation arrived from the pope. The legate to whom it was sent had orders not to deliver it until he had made a sure bargain with the English court as to a full toleration of the Catholic religion. James was willing to grant this, but his subjects were averse to it; and Charles was recalled by his father. At his departure, he presented the *infanta* with a diamond anchor, as an emblem of his constancy; but he was no sooner out of the reach of the court of Spain, than he boasted he had duped the Spaniards. This was soon discovered by the Spanish court, and the result of this rash journey was, that Philip prepared for a war with England for being thus duped. In this war James would have been well supported by the people; but, though he promised, if parliament would vote him money, he would apply it to that purpose, when it was granted he broke his word. Charles and the duke of Buckingham raised four regiments of foot to aid the Dutch, who were at war with Spain; but James trembled, hung back, and talked only of the blessedness of peace.

While these events were occurring a new matrimonial treaty was set on foot with France, for the hand of Henrietta Maria. King James and prince Charles had solemnly vowed that they would never tolerate the Papists; but in this treaty they submitted to the three following specifications: "that all Catholics in prison for their religion, since the rising of parliament, should be set free; that all fines levied on them should be repaid; and that, for the future, they might freely exercise their own worship in private." Henrietta Maria prepared for her removal to England; but James did not live to see the arrival of the long-sought daughter-in-law. His health had long been breaking, under the united influences of anxiety, fear, full feeding, and the continual use of sweet wine; and he was at length seized with a mortal disease, which the doctors called a tertian ague. He died on the fourteenth day of his illness, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, having reigned twenty-two years. A. D. 1625.

It would be difficult to find, in all history, a reign less illustrious than that of king James. While he imagined that he was only maintaining his own authority, he encroached on the liberties of the people; and while he endeavoured, by a system of neutrality, to acquire the goodwill of contempo-

rary sovereigns, he was not able to preserve the esteem of any one among them. His intentions generally were just; but they were more adapted to the conduct of private life than the government of a great nation. His generosity savoured of profusion; his learning of pedantry; his pacific disposition of pusillanimity; his wisdom of low cunning; and his friendship of light fancy and boyish fondness. The want of sincerity was a marked feature in his character: his actions gave too much countenance to the severe lines of a satirist:—

“The pedant scholar, he forgot the prince;  
And having with some trifles stored his brain,  
Ne’er learned, or wished to brave, the art to reign.  
Enough he knew to make him vain and proud,  
Mocked by the wise, the wonder of the crowd;  
False friend, false son, false father, and false king,  
False wit, false statesman, and false everything.”

### CHARLES I.

A.D. 1625. Prince Charles ascended the throne of his father without opposition. On the 30th of March, three days after his father’s death, Charles ratified, as king, the treaty with France; and on the 1st of May, the marriage ceremony was performed at Paris, by proxy. Henrietta Maria arrived at Dover on the 27th of June; and, accompanied by the king, she entered London on the 16th of July. At first the people seemed satisfied with her appearance and cheerful manners. It was hoped that she would become a good Protestant; but in a few days this hope seemed to be cut off. Mass was celebrated in her closet at Whitehall, and the people began to murmur. A plague had broke out before the late king’s death, and it soon grew worse and worse; the land was scourged, it was said, for relapsing into idolatry. Coming events, therefore, cast their shadows before.

The first parliament of Charles assembled on the 10th of June. Money was demanded for the war with Spain, and two subsidies were voted. This sum, however, was far from being sufficient to support Charles in his intended equipment, and he, therefore, had recourse to the old practice of extortion. This gave rise to great discontent, and other circumstances occurred by which it was increased. At this time there was war in France, between the Romanists and the Huguenots. Charles sent troops to assist the former; but



though these troops were not of much service, the act brought upon himself an almost crushing weight of odium from his subjects. When, in the month of August, he met his parliament at Oxford, he found the members so refractory, that after the lapse of twelve days he suddenly dissolved it, and thus increased the discontent which prevailed among his people.

During the Oxford session Charles could not obtain a farthing of supplies; but still he determined to proceed with the war against Spain. By loans, exactions, and retrenchments in the court, he was enabled to fit out an army of ten thousand men, with ships of war. This armament was collected on the western coast, and the command of both fleet and army was given to sir Edward Cecil, now created lord Wimbledon. His instructions were to intercept the plate-ships from America, to scour the Spanish coast, and to destroy the shipping in the ports. He commenced by an expedition against Cadiz; but he was repulsed, and sailed back to Plymouth, disheartened and dishonoured. The unsuccessful return of an expedition which had cost him so much, was a grievous blow to Charles; but he betrayed no vindictive temper against lord Wimbledon, concluding that the failure of the expedition was ordained by Providence.

Being disappointed in obtaining the plate-ships from America, more money was raised by pawning the crown-jewels and plate to Dutch money-lenders. But whatever sums were raised by these means, and by extortions under the privy-seal, were absorbed by arrears, and all things were soon at a stand still for want of money. In order to obtain more from his parliament, Charles resolved to please the members by persecuting and annoying the English-born Catholics; in doing which he broke his treaty of matrimony. The French court remonstrated, and reminded him of his treaty and oath; but he still proceeded against them with rigour. Having thus done something for popularity, Charles, on the 2nd of February, 1626, ventured to be crowned; and four days after his coronation, he opened the session of parliament. He again demanded money; but, instead of granting his demand, both lords and commons attacked his favourites and his government, and parliament was again suddenly dissolved. More extortions now followed: Charles and his favourite devoted their whole attention to the raising of money by illegal means. Among the measures adopted was the exaction of a general loan;

each individual was called upon to contribute according to his rating in the last subsidy. Those who refused to contribute to this loan were visited with all the vengeance of absolutism: the rich were imprisoned, and the poor were sent to serve in the army and navy. In these measures Charles was aided by the church: sermons were everywhere preached enjoining the merits of lending or giving money without the authority of parliament, and making those merits appear as essential to salvation. It was agreed by the preachers, that the sovereign was not bound to keep and observe the laws of the realm; that parliament was an inferior sort of council; that the royal will was sufficient for the imposing of taxes; and that any disobedience or refusal to pay money for his use would be punished in the next world. Texts of scripture were even adduced to show that passive obedience was the duty of all good subjects.

In the meantime, while clouds were gathering around him from abroad, Charles found nothing but storms under the roof of his palace. For some time he had lived unhappily with his wife, and, attributing this to the influence of the French people about her, on a sudden he turned them out of doors, and gave orders for them to depart the kingdom. The French court talked of war, to avenge the wrongs of Henrietta Maria; but Richelieu, who was at the head of the government, had already wars enough on his hands; and he sent an ambassador to reconcile their majesties. A seeming reconciliation took place; but the courts of England and France were still hostile to each other. In the year 1627 Charles, in order to recover his popularity with his subjects, sent troops to assist the Huguenots at Rochelle, who were besieged by the French royalists; but this expedition failed in its design. The blame of this failure was thrown upon the duke of Buckingham, who commanded the forces; but Charles still treated him with affection and confidence. On his return, in 1628, a parliament was summoned in order to obtain the means of renewing the war abroad, and this time the commons granted five subsidies; but it was not till after Charles gave his assent to "The Petition of Right," which confirmed some of the most sacred clauses of Magna Charta. Preparations were now made for another expedition in aid of the Huguenots. A fleet was assembled at Portsmouth, and the duke of Buckingham repaired thither to take the command: the preparations were nearly completed; but on a

sudden the duke was assassinated by one John Felton, a subaltern officer, who, after he was taken, boldly asserted that he "killed him for the cause of God and his country." The command of the expedition was now given to the earl of Lindsey; but he was unsuccessful, and, soon after, Rochelle, the last bulwark of the Huguenots, was taken by Richelieu.

Early in the year 1629, while the spirit of Protestantism was embittered by these events, and while the English people were irritated by fresh excesses of the star-chamber and high-commission, and the levying of duties upon merchandise and the collecting of tonnage and poundage, parliament again assembled. The first thing the commons did was to revive all committees of religion and grievances, and to take into consideration in what things the liberty of the subject had been invaded against their Petition of Right since the last session. At this time all matters connected with the church were governed by bishop Laud, who endeavoured to enforce conformity by imprisonment, the pillory, and death. Laud's creed was Arminianism; but he introduced great and manifold changes, which went to assimilate more and more the Anglican establishment to the Romish church. Against his measures both commons and lords bitterly inveighed; but, in face of their determined opposition, Charles resolved to maintain Laud and the hierarchy. He commanded an adjournment; and when the commons refused, and sir John Eliot produced a remonstrance to the king against the illegal levying of tonnage and poundage, the speaker refused to put it to the vote. The commons now drew up a protest against the innovations in religion, and the levying of the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, declaring that whoever favoured either should be considered enemies to the kingdom and commonwealth. Having voted this protest they adjourned for a week, and when, on the 10th of March, they re-assembled, Charles abruptly dissolved parliament.

The members who had been most active in getting up the protest were Eliot, Hollis, Selden, Valentine, Criton, Hobart, Hayman, Long, and Stroud. Before parliament was dissolved, these "vipers," as Charles called them, were arrested and committed to the Tower: they were prosecuted in the King's-bench, where it was laid down as law, that members had no privilege to speak at their pleasure; and that in doing so the accused had been guilty of a great offence, punishable in that court. They were all sentenced to be imprisoned

during the king's pleasure; and some of them were condemned to pay heavy fines to the king. About the same time Richard Chambers was summoned before the privy-council for refusing to pay tonnage and poundage; and, smarting under his wrongs, he asserted before its members that "merchants had more encouragement in Turkey than in England." For these words an information was preferred against him in the star-chamber; and that detestable court sentenced him to pay a fine of two thousand pounds. For non-payment of this fine he was thrown into prison, where he remained twelve years; and when released by the Long Parliament he wandered forth a beggar. There was a conviction abroad that Charles now intended to rule without a parliament; and it is true that the orthodox pulpits resounded with loud expoundings of the divine right; but still there were circumstances which seemed to indicate that Charles thought rather of managing the house of commons by winning over some of its most influential members. Among those he won over to his cause were sir Thomas Wentworth, sir Dudley Digges, Noye, and Littleton, men who had been some of the most sturdy reformers and bold declaimers in the house of commons. All these were bought with place and power in the government.

While Charles was thus engaged at home England was still at war with France and Spain; but in the course of this year he abandoned the French Protestants to their fate, and made peace with the French; and in the following year, 1630, abandoning the cause of his brother-in-law, the palatine, he signed a treaty of peace with Philip, king of Spain.

There was no parliament called from the year 1629 to that of 1640; and during this period the history of England is a history of illegal exactions and oppressions. In contempt of the Petition of Right the king persisted in levying tonnage and poundage, and he even ordered that the goods of all such as refused payment should be seized and sold. Charles also revived certain feudal uses, or abuses, such as the atrocious game or forest-laws, etc., which brought poverty on many of his subjects. His father had gravely declared that the plague which took place in London during his reign was owing to the constantly-increasing size of that city; and he proclaimed that "people must not be so wicked as to build any more houses there." Charles went further than this: he appointed a commission to examine into the growth and increase of

London, and to levy money on those who were wicked enough to build in the metropolis. In some instances the houses were pulled down, and the owners made to pay a penalty, besides suffering this destruction of property. But it was in matters of religion that the people were more sorely oppressed. Blind to the almost inevitable consequences of persecution, Laud grew stricter and stricter in enforcing conformity. So grievously were the Puritans oppressed, that they emigrated in great numbers to North America, preferring a wilderness, with liberty of conscience, to their native country without it. These pilgrim fathers settled in New England, while those who remained at home had their lives embittered with persecution. They were almost shut out of their pulpits, and were hunted down in their conventicles; and when they had recourse to the press, they were brought before the hated star-chamber. Fines were extorted in the star-chamber and in the high-commission-courts for the purpose of erecting and enlarging cathedrals and churches, especially that of St. Paul's; and this "sharpened many men's humours against the bishops, before they had any ill-intention towards the church." Within this period Laud was made primate, and after this he commanded like a pope of the fourteenth century. Thunders of excommunication were hurled against disobedient priests and neglectful churchwardens; painted glass reappeared in the windows, and pictures in the body of the churches; and great pains were taken to give pomp and magnificence to the national worship. By a stroke of the pen Laud suppressed evening lectures and extemporary prayers, while at the same time he was zealous in restoring church-ales and revels on the sabbath-day. Lawful sports on the Lord's-day were established by royal commandment, and justices of the peace were ordered to see that they were not interrupted in their several divisions. This doubtless pleased the profane part of the community; but it was highly offensive to the great body of the people, and especially the classes branded with the name of Puritans. These, and various other measures equally impolitic, arbitrary, and unjust, produced a wide-spread and universal discontent.

This discontent reached its climax, when, in 1634, the court resolved upon the levying of ship-money: this was a tax which had in former reigns been levied without the consent of parliament; but then such a supply was demanded by the exigency of the state. Great dissatisfaction was expressed

at this new assessment, as an imposition against law and the rights of the subject. For a time, however, all opposition was overpowered by government; but at length, in 1637, there was one man who was resolved to resist and expose it: this was John Hampden. John Hampden was a wealthy English gentleman, of the true old Saxon stock. He had been a member of parliament, and was possessed of immense estates, situated chiefly in the county of Buckingham. He was a man of cool judgment and great sagacity; and when Charles demanded ship-money, he resolved to make a bold and decisive stand against the demand: he refused payment, purposing to try the issue at law. The sum demanded of him was small, only twenty shillings; but he justly considered his cause as one of the weightiest that could be decided between the sovereign and the people. The case was tried in the court of Exchequer, and while the crown-lawyers insisted on ancient precedents, from the Saxon times downwards, Hampden's council maintained that the laws and constitution of England had sufficiently provided for the defence of the kingdom without the novelty of ship-money. The arguments adduced by his council were so cogent that the judges, who were all in favour of the king, wavered; and the business was prolonged through the three following terms. At length, in 1638, the judges, overawed by the monarch, decided against Hampden. He was condemned to pay; but the sentence pronounced against Hampden did not set the matter at rest: resistance to ship-money was stirred up by this trial on every hand; everywhere men took heart by his patriotism, and followed his example.

About this time the storm of opposition to government arose in the north. Laud ordained the reading of the book of Common Prayer in Scotland: it was to be read in all Scotch churches from Easter Sunday, 1637. From the opposition of the Scots the experiment was postponed; but on Sunday, the 23rd of July, the dean of Edinburgh began to read the book in St. Giles's kirk. No sooner, however, had he opened it than the people raised a wild uproar. The church resounded with "Down with the priests of Baal!" "A pape! a pape!" "Antichrist!" "Thrapple him!" "Stone him!" It was in vain that the ecclesiastics and civil authorities present endeavoured to quell the disorder: the rage of the people were so violent that no persuasions could appease it. Nor were the common people alone

indignant at this interference with their national worship. Nobles and clergy, alike, were opposed to the introduction of the book of Common Prayer; and the whole nation assumed a threatening aspect towards the government. The Scots arose in arms, and concluded a well-regulated union, called "The Covenant." Unwarned by this show of hostility, Charles marched an army into Scotland, to compel the covenanters to submit to his will. On his arrival there it was agreed that a general assembly of lords should be held to decide upon the matter in dispute. Both parties disbanded their forces, and Charles returned home; but the lords decided against the episcopacy and the liturgy, and there was again a mutual appeal to arms.

By this time, 1640, Charles had exhausted his ordinary resources by exactions, and he resolved to call a parliament to obtain more constitutional supplies: this was called the Long, or Bloodthirsty Parliament.

Animated with the same spirit as those which had preceded it, this parliament raised a series of complaints against the ministers. The earl of Strafford, the king's first minister, was accused of high-treason against the nation, and condemned in both houses: Charles himself was compelled to consent to his death, which he did with grief. Strafford was beheaded in 1641, after having made a most resolute defence before the tribunal of his powerful enemies. Laud was the next victim of this parliament: he was accused, arrested, and imprisoned; and in the year 1645 brought to the scaffold and the block upon Tower-hill. Charles formed a new ministry, composed of popular men, and consented to all that the parliament desired. He gave his sanction to a bill depriving him of the right to dissolve parliament; he abolished the court of star-chamber, and the high-commission-court; and he declared the rebellious Scots good subjects and friends of the kingdom, gave them an amnesty, and pledged himself not to injure or molest any one for what was past. After this reconciliation Charles visited Scotland, where he listened, with an approving countenance, to the Presbyterian preachers, and outwardly conformed to their simple ceremonies. Thus the Covenanters triumphed.

From this time the torrent of the revolution swelled visibly and formidably. A rising of the Irish, in 1641, against the English Protestants, in which many thousands were slain, and thousands more perished by hunger and cold, was

artfully employed by parliament to increase the hatred against Charles: he was represented as the author of tragic scenes which in reality he deplored. Charles was still in Scotland when the news of this event reached him; and the effect in Scotland, as in England, was appalling: in both countries the general feeling connected the massacre with the intrigues of the king and his queen. On his return to London he was received with some congratulations, and was sumptuously feasted by the citizens; but a wide-spread disaffection prevailed throughout all classes of society. Parliament presented to him a list of grievances, which contained a long series of complaints about old and new, real and pretended injustice, that had proceeded from the throne, and which was spread among the people to increase the fire. The position of Charles grew worse daily. At length, in 1642, he resolved upon war. Around his banner, which he first planted at Nottingham, rallied the greatest part of the ancient nobility, the most eminent of the commons, the zealous adherents of the episcopal church, and the Romanists. Parliament, however, had all the large cities, the mass of the people, the army, the fleet, and the Scots on its side, so that the odds were greatly in its favour. The contending armies met first at Edge-hill: thirty thousand Englishmen there turned their swords against each other's breasts: the dearest friends and nearest kinsmen embraced opposite sides, and buried their private regards in factious hatred. Four thousand men were slain, and the combatants separated only from weariness: no victory was gained by either, though it was ostentatiously claimed by Charles. After the battle Charles proceeded to Oxford, and the parliamentarians to London, where each sought to strengthen their cause. Negotiations followed, but proved fruitless; and the war continued. At first Charles was victorious: the parliamentarians were successively defeated at Chalgrove-field, Atherton-moor, Roundway-down, and Newbury. In this first campaign the two bravest and greatest men of their respective parties were killed:—John Hampden at Chalgrove-field, and lord Falkland at Newbury. But a still greater man was rising amidst this strife. a man who was destined to overthrow the monarch's throne—Oliver Cromwell.

In the year 1644, the Scots came to the aid of the parliamentarians. Leslie, their commander, joined lord Fairfax, under the walls of York. Fourteen thousand men also, un-



der the command of the earl of Manchester and his lieutenant-general, Oliver Cromwell, joined Leslie and Fairfax in the siege of York, and it was completely invested. Prince Rupert and the earl of Newcastle united their forces to raise the siege, and the parliamentarians, threatened by them, placed themselves in battle array on Marston-Moor, about five miles from the city. A battle was fought, in which victory declared itself on the side of the parliamentarians; chiefly through the skill, valour, and exertions of Oliver Cromwell. York was now taken, and by this battle parliament gained the entire command of the north. From this blow the royalists never recovered; but the battle which decided the fate of Charles was fought at Naseby, in 1645; a decisive victory was gained by general Fairfax and Cromwell, and the king shut himself up in Oxford, without hope of relief. Fairfax prepared to lay siege to Oxford, and in this extremity, Charles resolved to throw himself into the arms of the Scotch army. This sealed his fate. Instead of treating him as a king, the Scots insulted him as a captive; and in a short time they delivered him up to his mortal enemy, the English parliament. They sold, infamously, their hereditary prince, for the sum of £400,000, and thus stained their history with an indelible blot.

Charles was taken as a prisoner to Holdenby Castle, in Northamptonshire, early in 1647. After his defeat, and during his imprisonment, a contest arose between the parliament and the army for power. At the head of the army was Oliver Cromwell, whose talents now began to appear in full lustre. At his instigation the army began to consider themselves as a body distinct from the commonwealth. They complained that they had secured the tranquillity of the nation, while, at the same time they were deprived of the privileges of Englishmen. The majority of the members of parliament were Presbyterians; but the majority of the army were Independents. This was the real cause of the contest which took place between them: their interests and designs clashed, and hence the struggle. But the contest was an unequal one: what could counsellors do against an armed force? The trial of strength was soon over. The army formed a council of war, composed of officers and deputies of the common soldiers, called "agitators," and thus constituted itself at the same time a deliberative and an acting power. This done, Cromwell sent an officer to seize the king, who was in the power of parlia-

ment: Charles was seized, and carried to Hampton Court, where he was confined as a prisoner of the army. From this moment the Independents were completely victorious. Enraged at this bold step, the parliament resolved that Cromwell should be committed to the Tower, and brought to trial for his misconduct. Cromwell expected this; and, instead of waiting to be made prisoner, he hastened to the army, where he was received with rapturous congratulations. The parliament and the army were now at open war with each other. Feeling that Cromwell's custody of the king rendered their situation perilous, the members renewed negotiations with the king; but their demands were so excessive, that he refused to accede to them. Soon after this Charles made his escape from Hampton Court; but he was once more made prisoner, in the Isle of Wight, and confined in Carisbrook Castle. While in this forlorn situation, negotiations were renewed by parliament, and attempts were made by his friends, and even many of his former foes, to save him; but all their efforts were fruitless: with a strong arm, Fairfax and Cromwell put down all opposition, and set aside negotiation. Cromwell dispatched a strong detachment to the Isle of Wight, with orders once more to seize the king, and he was lodged in Hurst Castle; and this being done, he resolved to eject all members who would not yield an unconditional obedience to the army from the parliament. This impudent violence was exercised, at his command, by colonel Pride, when parliament assembled, on the 7th of September, 1648: most of the members, as they appeared, were arrested or turned out, and only fifty or sixty, all Independents, were left to decide on the affairs of the nation. This atrocious invasion of the parliamentary rights was called "the purification of colonel Pride," and the remaining members were denominated "The Rump."

All the king's hopes of peace and restoration to power now vanished. At the same time, he was not alarmed for his personal safety: he was still confident in the sacred dignity of majesty. He knew that the Long Parliament had taken away the lives of Strafford and Laud, but he did not dream that the Rump Parliament would attack his own. Yet so it was. On the 23rd of December, 1648, he was brought from Hurst Castle, and lodged in the royal castle at Windsor; and on the same day, the Independents, calling themselves the house of commons, appointed a committee of thirty-eight, to consider

of drawing up a charge against the king, and all other delinquents that might be deemed worthy condign punishment. A few voices were raised for the saving of life; but on the 1st of January, 1649, an ordinance, prepared by this committee, demanded his trial, for his invasions of the rights of the people. This ordinance was nobly rejected by the lords; but on the 6th of January, it was engrossed and passed by the commons. By it the Independents erected what they styled a high court of justice, for the trial of the king; to consist of one hundred and thirty-five commissioners, of whom any twenty were to form a quorum. Among the commissioners were three generals and thirty-four colonels of the army; most of the members of the Rump; three aldermen of the city; two sergeants-at-law; three lords; twenty-two knights and baronets; various citizens of London; and some few country gentlemen. Charles was brought to trial before this self-constituted tribunal, on the 19th of January, in the old courts of chancery and the King's-bench, at the upper end of Westminster-hall. As he took his seat in a chair, covered with velvet, which was prepared for him, he looked sternly upon the court, and the court looked sternly upon him. Sixty commissioners only were present; Bradshaw was the president. A charge of high-treason was exhibited against him by Coke, as solicitor for the commonwealth; but, instead of answering, Charles contented himself with disputing the authority of the court. "I do not come here," said he, "as submitting to this court. I see no house of lords here that may constitute a parliament; and the king too must be in and part of a parliament." "If it does not satisfy you," replied Bradshaw, "we are satisfied with our authority, which we have from God and the people. The court expects you to answer; their purpose is to adjourn to Monday next." On Monday the 22nd, Charles was reconducted to Westminster-hall, when he again questioned the legality of the court; asserting that a king could not be tried by any jurisdiction upon earth. It was demanded that he should plead guilty or not guilty, but he was silent, and the court again adjourned. This same scene was renewed the three following days, and still the king refused to plead: he resisted the proceedings of the court, he said, not for himself alone, but for the liberty of the people of England. In the meantime, the Rump had received information from Scotland that the parliament there dissented from their proceedings; and Scottish commissioners were sent

to make their solemn protest against all proceedings for bringing the king to trial. But it was too late: the wrath of the king's judges was too great to be set aside by arguments and protests. On the sixth day, the commissioners were engaged in preparing the sentence of death; and on the seventh, Charles was brought up before them to receive judgment. The robe which Bradshaw, the president, wore on this day was ominous: it was scarlet. Again Charles declined to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court, and demanded that he might be heard in the Painted Chamber, before the lords and commons. This demand was refused: it was resolved to send him to the block. Bradshaw, sternly, with a cold heart, delivered his sentence: "The court adjudged Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good people of this nation, should be put to death, by severing his head from his body." On hearing his sentence, Charles raised his eyes to heaven, and said, "Will you hear me a word, sir?" "Sir," replied Bradshaw, sternly, "you are not to be heard after sentence." Then turning to the guards, he exclaimed, "Withdraw your prisoner." He retired, amidst cries for justice and execution: but these cries were only uttered by a few of the soldiers and rabble: the voice of the nation was still in his favour. On his trial, Bradshaw asserted that the charge was brought against him in the name of the people of England; but a female voice, supposed to be that of lady Fairfax, cried aloud, and justly—"No, not half the people!" He was condemned by a faction.

Charles now, for the first time, felt that his doom was inevitable, and he prepared to meet death with Christian fortitude. Judging from the scenes which preceded his death, adversity had proved a blessing to him, by leading him to the foot of the cross. He was attended, at his own request, by bishop Juxon, who was with him to the last moment of his life. The time of execution was fixed for the 30th of January; on the morning of which, he exclaimed, "Death is not terrible to me: bless God, I am prepared." On the scaffold, which was erected at Whitehall, he exhibited the utmost fortitude and resignation. After declaring his innocence, and charging the two houses of parliament with beginning the war; alluding to the death of Strafford, he said, "Yet for all this God forbid that I should be so ill a Christian as not to say God's judgments are just upon me: an unjust sentence that

I suffered to take effect, is punished now by an unjust sentence on me." He declared that he had forgiven all the world, and even those in particular who had conspired his death. He concluded with a prayer to God, that the people might take those courses that were best for the good of the kingdom and their own salvation. On laying his head on the block, he remarked, "I have a good cause and a gracious God on my side." "You have now but one stage more," said Juxon; "the stage is turbulent and troublesome, but it is a short one: it will soon carry you a very great way: it will carry you from earth to heaven." "I go," replied Charles, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can take place." At length the axe fell: the neck was severed at one blow, and a man in a mask took up the head and shouted, "This is the head of a traitor!" The bloody deed was accompanied by a universal groan among the spectators. The faults of the early part of his reign were lost sight of by his subjects in the contemplation of his sufferings; and feelings of bitterness gave place to commiseration, pity, and even admiration.

### THE COMMONWEALTH.

After the execution of Charles, among the first measures of the Rump Parliament, was that of voting the house of peers and the office of a king in the nation to be "unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the people." Two acts, in conformity with these votes, were soon passed; and an elaborate declaration was published in English, Latin, French, and Dutch, to explain and justify the late proceedings, and the changing of England into a republic. A new great seal had been prepared for the event, and this was confided, "during good behaviour," to Whitelock, Keble, and Lisle. Six of the twelve judges refused to act; but the others agreed to hold their offices, provided the house of commons would declare that the fundamental laws were not to be abolished. An Executive Council of State was established to conduct the affairs of the kingdom; it consisted of forty members, Bradshaw, the king's stern judge, being the president. The church was a more difficult matter to settle than the state; and therefore it was left almost untouched: the Romanists were allowed more toleration than they had known since the days of queen Mary.

As for the army, it remained under the command of the men who had created it; Fairfax being still the commander-in-chief.

Cromwell was appointed to the command in Ireland, where he prosecuted the war with his usual success. His opponents were the duke of Ormond and O'Neal, the latter of whom headed the native Irish. But all opposition was vain: Cromwell soon overrun the whole country; and by the month of May, 1650, he returned to England, leaving a few considerable garrisons to be reduced by Ireton. After his return, he received the thanks of parliament for his services, and was appointed to the command in Scotland, where the royal cause had been espoused, and young Charles had been placed on the throne. In this campaign he was equally successful; he defeated the royalist forces at Dunbar, and again at Worcester, with great slaughter; and Charles was obliged to take refuge in flight. This latter victory was gained in September, 1651, and was what Cromwell called "his crowning mercy." Charles escaped, after a variety of romantic adventures, to Feschamp, in Normandy.

Crowned with success, Cromwell returned to London in triumph, where he was met by the speaker of the house, accompanied by the mayor and all the city magistrates. The royal palace of Hampton Court was prepared for his reception, and shortly after, an estate, worth £4,000 per annum, was voted to him. From this time he seems to have entertained vague notions of grasping at the supreme authority. His first care was to take advantage of his victories over the Scots. An act was passed, abolishing royalty in Scotland, and annexing that kingdom to the commonwealth. Ireland, also, was incorporated with the commonwealth; and all signs of royalty were effaced in both these countries. Moreover, all the settlements in America were obliged to submit; and Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, and the Isle of Man were subjugated.

Having thus reduced their native dominions to obedience, the parliament resolved to chastise the Dutch. There were several causes which induced this war; but the two facts which most contributed to it were these: first, that the house of Orange, closely allied by marriage to that of Stuart, had exerted itself to avenge the late king's death, and to restore his son; and second, the English parliament had formed the grand scheme of a republican union, which proposed to

join the United Provinces with the commonwealth. The parliament's chief dependence lay in the activity, skill, and courage of Blake, their admiral; and that of the Dutch, in their famous admiral Van Tromp, a devoted partisan of the house of Orange. Three days' fight took place between these admirals in the Channel, at the close of which Van-Tromp, though not thoroughly defeated, set sail for Holland. On his return, the common people in the Dutch provinces were all in an uproar and tumult; and the province of Holland, without the consent of the rest, sent over agents to make overtures for peace.

By this time, the Rump Parliament was falling into disrepute and disrespect in the country. Cromwell took advantage of this to further his own ambitious designs. He urged the members to resign their power; while on their part they urged Cromwell to reduce the army. But in the army lay Cromwell's hopes and strength: it was only by that that he could carry out his designs. Secure in the attachment of the soldiers he resolved to make one daring effort to overthrow the Rump. He persuaded the officers to present a petition for payment of arrears and redress of grievances. This he knew would be refused; but he advised this as a means to an end. The Rump was already highly offended at the power of the army; and when this petition was presented, they appointed a committee to prepare an act, ordaining that all persons who presented such petitions for the future should be deemed guilty of high-treason. At the same time, a committee of the house adopted the resolution of bringing into parliament a number of Presbyterians, under the name of "Neutrals," which was in direct opposition to the wish of the officers, and of Cromwell. A meeting was held at Cromwell's lodgings, in Whitehall, of parliament-men and officers of the army, in which it was debated what expedient might be found for carrying on the government, and putting a period to the Rump. In the midst of this debate, news was brought from the house that the commons were carrying their obnoxious bill about "Neuters." All the members present ran down to the house; and Cromwell commanded some of the officers to fetch a party of soldiers to accompany him. He marched to the house with a file of musqueteers, and leaving them in the lobby, he went straight to his seat, where he sat some time in silence. At length, when the speaker was about to put the motion, he exclaimed to one near him: "Now is the time:

I must do it." He sat down, paused for a minute, and then removing his hat from his head, began a violent speech on the question before the house. He was reminded that his language was not parliamentary. "I know it," he exclaimed; and rushing from his seat, he walked up and down, reproaching the members personally. Pointing at Vane, he observed, "One person might have prevented all this; but he is a juggler, and hath not so much as common honesty. But the Lord has done with him, and chosen worthier instruments to carry on his work." Vane and others remonstrated. "I'll put an end to your prating," shouted Cromwell: "you are no parliament: I'll put an end to your sitting. Get you gone! Give place to honest men." Then stamping with his foot heavily upon the floor, the musqueteers rushed in and surrounded him. Cromwell now ordered Harrison, a fifth-monarchy-man, to fetch the speaker from his chair; and pointing to the mace, which lay upon the table, he exclaimed, "Take away that bauble!" Sir Harry Vane remonstrated with him on his conduct. "Sir Harry Vane," retorted Cromwell, "sir Harry Vane, the Lord deliver me from sir Harry Vane!" The house was soon cleared; and when they were all gone the doors were locked, and Cromwell walked back to Whitehall with the keys in his pocket. "When I went to the house," said he to the persons assembled there, "I did not think to have done this; but perceiving the Spirit of God strong upon me, I would no longer consult flesh and blood." It was rather the spirit of ambition that dictated his conduct.

Cromwell and his party now busied themselves in consultations about a new government and governors: it was, however, nearly three months before it was known what sort of persons Cromwell would select to hold under him the legislative power of the nation. At that time one hundred and thirty-nine persons for the counties of England, six each for Wales and Ireland, and five for Scotland, were summoned by writ, which was issued in his own name, to meet in the council-chamber at Whitehall, as the British parliament. There were many men of good family and of military distinction at this assembly; but, mixed with them, were persons of inferior rank, who were chosen for their dislike of the Presbyterians, and their influence over the common people. One of the most noted of the latter class was one Barebone, a dealer in leather, whose name was afterwards applied to the



whole parliament, though the more common appellation for this assemblage was "The Little Parliament." These members being seated round the council-table, Cromwell made a long and devout speech, in which he assured them that they had "a clear call to take upon them the supreme authority of the commonwealth." Francis Rouse was chosen speaker, and they resolved to call themselves "The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England."

It was stipulated by Cromwell that this parliament should not sit longer than the 3rd of November, 1654, and that three months before the dissolution they should make choice of their successors. But long before that period arrived the Little Parliament was broken up by the power that created it. Its members were found to be too just for Cromwell. They voted the abolition of the high court of chancery; they nominated commissioners to preside in the courts of justice; and they aimed a death-blow at tithes, without taking any care to provide for an equivalent. Other projects were entertained by them which alarmed Cromwell; and, five months after their first meeting, they were required to dissolve themselves, and surrender their trust into his hands. Some of the members were refractory; and colonel White was sent to clear the house of such as remained there. One Moyer was in the chair when the colonel arrived, and, being asked what they did there, he replied, gravely, that they were seeking the Lord. "Then," said the colonel, "may you go elsewhere; for to my certain knowledge the Lord has not been here these many years."

A council of officers was now held, in which it was resolved to have a commonwealth in a single person; and that that person should be the lord-general Cromwell, under the title and dignity of Lord-Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland. As lord-protector, Cromwell, on the 16th of December, proceeded from Whitehall to the Chancery-court, attended by all the principal officers in the kingdom, both civil and military. At this court a long document in parchment was read, containing the power with which he was to be invested, and the rules by which he was to govern the three nations. The document declared that the supreme legislative powers should be and reside in the lord-protector and the people assembled in parliament; that all writs, processes, commissions, patents, &c., should run in the lord-protector's name; that he should govern in all things by the

advice of his council, and according to the present instrument and laws; that the military and navy should, during the sitting of parliament, be in his and their hands, but, in the interval, in his and the council's only; that he and the council should have the power of making war and peace upon foreign princes; and that he should be declared lord-protector of the commonwealth for life. Cromwell signed the document, and promised not to violate or infringe the matters and things contained therein; and on the following day the lord-protector was proclaimed by sound of trumpet in the palace-yard, at Westminster, and the Royal-exchange, and other places in the city. Thus the government of England was converted into a republic with a chief magistrate at its head.

In the meantime the English fleet had "outrumped Van Tromp." On the 25th of May Van Tromp, the Neptune of the Dutch, again appeared in the Downs, having under his command a fleet of more than one hundred ships. On the 2nd of June Monk and Dean engaged him; and on the 3rd Blake came up and decided the action. The Dutch lost seventeen of their ships, and besides the slain, more than one thousand were made prisoners. Van Tromp, however, again got to sea on the 26th of July, with a fleet of one hundred and twenty sail. Monk now commanded in chief, and on the 31st the two fleets engaged with an excess of fury rarely equalled. In the midst of the battle Van Tromp was slain, and the hearts of his men then failed: consternation seized the whole fleet, and the seamen turned the prows of their ships towards Holland. Thirty Dutch ships were captured; and this battle put an end to the war.

The first acts of Cromwell on his exaltation to the lord-protectorship were those of a king. Early in 1654 he entered into alliances with France, Spain, and Portugal. He made several new appointments in the courts of law, among which was that of the great sir Matthew Hale, who was put on the bench of the Common Pleas. Thurloe, the friend of Milton, was also made secretary of state. Cromwell ruled absolutely; but at the same time both his life and authority were in danger. A man named Gerrard engaged with Charles II. to surprise and murder him; but his plot was discovered a few hours before the time fixed for its execution, and he and one of his accomplices suffered death. His authority was threatened by some of the republican officers of the army, who had prayed with him and fought with him; but a few

of the most distinguished of these men were imprisoned, and the rest submitted to his authority. In Scotland, the Highlanders, generally, defied Cromwell's power; but they were reduced to obedience by general Monk, who was re-appointed to the chief command in that country for the purpose of reducing them to submission.

Cromwell's first parliament met on the 3rd of September, on which occasion he addressed them from a chair of state, which was as like a throne as it might well be. In his speech he inveighed against the anarchic principles of the levellers, and the fantastic opinions of the fifth-monarchy-men; referred to the successful termination of the war with the Portuguese and the Dutch; and eulogized the measures of his government. The members elected their old speaker, Lenthall; and their very first proceeding was to call in question the recent instrument of government which had made Cromwell lord-protector. For eight days speeches were made against the power of government being in the hands of one man; but at the end of that time Cromwell called the members together, and gave them to understand that they had nothing to do with such a question. His calling was from God, and his testimony from the people; and God and the people alone should take it from him. He presented to them a test, declaring that they must all sign it before they went into the house any more. This test read thus:—"I do hereby promise and engage to be true and faithful to the lord-protector, and the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and not to propose or give my consent to alter the government as it is settled in one person and a parliament." Three out of four hundred signed this instrument; but still parliament was refractory: they did nothing. During the five months of their sitting they did not present a single bill to the protector, nor did they honour him with the slightest communication, or vote him a single sixpence for meeting the expenses of the government. Cromwell dissolved his parliament on the 22nd of January, on which occasion he bitterly reproached the members for their conduct. He regretted, he said, that they should have lost so good an opportunity of establishing a rational government, equally removed from the extremes of monarchy on the one hand, and of democracy on the other. "As I may not take notice," he continued, "of what you have been doing, so I think I have a great liberty to tell you that I do not know what you have

been doing; that I do not know whether you have been alive or dead. I have not once heard from you in all this time. I have not; and that you all know." In conclusion, he told the members, that while they had been discussing abstract principles of government, the royalist and levelling factions alike had been threatening to subvert all liberty, and all right religion.

Nor were these dangers now past. A few days after the dissolution of parliament a plot was discovered, wherein many of the king's party and some of the levelling party were engaged and acting in strange concert. The conspiracy was formed to bring in the king; and it so far took effect that several armed parties appeared in different counties: these were all defeated, and several of the ringleaders were taken and executed. Cromwell now rose to the height of his power. Spain and France both courted his friendship, and sought his alliance: these nations were at war with each other, and France was the successful suitor. Before signing a treaty, however, with the French government, Cromwell required its interference on behalf of the persecuted Waldenses, a Protestant people dwelling in the upper valleys of Piedmont. Mazarin, the French minister, obtained from the court of Savoy a solemn engagement to allow the Protestant mountaineers liberty of conscience; and then Cromwell finished his treaty with "his brother" of France. Recently he had sent a gallant fleet, under the command of Penn, to the West Indies, and Jamaica was captured. The king of Spain resented this attack on his territories, by laying an embargo on English ships; and at the same time Cromwell signed his treaty with the French monarch, he issued a declaration of war, in confederacy with him, against Spain.

Cromwell called his third parliament on the 17th of September, 1656. This assembly was more subservient to his will: money was voted and bills were passed as the lord-protector desired. On the 23rd of February, 1657, they proceeded still further to show their attachment to Cromwell: they voted him a humble address, urging him to assume a higher title; to put himself at the head of a government with two houses of parliament. Some republican and military members opposed this address; but it was carried by a large majority, and the paper was presented to Cromwell by the speaker and the house. Six or seven members were appointed to urge him to assume the title of king; but Crom-

well paused: he did not find it his duty to God and the country to accept the proffered title, and he desired time to reflect upon this part of the address. At the same time he gave his willing consent to that clause which recalled into existence the house of peers.

In the meantime the fifth-monarchy-men had resolved that there should be no king but Jesus, and no parliament but a sanhedrim of saints, which was to consist of themselves. This plot was detected, and many of the conspirators arrested, some of whom were sent to the Tower. The discovery of this plot interrupted the proceedings about the petition and advice, and the kingly title; but they were afterwards renewed. It appears that Cromwell became satisfied in his private judgment that he should take the title of king; but, as he feared a mutiny and defection of a great part of the army, he thought it better to refuse the honour: at the same time, he consented to be inaugurated as lord-protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, which ceremony was performed with pomp and circumstances little inferior to those which attend a coronation. Having received this honour, he prorogued the sitting of parliament to the next January.

Soon after Cromwell's inauguration he was afflicted by receiving the news of the death of the brave admiral Blake. "The last part he ever acted in a sea of blood," says a quaint old writer, "was against the Spaniards at Santa Cruz, where, with twenty-five sail, he fought with seven forts, a castle, and sixteen ships, many of them being of greater force than most of those ships Blake carried in against them: yet, in spite of opposition, he soon silenced the enemy, and brought his fleet back again to the coast of Spain full fraught with honour." His constitution, however, was now worn out by incessant action and disease; and he "who would never strike to any other enemy, struck his topmast to death." He died as he was entering Plymouth Sound, and was buried in Henry VII th's chapel.

Parliament met, according to their adjournment, on the 20th of January, 1658. By this time Cromwell had provided his peers who were to make up the other house: in all there were sixty peers. Some of these were noblemen, knights, and gentlemen of ancient family and good estates: the rest were for the most part colonels and officers of the army. They were summoned by the same form of writs which had for-

merly been used for calling the peers to parliament ; but of all the members of the old House of Lords, who had been named, only one answered to the summons. The session was opened according to the ancient and royal form, Cromwell addressing the members as " My lords and gentlemen." The step, however, which Cromwell took in creating the house of lords as an integral part of the constitution in the commonwealth proved to be hostile to his own interests. By this creation of peers he had left himself in a miserable minority in the house of commons, and had sown the seeds of discord between the two houses. The commons were arrayed against the lords, and the lords against the Commons ; and Cromwell, to put an end to their strifes, dissolved parliament, after it had sat only fourteen days.

The protector was never in so much danger as at this moment. The republicans and their friends were ready to take up arms : the army was murmuring for want of pay ; the royalists were combining for the restoration of Charles II. ; the levellers and fifth-monarchy-men were pledging their services to the royalists ; and colonel Silas Titus, by a famous tract, entitled " Killing no Murder," was inviting all patriots to assassination, proclaiming that the greatest benefit any Englishman could do his country would be to murder Cromwell. The protector, moreover, at this time was severely indisposed : his iron constitution was giving way under the effect of labour, anxiety, and grief. Yet, sick and dispirited as he was, he was able to control his enemies. He called a meeting of officers ; harangued the city and common-council ; beheaded Dr. Hewit and sir Henry Slingsby ; threw other plotters into prison, and hanged three that were taken with arms in Cheapside. His wars abroad, also, were prosecuted with success. His troops last year had joined the French army under Turenne, and had taken Mardick, in Spanish Flanders ; and this year they gained a great victory over the Spaniards commanded by Don Juan and the duke of York, and had assisted in the capture of Dunkirk, which, according to the treaty, was delivered to Cromwell and well garrisoned with Englishmen by Lockhart, his general in the Low Countries.

The victories of the combined forces of the English and French drew the two countries into closer alliance than ever. Messengers arrived in London to pay their respects to the protector, and returned highly satisfied with their reception

They had scarcely departed, however, when a less welcome messenger arrived at the court of Cromwell—"Death itself, who came to require of him what was his due by nature." The first symptoms of his last illness appeared upon the death of his daughter, lady Claypole, whom he tenderly loved, and whose end is thought to have hastened his dissolution. His distemper was a tertian ague, which for a week threatened no danger. In the interval of the fits he was able to walk abroad; but his malady gained rapidly upon him, and, during the night of the 2nd of December, less than a month after the death of his daughter, he was assured that his end was approaching. In the course of that night he declared, in the presence of four or five of the council, that "my lord Richard," his son, should be his successor. On the following morning he was speechless; and in the course of that day, which he accounted his happiest day, being the anniversary of his victories at Worcester and Dunbar, he died. He was then in the 60th year of his age.

Richard Cromwell was proclaimed protector first in London and Westminster, and then in all the chief cities and towns in England, and at Dunkirk, and in all other possessions abroad. Addresses poured in to him declaring great satisfaction in his succession. The neighbouring princes, also, sent ministers to condole with him on the death of his father, and to congratulate him on his peaceable assumption of authority. Moreover the army serving in Flanders, the officers of the navy, and general Monk and his officers in Scotland, all acknowledged his power, and pledged themselves to stand by him. Not a dog, says Thurloe, wagged his tongue against him. But Richard Cromwell was no soldier, and was destitute of high commanding powers of any kind. Having lived a retired life, he was almost a stranger to that soldiery over whom his father had held unbounded influence. The payment of the troops, likewise, was somewhat in arrears; and Richard found the coffers of the state empty, so that he could not satisfy their demands: the military, therefore, soon displayed symptoms of discontent. He nominated his brother-in-law, Fleetwood, to the command of the army; but that general was not satisfied with this dignity: he secretly encouraged a petition which was drawn up and presented to Richard, requiring him to give up his control over the army, which was refused. Causes of discontent multiplied. On the advice of Thurloe, the protector

called a parliament on the 27th of January, 1659. Both houses met on that day, and the commons proceeded immediately to debate and question the bill of recognition of his highness to be lord-protector; and to take into consideration the constitution of parliament in two houses, and the inexpediency and peril of allowing "the other house." The act of recognition was passed, and the question whether the house of commons should transact business with the persons sitting in the other house as with a house of parliament, was carried in the affirmative; but at the same time it was denied any claims of peerage or any negative voice. A fierce attack was then made upon the late administration; but the army put an end to these proceedings by joining with the republican section to overthrow the present parliament. The army was now divided into three factions, the weakest of which adhered to Richard, and the strongest was controlled by Lambert: it was the latter section of the army which supported the republicans. A general council of its officers voted that the command of the army should be put into better hands, and that every officer should declare his approval of the conduct of the army and the proceedings against the late Charles Stuart, or resign his commission. Parliament declared that the meeting of officers was illegal, and on this the Lambertians, or the Wallingford-house party, drew up a representation to Richard, which set forth their want of pay, the insolence of their enemies, and their designs to ruin the army and the good old cause. This was the beginning of Richard's fall. The quarrel continued, and, to please the army, Richard was compelled to dissolve the parliament. Fleetwood, Lambert, and the general council of officers, now restored the Rump: a declaration was published, inviting the members of the Long Parliament, who had continued sitting till Oliver Cromwell's ejection of them, 1653, to return to the exercise and discharge of their trust. This invitation was accepted: the Rump assembled, under the protection of the army, and passed a declaration touching their purpose to secure the property and liberty of the people, without any single person, protectorship, kingship, or house of peers. Richard Cromwell now prudently retired from public life: he signed his abdication of office at Hampton-Court. But the Rump and the army did not long act in concert: quarrels arose between the two parties, and in the end the Rump was dissolved by the power which had



again called it into existence. Lambert and a body of troops stationed themselves in the streets leading to Westminster-hall, and as the members proceeded to the house they were intercepted and sent home. The council of officers now sent one of their body to Monk, in Scotland, and another to Ludlow, in Ireland, to desire their concurrence in their measures: nominated a committee of safety; appointed Lambert major-general of the forces in England and Scotland; and then kept a day of humiliation in Whitehall-chapel.

While this contest was going on with the army and the parliament, numerous plots and riots were raised by the royalists. Several conflicts took place between the royalist forces and the parliamentarians, the latter of whom were uniformly victorious. At length, however, the affairs of royalty assumed a more favourable aspect. This was chiefly brought about by general Monk, one of Cromwell's most able generals. Monk, who was courted and feared by both parties, began to play his own game. He had been a royalist before he became a parliamentarian, and now he resolved to become a royalist again. Sixteen days after the suppression of the Rump, the officers of the army received a letter from him, expressive of his dissatisfaction at their late proceedings. At the same time intelligence arrived that he had secured Berwick for himself, and was on his route towards London. Lambert was instantly appointed to command in the north; and messengers were sent to persuade Monk to retire. In the meanwhile, Monk sent to assure the leaders of the Rump that his sole object was to relieve parliament from military oppression: he was still, he said, a friend to liberty and the commonwealth. But if the Rump believed him, the council of officers did not: they felt that his design was to restore Charles. Great commotions followed; in the midst of which Monk was intent upon maturing his plans. He and certain of the army demanded a parliament, which assembled on the 26th of December. And now sudden and rapid changes took place. The first measures of this parliament were to dismiss the Lambertian officers from their commands, and to make Monk commander-in-chief of all the forces in England, Scotland, and Wales. This was effected by the Presbyterian party, whose influence in this parliament was predominant. Soon after this, Monk entered London in state, and the "godly and right-minded soldiers" he brought with him from Scotland occupied the city and its environs. His

intentions were soon made known. "It pleased him," says Whitelocke, "that the secluded members of the Long Parliament should sit again, and neither Haslerig, Scot, nor any of that party could prevail with him to the contrary." The secluded members took their seats in the house on the 21st of February, and the members of the Rump then gave up the field to the Presbyterians without a struggle. This majority now voted that Monk should be commander-in-chief of all the forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland; that all proceedings in parliament since their seclusion should be null and void; that Presbyterianism should be the sole religion; and that the league and covenant should be posted up in all churches, without any amendment or alteration. They then passed an act for dissolving the parliament; writs were issued for a new one; and when this new parliament met negotiations were set on foot for the restoration of Charles II. Lords and commons vied with each other in loyalty; and the people united with them in restoring the monarch to his throne. All seemed to think that neither peace nor protection were to be obtained till the ancient constitution was re-established. Charles heartily responded to Monk's invitation, and bells and bonfires proclaimed the joy of the nation, when it was known that "the king, the glory of England, was coming home again." Charles was solemnly proclaimed at Westminster-hall gate, on the 8th of May; the lords and commons standing bareheaded by the heralds when the proclamation was made.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

THE RELIGION, GOVERNMENT, LITERATURE, ARTS, COMMERCE, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, ETC. OF THIS PERIOD.

THE pacific reign of James I. was a series of theological disputes, in which he showed himself more the theologian than the monarch. The disputes between the church and the Puritans induced him to call a conference at Hampton-Court, on pretence of finding expedients which might reconcile both parties. But James had no such end in view as reconciling differences. He sided from the first with the church. On

the first day of the conference, he declared that he saw as yet no cause so much to alter and change anything, as to confirm that which he found well settled already. Personal vanity was the ruling motive for his calling this conference: he thanked God, he said, "for bringing him into the promised land, where religion was purely professed; where he sat among grave, learned, and reverend men; not as before elsewhere, a king without state, without honour, without order, where beardless boys would brave him to the face." He had called the assembly, he continued, with no purpose of either making or permitting any innovation in the constitution of the church, but simply to examine and endeavour to cure any corruptions that might have grown up therein. The Puritans, therefore, had no reason to expect any favour at the hands of king James: their case was prejudged. They began the conference by demanding, among other things, that the Book of Common Prayer should be revised; that the cap and surplice, the sign of the cross in baptism, baptism by women, confirmation, the use of the ring in marriage, the reading the Apocrypha, the bowing at the name of Jesus, should all be set aside; that non-residence and pluralities should not be suffered; and that unnecessary excommunications, and the obligation of subscribing to the Thirty-nine Articles should cease. The bishops made their chief stand upon the ceremonies, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Articles. Some of them argued at great length; and then, without hearing the replies of the Puritans, James himself took up the argument, and combated for the Anglican orthodoxy, in a mixed strain of pedantry, solemnity, levity, and buffoonery. One or two specimens of his oratory will suffice; for as he loved speaking, and was in his element whilst disputing, it would be endless to relate all that he said. Dr. Reynolds having stated his objections to the Apocrypha, and particularly the Book of Ecclesiasticus, the king called for a Bible, expounded a chapter in Ecclesiasticus in his own way, and then, turning to the applauding lords, remarked, "What trow ye make these men so angry with Ecclesiasticus? by my soul I think he was a bishop, or they would never use him so." The bishops smiled; the courtiers grinned; and the Puritans were abashed. In answer to a question started by the Puritans, how far an ordinance of the church could bind without impeaching Christian liberty, he said, "he would not argue that point, but answer therein as

kings were wont to do in parliament, *le roy s'avisera.*" He then told a story about a Scottish preacher, who had told him that matters of ceremony in the church ought to be left in Christian liberty to every man. "But," he added, "I will have none of that: I will have one doctrine, and one discipline,—one religion in substance and in ceremony." He soon, however, let out that worldly motives dictated this preference of episcopacy to presbytery. "If," said he, "you aim at a Scottish presbytery, it agreeth with monarchy as God with Satan. Then Jack, and Tom, and Will, and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasure censure me and my council, and all our proceedings. Will shall stand up and say, 'It must be thus:' Dick shall reply and say, 'Nay, marry, but we will have it thus;' and therefore here I must once more reiterate my former speech, and say, *le roy s'avisera.*" The last demand of the Puritans was, that all the clergy of each diocese should meet in an episcopal synod, where the bishop presiding, they should determine all such matters as could not be decided in subordinate assemblies. This amounted at most only to a demand for such a combination of presbytery and episcopacy as had been already established in Scotland. "Stay," said James, in reply to this demand, "stay, I pray you, for one seven years, before you demand that of me; and then, if you find me pursy and fat, and my windpipe stuffed, I will perhaps hearken to you: for let that government be once up, I am sure I shall be kept in breath: then shall we all of us have work enough; both our hands full. But, Dr. Reynolds, till you find that I grow lazy, let that alone." This conference left no doubt that James possessed a thorough aversion to puritanism, and that he was wholly inclined to episcopacy. In all his proclamations, in his speeches in parliament, and in the whole course of his government, he avowed his determination to enforce a conformity as strict as that maintained by Elizabeth. In 1617 he even attempted to establish episcopacy in Scotland; but the zeal of the people in that country baffled his design. His son and successor, Charles, followed in his steps. At one time, when the commons proceeded to carry their scrutiny into his management of religion, he abruptly dissolved the parliament. On this occasion, the commons behaved with great boldness. As soon as they had the first intimation of the king's design from the speaker, who immediately left the chair, they pushed him back into it, and two members held him there, until they had

voted a remonstrance, in which all who should seek to introduce Popery or Arminianism were declared enemies to the commonwealth. At this time, many Arminians—men who asserted the freedom of the human will, etc.—had obtained the highest preferments in the church. Laud, Montague, and other bishops, the chief supporters of episcopal government, were all supposed to be tainted with Arminianism. In return for favours shown them by the court, these men and their followers became the strenuous preachers of passive obedience, and an unconditional submission to princes. Charles had even higher notions of episcopacy than his father. His religion had a strong tincture of superstition in it, and he required a rigid conformity to the ancient ceremonies. In this he was aided by Laud, whom he raised to the see of Canterbury, and invested with uncontrolled authority over the consciences of the people. The religion which Laud wanted to establish differed very little from that of the church of Rome, whence he was considered by the Puritans, as the forerunner of antichrist. Nor were the Puritans singular in this opinion. A court lady, having turned Catholic, was asked by Laud her reason for changing her religion. "Chiefly," she replied, "because I hate to travel in a crowd." The meaning of these words being demanded, she said, "I perceive your grace and many others are making haste to Rome; and therefore, in order to prevent my being jostled, I have gone before you." Laud's chief objection to popery, indeed, seems to have been the supremacy of the see of Rome, to which he had no desire to subject his metropolitan power. Laud's ambition and bigotry brought him to the block; and the high notions which Charles entertained of the royal prerogative, together with the rigid conformity he required of his subjects, involved him in the same hard fate. The Puritans now held rule in matters of religion. When Cromwell assumed the reins of government, he granted an unbounded liberty of conscience to all but Catholics and Episcopalians. Against the latter there was a kind of crusade: on every hand the clergy were turned out of their livings; and even those who were desirous of living peaceably, without joining either side, suffered in common with the rest of their brethren. Their estates and livings were sequestered; their houses and goods plundered by the rapacious soldiery; and they were driven into exile, or reduced to live upon the fifths, or a small pension allowed them by parliament. The very edifices

in which they had preached did not escape the fury of the mistaken zeal by which the Puritans were now possessed. Cathedral worship was everywhere put down; and many of those noble buildings were lamentably defaced and injured. An ordinance, passed in the summer of 1643, directed that all altars and tables of stone, etc., in churches, should be taken away and abolished; and this ordinance was fulfilled to the very letter. In the fury of their zeal against monuments of superstition, parliament even passed a resolution for the destruction of all crosses throughout the kingdom; and St. Paul's cross, from which Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer had addressed their forefathers in the days of the Reformation, and from which the Puritans themselves had proclaimed the tidings of salvation, was among the first that were levelled to the ground. In the language of the Psalmist: "A man was famous according as he had lifted up axes upon the thick trees. But now they brake down the carved work thereof with axes and hammers." The national form of worship was also altered. A new ecclesiastical polity was made the work of an assembly of divines, which met at Westminster; but the new system never made more than a very limited and imperfect establishment. The people became divided in matters of faith. "Sectarians," as they were called, sprung up on every hand, among which may be mentioned Baptists, Quakers, and the Fifth-monarchy-men, as the most important.

*Government.*—Under the reign of the Stuarts, the nation began to recover from its long lethargy. By king James it was asserted, that the authority of monarchs was not to be controlled any more than that of God himself. The high prerogatives announced from the throne, and resounded from the pulpit, spread universal alarm among the people. They were not to be easily persuaded that their kings should rule according to their own unrestrained will: the art of printing had extended knowledge among them, and they had begun to discover that "knowledge is power." Throughout the whole of this reign a spirit of opposition displayed itself; but the storm which was gathering under James, reserved its fury for his son and successor, Charles. The general notions of religion, by a singular coincidence, uniting with the love of liberty, the same spirit which had made an attack on the established faith, now directed itself to politics: Charles had to cope with a whole nation put in motion, and directed by

an assembly of statesmen. Charles pushed the supremacy of kings to its highest pitch: the nation warred against his notions. Compulsory loans and taxes, disguised under the name of *benevolences*, were declared to be contrary to law; arbitrary imprisonments and the exercise of martial law were abolished; and the court of high-commission and the star-chamber were suppressed. The constitution was freed from the apparatus of despotic powers with which it had been long obscured, and restored to its ancient lustre. But Charles could not brook the restraints put upon the sovereign authority. His discourse and conduct betrayed his secret designs; the nation took the alarm; a tempest blew around him from every point of the compass; the constitution was rent asunder: Charles fell by the hands of his own subjects. After his execution, the terrors of tyranny, anarchy, and civil war extended over the United Kingdom. The royal authority being annihilated, several attempts were made to substitute a republican government in its stead; but these attempts were fruitless. Cromwell became protector, and, in effect, king: a king with more unbounded power than the legitimate sovereigns of England had ever possessed. He ruled by his soldiers; and when death overtook him, there was no one, possessing sufficient abilities, to take his place. But, by this time the nation had learned wisdom: tired of the revolutionary condition of the country, the majority of the people desired the restoration of royalty; and Charles II. was invited to take possession of his kingdom. So monarchy was restored.

*Literature.*—The reign of James I. was distinguished by many eminent authors, who wrote both verse and prose. The literature of that period, however, is strongly marked with bad taste. The pun was common in the pulpit; the quibble was propagated from the throne; and the quaint idea was expressed in poetry. The great glory of literature during this reign was lord Bacon: other men, eminent in literature, were his contemporaries, but he outshone them all. As a public speaker, a man of business, a wit, a courtier, a companion, an author, and a philosopher, he is entitled to the admiration of posterity. In the turbulent reign of Charles, also, many men of great abilities made their appearance. In that reign the force and compass of the English language were first fully tried in the public papers of the king and parliament; and in the bold and eloquent speeches of the

two parties. In that period vigorous genius displayed itself in political and theological controversy; a genius which subsequently produced the great epic poem of *Paradise Lost*. Cromwell, though illiterate, gave some encouragement to learned men. Usher and others were pensioned by him; and Milton, Waller, and Marvel were retained in his service. But the fanaticism of the parliamentarians was as destructive to taste and science, as it was to law and order. In the days of Cromwell human learning was generally despised: newspapers and pamphlets were the chief productions of the day; and these all related to passing events, and the great political and religious questions which then agitated the public mind. The age of James and Charles was one of learning; that of Cromwell the age of fanaticism and the sword. Both those monarchs not only favoured literary men, but aspired to the dignity of authorship themselves: Cromwell was a man who handled his sword better than his pen.

*The Arts.*—Considerable improvement was made in agriculture during this period. Numerous books and pamphlets on the art of husbandry were written about this time. The nation, however, still continued in a great degree dependent on foreigners for their daily bread. There was a regular importation of corn from the Baltic and from France; and if these supplies were ever stopped the consequences were soon felt by the people. It is said that two millions sterling were sent out at one time for corn: but the exportation of corn soon became an important branch of British commerce. Exportation had not been allowed till the reign of Elizabeth, and from that time agriculture received new life and vigour.

In the reign of James I. the line is distinctly drawn between the ancient and modern styles of architecture in England. Classical architecture then broke upon us with a sudden brilliancy, outshining for a time that of any contemporary school of Europe. For this pre-eminence England is indebted to Inigo Jones, who was born in London in 1572, and who studied the works of the great masters of Italy. There are few of the mansions of the nobility erected in the reigns of James and Charles in which Inigo, or his scholar Webb, were not engaged. But his chief specimens of architecture were those designed for royalty: in the reign of Charles he was master of the king's buildings. His masterpiece was the old palace of Whitehall, which, if it had been carried into full effect, would have been the sublimest production of modern archi-



ecture. In 1633 he undertook the restoration of St. Paul's Cathedral; but little was done till Laud became bishop of London, when this great work was completed. The classical portico which he attached to this cathedral, it is said, was scarcely surpassed by any of the celebrated porticos of Rome, and was not equalled by any in modern Europe. His style is called the Palladian; and none of his successors in that school of architecture equalled him in taste or design.

Sculpture in this period did not keep pace with architecture: few works of sculpture, indeed, were executed during this period in England, except monuments, and few of these rise above mediocrity. The sculptor most in vogue was Nicholas Stone, who executed a great number of monuments; but his works are by no means above the general level of this period as works of art. In the reign of Charles several foreign sculptors of reputation shared the patronage which he so freely dispensed to the professors of this art. Bernini, who at this time enjoyed the greatest reputation as a sculptor of any artist in Europe, was employed to make a bust of that monarch. For this purpose Vandyke painted the well-known picture of Charles, in which he is represented in three views. It is related that Bernini, on receiving the picture, was struck with the physiognomy of Charles, and pronounced it to be that of a man who was doomed to misfortune. The bust was executed; but it was not known what became of it: those who destroyed the original may have destroyed the resemblance.

The character of Charles I. displays itself in nothing more highly or purely than in the encouragement he gave to the fine arts. He saw the arts in an enlarged point of view. The amusements of his court were a model of elegance, and his cabinets were the receptacles of only what was excellent in painting and sculpture: none but men of the first merit received encouragement from him: Inigo Jones was his architect—Vandyke his painter. Charles loved paintings, and those of foreign masters were bought up at a vast price. The value of pictures was doubled in Europe by his rivalry with Philip IV. of Spain, who was touched by the same elegant passion. Under his patronage many foreign painters came to England, where they produced some of their most valuable productions: among these, besides Vandyke, his chief painters were Vansomer, Jansen, Honthorst, Rubens, and Mytens. In the eleventh year of his reign Charles

planned an academy of arts on a very extended scale; but a storm was then gathering round him which overthrew all his projects. It may be mentioned, that in his reign engraving as an art began to be first ardently studied; an art in which England has confessedly borne away the honours from all Europe. The first engraver of note who wrought in England was Wineslaus Hollar, a native of Prague. Crispin Pass, of Utrecht, also settled in this country, and executed numerous plates of considerable merit. The period of the commonwealth was unfavourable to the arts in general; but it is remarkable that it was illustrated by the most exquisite coinage of modern times. This was the work of Thomas Simon, an Englishman, who became engraver to the mint. Simon executed the parliament seal.

Music was in its infancy in the beginning of the sixteenth century; but, at its close, it may be said almost to have arrived at maturity. Many composers of considerable note were then living, the most successful of whom was John Wilbye, who published two volumes of madrigals. James I. was a great patron of musicians: Orlando Gibbons, Ford, Ward, and Weelkes, all musical composers of note, are among the ornaments of his reign. In 1622, a music lecture, or professorship, was established at Oxford, by William Heysher, a gentleman of the chapel-royal. All the children of king James were instructed in music; and Charles, his successor, was an able performer on the *viol de gamba*. Like his father, Charles patronized musicians; but he gave a fatal check to English professors by appointing an Italian to the then very lucrative office of "master of our music," although there were several of his own country, as Dr. Child and Henry Lawes, better qualified for that office. During the commonwealth the art of music was almost banished from Great Britain. Organs were denounced by the Puritans; but it is a singular fact that the great organ taken by force from Magdalen-college, Oxford, was placed by Cromwell's orders in the great gallery at Hampton-court; and that one of his favourite amusements was to be entertained with this instrument at leisure hours. Weekly music-parties were also still held at Oxford, and denounced organs were preserved in private houses; but these were exceptions to the general rule. Music must be considered as having lain dormant in England from the death of Charles I. to the accession of Charles II.

*Commerce.*—English commerce was in a very languishing state during the reign of James I.: the burdensome amount of customs was even augmented rather than alleviated. At the same time one or two new trading companies were incorporated in that age; and the colonization of different parts of America, which was carried on by the enterprise of private individuals, laid an ample foundation of commercial greatness for a future age. The East-India Company received a new patent from James; and he granted new charters to the Company of Merchant Adventurers; and likewise a perpetual charter to a new company, called “The Merchants of England trading to the Levant Seas,” which is now known by the name of the Levant or Turkey Company: a charter was also obtained from him by the Russian Company, for carrying on the northern fisheries. Besides whales, the frequenters of the Greenland coasts now killed moroses or sea-horses, whose teeth were esteemed at that period more valuable than ivory. The great staple of the trade of the kingdom still continued to be that in wool and woollen cloths; but before the close of the reign of king James, the Dutch had begun successfully to compete with the English manufacturer of the finer kinds of woollen cloth. Early in the reign of James two companies were chartered for the purpose of peopling the continent of America: the first of these was called The London Adventurers, or South Virginia Company; and the other The Company of Plymouth Adventurers. Many settlers were sent out under the auspices of these two companies. Those who settled in Virginia turned their attention to the cultivation of the tobacco-plant, which appears to have given great offence to James. He had written a work entitled “A Counterblast to Tobacco;” in which he assailed the use of that herb with every form of pedantic invective. He had also issued royal proclamations denouncing tobacco; and when he found that the Virginian colonists began to cultivate that herb, he not only complained, but commanded, that the production of it should not exceed the rate of a hundred weight for each individual planter. The march of colonization and commerce was considerably accelerated from the accession of Charles to the breaking out of the war between him and parliament. The comparative activity and prosperity of the national industry is indicated by the various improvements introduced in the modes of travelling. Hackney-coaches made their appearance in London in the year

1625; but they were then only twenty in number: ten years later, however, they were so numerous that Charles published a proclamation, in which he declared that they were a great disturbance "to his majesty, his dearest consort the queen, and others of place and degree, in their passage through the streets;" and commanded that none should be used or suffered in London, Westminster, or the suburbs thereof, except they were travelling three miles out of the same. About the same time sedan-chairs were brought into use by sir Sanders Duncombe. These noiseless vehicles were greatly commended by Charles; and he granted sir Sanders the sole privilege of letting them to hire for fourteen years. But that which more clearly indicated the progress of the national industry was the establishment of a regular, though limited system of internal posts. James had established a post-office for the conveyance of letters to and from foreign parts; but the origin of the home post-office dated only from the year 1635. Posts were ordered to be established at Edinburgh, Lincoln, Hull, Chester, Holyhead, Exeter, Plymouth, and other towns; but there were still many important places left without them. The continued growth of London affords another proof of the advancing condition of the trade of the country. Repeated proclamations were made both by James and Charles, with the view of checking the further increase of the capital. At one time Charles forbade the erecting of any houses within three miles of any of the gates of London, or of the palace at Westminster; at another, he commanded all mere visitors to the capital to return to their homes in the country. But notwithstanding these and other proclamations, London still increased in size and strength: the accession of James, says an old writer, "conduced not a little to unite the two cities of London and Westminster, which were once above a mile asunder; for the Scots, greatly multiplying here, nestled themselves about the court, so that the Strand, from the mud walls and thatched cottages, acquired that perfection of buildings it now possesses." The trade and industry of the country suffered considerable depression during the war between Charles and his parliament; but after the re-establishment of tranquillity great pains were taken by Cromwell to bring about their revival. Considerable success attended his efforts: England, indeed, acquired more respect from foreign powers than she had been treated with since the days of Elizabeth, and this had a beneficial effect on her manufactures.

*Manners and Customs, etc.*—The furniture of the palaces and mansions of princes and nobles in this period acquired a degree of splendour and comfort scarcely surpassed by that of the present day. Many of the houses of our nobility in the country, indeed, contains at the present day rooms which have remained in the same state as they were then fitted up and furnished. Paper and leather hangings were at this time invented, and the walls of the wealthier classes were enriched with magnificent paintings of Rubens, Vandyke, Teniers, Rembrandt, and others, including the chief works of the earlier great masters of Italy. In the time of Elizabeth, ornaments of China-ware had been brought from Italy; but in 1631 they became regular articles of importation. Turkey and Persian carpets were used in covering the tables even of the middling classes of society; but floors were still matted, or strewed with rushes, excepting those of throne or bed-rooms, where carpets were laid down in front of the throne, or by the side of the bed. The ceilings of state apartments were adorned with historical and allegorical paintings.

For some time after the accession of James, the general costume resembled that of the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth. Towards the middle of James's reign, however, it underwent a great change. When that monarch visited Cambridge, in 1615, the vice-chancellor of the university of Cambridge issued an order, prohibiting "the fearful enormity and excess of apparel seen in all degrees; namely, strange peccadilloes, vast bands, huge cuffs, shoe-roses, tufts, locks and tops of hair." Silk and thread stockings were generally worn by the gentry and the noblest gallants when they "consecrated their hours to their mistresses and to revelling, wore feathers chiefly in their hats, being of the fairest ensigns of their bravery." Specimens of the dress of females may be seen in the portraits of Anne of Denmark, and the other ladies of that reign. The enormous fardingale was worn throughout this reign by the higher classes. The dresses of the ladies consisted of cloths-of-gold, brocaded silks, velvets, satins, tissues, etc.: even grogram gowns were lined throughout with velvet. At the commencement of the reign of Charles I. the later fashions of his father's time were still continued. Ben Jonson, in 1629, in one of his comedies, makes a beau declare:—

"I would put on,  
The Savoy chain, about my neck,  
The cuffs of Flanders; then the Naples hat,  
With the Rome hatband, and the Florentine agate,  
The Milan sword, the cloak of Geneva, set  
With Brabant buttons; all my given pieces—  
My gloves the natives of Madrid."

The fashions again underwent great alterations; but the costume of Charles I. has been familiarized to every one by the numerous prints of that unfortunate monarch, and the most distinguished personages of his reign, so that a description is not necessary. The same may be said of the costume of the Cromwellites; but it may be mentioned, that the latter had their hair cropped, whence the title of "Roundheads;" and that they eschewed silks and satins, wearing cloths and coarser stuffs of black and sober colours. Similar distinctions also arose at the same period between the females of the opposite parties. Masks were much worn at this period by ladies, and mufflers by women of humbler condition.

In the earlier part of the reign of king James, there were a few tournaments held; but the character and tastes of that monarch soon led him to banish these mere shadows of chivalric ages. The lance and the battle-axe were exchanged for the rapier and the dagger; and the duello, or modern duel, became the customary mode of deciding "affairs of honour." In these encounters it sometimes happened that the parties, before using these deadly weapons, belaboured each other with stout cudgels; and, in the regular duel, it was not unusual for unfair advantages of various kinds to be taken by one or both of the parties, in order to ensure the victory. Before they encountered, combatants sometimes searched each other's clothes, and occasionally, for better assurance, stripped and fought in their shirts. In his favourite character of peacemaker, James found ample employment in composing the quarrels, or preventing the duels, of his nobles and courtiers. Before the end of this period, duelling was set aside by the circumstances of the times. When the civil war broke out, there was fighting enough of a more serious sort, to satisfy the most bloodthirsty; and when peace was restored the practice of duelling was not tolerated by the government of the commonwealth.

The chief amusements of the court of king James were masques and pageants, which were chiefly the production of

Ben Jonson. Many of these were rational, but others exhibited great pedantry and frivolity, and some savoured of blasphemy. On one occasion, during the visit of Christian IV., king of Denmark, there was a mock representation of "Solomon, his temple, and the coming of the queen of Sheba," made by the device of the earl of Salisbury and others. In the succeeding reign, however, royal masques and pageants were fair transcripts from the world of reality. The magnitude of this change is seen in an exhibition which was presented at Whitehall, in 1633. It consisted of a masque and an anti-masque. The masque was composed after the fashion of a Roman triumph; the figures, consisting of the comeliest men in England, dressed in the most splendid costumes, etc.: the anti-masque was formed of cripples, beggars, and other squalid figures, mounted upon miserable horses, and moving along to the music of keys, tongs, and bones. The exhibition was designed to express the devotedness of the inns of court, by whom it was presented, to Charles I. and his measures; and their abhorrence of Puritanism. In the anti-masque, however, a sly opportunity was taken of ridiculing the subject of patents, one of the chief political abuses of the day. Thus one man appeared with a bunch of carrots on his head, and a capon in his hand: he wanted a patent of monopoly, as the inventor of the art of feeding capons with carrots, and to have the sole privilege of feeding them for fourteen years, according to the statute!

The era of feudal authority and magnificence had now departed; but something of the mere pomp of feudalism was still maintained in the domestic establishments of the wealthy. It was not uncommon for noblemen to have from one to two hundred servants about him; and occasionally companies of actors were classed among them, as well as bands of musicians. These cumbrous appendages, however, daily lessened: the gallant and the courtier generally contented himself with a single page, who walked behind him, carrying his cloak and rapier. But this retrenchment in household expenditure was more than counterbalanced by an extravagance in dress and personal ornament. Both James and Charles set the example, and their subjects were swift to follow it. All classes vied with each other in the splendour of their apparel; prodigality in feasting and riotous living were also characteristics of this period. The spirit of gambling, likewise, kept pace with these excesses; dice conducted, in many in-

stances, to complete the ruin of estates, which the prodigality of a court life had impaired. Court fortunes daily became more necessary; and crowds of needy aspirants constantly assembled round the throne. The profligacy of the court was notorious. Foreigners who visited England at this time were astonished at the gross manners of both sexes in the higher classes: they relate, that although the English taverns were dens of filth, tobacco-smoke, roaring songs, and roysters, yet women of quality allowed themselves to be entertained in such places. In the time of the commonwealth, however, the manners of the people underwent a great change. "Bankrupt and shattered fortunes" were then mended by industry and frugality: the people in general, and the citizens in particular, paid attention to the augmentation of their capitals.

Superstition was one of the leading characteristics of this age. King James himself was a firm believer in witchcraft. He had a personal quarrel against all witches. During his matrimonial voyage to Denmark, they had baptized a cat, by which they had raised a storm that almost wrecked his ship! When he became king of England, he was as proud of the title of *Malleus Maleficarum*, as of Defender of the Faith. He wrote, reasoned, and declaimed upon witchcraft; and he waged war against old women with great fury during his whole reign. Witchfinders—men who could detect the crime, although Satan himself tried to hide it—were employed by him on every hand. They could discover an old woman's familiar spirit, not only by witch-marks and imp-teats upon the person, but by the cat that slumbered by the fire, the mouse that rustled in the wall, and the bird that chirped at the threshold. The grand test, however, was that of Hopkins, the prince of witchfinders: the suspected person was bound hand and foot, and thrown into the water: if she sunk, there was an end of her; if she swam, she only escaped the water to be put to death by fire. This miscreant paraded from county to county, like a lord-chief-justice, rooting witches out of the land. But at length the murderer met with his reward, according to the strictest poetical justice: he was found guilty by his own ordeal, and subjected to the same doom as his victims. This degrading superstition extended to the period of the commonwealth. The persecution even became more rampant under the Long Parliament: between three and four thousand persons are said to have been executed for witchcraft between the year 1640 and the Restoration.



Town thieves and robbers had abounded in the latter part of the sixteenth century. Elizabeth herself, on one occasion, while taking an airing in her coach near Islington, was attacked by a whole regiment of "rogues and masterless men," and was obliged to dispatch a footman to the mayor and recorder for assistance. During the reigns of James and Charles these marauders increased in numbers, and infested both town and country. Travelling was dangerous: the country was scoured by bands of armed men; and it was unsafe for all "true men" to travel, except in numbers, and well furnished with arms. Salisbury-plain and Gadshill, in Kent, were noted places of danger. Highwaymen were further increased by the civil wars, and the discomfiture of the royal cause. The impoverished followers of the fallen king endeavoured to retrieve upon the road what they had lost in the field; and many a cavalier who had distinguished himself at Marston-moor or Naseby, was hanged at Tyburn. They justified their practice by saying, that they only took what was their own; and especially if the persons whom they had robbed happened to be Puritans. But it must be mentioned, to the honour of the English thieves at this period, that they never inflicted wounds or death, except in cases of desperate resistance.

Among the amusements of this age may be mentioned hawking, billiards, and tennis. Another old game was that of the balloon—a large ball of leather, inflated with air by a vent, and then bandied by the players with the hand. Bear-baiting and cock-fighting were also still among the amusements of the English; and horse-races had now increased in splendour and importance. The games and recreations of the citizens of London consisted chiefly in cock-fighting, bowling, tables, cards, dice, billiards, musical entertainments, dancing, etc.; and of the London populace, football, wrestling, cricket, cudgelling, nine-pins, shovel-board, quoits, ringing of bells, pitching the bar, bull and bear-baiting, and throwing at cocks. The common amusements of the English peasantry were dancing, leaping, vaulting, archery, May-games, maypoles, Whitsun-ales, morris-dances, and the decoration of churches with rushes and branches. All these pastimes were declared lawful on Sunday; and were even enjoined upon all church-going people after divine service. The holy sabbath was closed by "mummary and buffoon."

## CHAPTER XVII.

FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE REVOLUTION.

## CHARLES II.

A.D. 1660. Charles II. landed near Dover, on the 25th of May, 1660; and on the 29th he made his solemn entry into London. He was hailed by his subjects as "great king," "dread sovereign," "a native king," "a son of the wise," "a son of the ancient kings;" and it was predicted that he would be an example to all kings of piety, justice, prudence, and power—that he would be the greatest king that ever bore the name of Charles. The lords, the commons, and the people, together with the foreign ambassadors who had complimented Oliver and Richard Cromwell, made great testimony of joy for his happy restoration.

The first act of Charles was to invest Monk with the order of the garter, and make him a member of the privy-council. His crime of taking part in the commonwealth was forgotten in the part he had taken in restoring Charles to his throne: Monk was more fortunate than many of the Cromwellites. While on the Continent, Charles had made a declaration that he would grant a free pardon to all, save those whom the parliament should except. Of those who had joined in the trial of Charles I., twenty-five had already followed their victim to the grave, and nineteen had escaped to foreign countries. An act of indemnity, which was passed by parliament, exempted from pardon fifty-one who had taken part in the condemnation of the late monarch. These were liable to be punished by death. Vane, Lambert, and others were subjected to imprisonment and the forfeiture of their property; and all who had sat in the high courts of justice, with about twenty more, were declared unable to hold office. Twenty-nine were brought to trial before a commission-court, and were all found guilty. Ten were executed; the rest were condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Another disgusting and useless proceeding followed: the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw were taken from their coffins and hanged upon the gallows, at Tyburn; and other bodies were removed from Westminster Abbey, to the adjoining church-

yard. The poet Milton was committed to the custody of the sergeant-at-arms, and threatened with destruction, for having written his work in "Defence of the English People;" but he escaped with no other punishment than the robbery of his goods, and a general disqualification for public service. Prynne would have hunted down the inoffensive and amiable Richard Cromwell; but no one seconded his views, and he was allowed to live and die in the pleasant retirement of Cheshunt.

Several other bills were presented to the king at the same time with this indemnity-bill; one of these gave the duty of tonnage and poundage to Charles for life; a second made the king's birthday and glorious restoration, the 29th of May, a perpetual anniversary; and a third enacted that a speedy provision of money should be made, to disband the old army and navy. Subsequently, the commons proposed raising the royal income to £1,200,000 per annum; but the means for providing this money were reserved for future consideration.

There was still something remaining more difficult to settle than indemnity or revenue; this was the great question of religion. Charles had, prior to his restoration, promised that no man should be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which did not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that he would consent to any act of parliament that should be offered to him for securing liberty of conscience. This "Convention Parliament," however, was incapable of devising any such act, and the nation at large was incapable of any generous toleration. Hot disputes arose upon this question; and it was finally carried, though only by a slight majority, that the settlement of religion should be left to the king, who should be petitioned to convene a select number of divines to treat concerning the matter. In October Charles issued a declaration, enjoining the bishops to act, with the assistance of a part of the clergy; and that the reading of the liturgy, observance of ceremonies, and subscription to the articles, should not be required from those who objected thereto. A bill was brought into parliament to give a legal settlement of the question; but the lord-chancellor caused it to be rejected. Parliament was dissolved on the 29th of December.

Early in the year 1661 some fanatics, headed by a man named Venner, rose in arms and proclaimed a fifth-monarchy under king Jesus; but they were speedily suppressed:

twenty were killed, and some were taken prisoners and executed. The coronation of Charles took place in April. On this occasion the whole nation seemed intoxicated with loyal feelings: rioting and drunkenness were universal throughout the land; and those who censured the general outbreak of profligacy were insulted and abused as republicans.

The new parliament, which met on the 8th of May, proved to be devoted to the court: it was called the Pension Parliament. Many measures were passed by it this session calculated to strengthen the monarchy. It was enacted that there should be no legislative power in either lords or commons, without the king; that the supreme command of all forces, by sea and land, should be vested in the crown; that neither house could lawfully take up arms against the king; and that an oath should be taken to that effect. The bishops were restored to their seats in the house of peers; the rigour of the law of treason was increased: it was rendered a high misdemeanour to call the king a Papist, though in reality he was one; and the right of petitioning king or parliament was curtailed. The cavaliers would gladly have struck at the Bill of Indemnity by doing away with the protection it afforded to existing property; but Clarendon would not venture upon such a proceeding: the sum of £60,000 only was voted to them. Further vengeance was called for by this parliament on the Cromwellites; and it was arranged that sir Harry Vane and general Lambert should suffer during the next recess. To stay the appetite of vengeance, lord Monson, sir Henry Mildmay, and sir Robert Wallop, were drawn upon sledges, with ropes round their necks, from the Tower to Tyburn, and then back to the Tower, there to remain prisoners for life. In this session a Conformity Bill was debated and passed in all its intolerant rigour: it enacted that every clergyman should declare before his congregation his unfeigned assent to everything contained and prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer; and that every preacher who had not received ordination must submit to that process before the next feast of St. Bartholomew. Several money grants were voted to the king; but his prodigality was such, that they were not sufficient to free him from the burden of debt.

In his emergency Charles sought for a rich wife, and he found one in the person of the infanta of Portugal. He was married to the infanta in May, 1662, and he had a dowry with her of £350,000, together with the possession of Tan-

gier and Bombay. But Charles proved an unnatural husband: he was, before his marriage, surrounded with mistresses; and he even compelled his queen to admit them to her company, and to treat them with attention. The money he received with her was quickly squandered, and his necessities then led him to a most disgraceful act—the sale of Dunkirk to the French monarch for five million of livres, payable in three years by bills of different dates. In the views of every patriot of the time this was a measure full of danger and infamy; and had the diplomatic secrets connected with it which have since come to light, been then known, it might have cost Charles his throne.

A few days after the king's marriage three more of the regicides, including Vane, were tried and executed. General Lambert was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment: others had been doomed to suffer, but it was found that these executions did injury to the royal cause, and they were unmo-  
lested. Charles was not of a sanguinary temper: vice had made him unfeeling, but he did not delight in blood. His chief fault consisted in yielding to the clamours of his sycophants: a noted example of this is found in his abandonment of the lord-chancellor Clarendon. That nobleman was considered as the chief adviser of the sale of Dunkirk, and when Charles found that this had brought upon him the popular odium, he deprived him of the great seal. Clarendon withdrew to France, to escape a worse fate than the deprivation of office.

The reign of Charles was constantly disturbed with plots and insurrections. In 1664 many were convicted of being concerned in a tumultuary assembly in Yorkshire, and were executed. When the parliament met in March Charles made use of this tumult: he attributed it to a law passed in 1641, concerning the duration of parliaments. This law was repealed, and another enacted, setting forth that three years should not elapse after a parliament had been dissolved without calling another assembly. In this session the Conventicle Act was passed, which forbade the meeting of more than five persons for religious worship, in addition to the members of a family, under heavy penalties. This act was a direct violation of the promise which Charles had given of toleration; and it had the effect of crowding the prisons with victims: many of these perished from disease, while those who had property were impoverished with fines.

The latter part of this year was occupied by disputes with Holland, which ended in hostilities. The war was commenced in 1665, and was carried on with great spirit under the duke of York. Charles, however, having misapplied the public money which had been granted for the prosecution of this contest, the Dutch, while a treaty of peace was pending, insulted the royal navy of England. They sailed up the river Medway, as far as Chatham, and burnt several men-of-war, together with a magazine full of stores. But notwithstanding this treacherous affront, Charles, in June, 1667, concluded a treaty at Breda, by which the colony of New York, in North America, was ceded to the English.

During this war with Holland, London was visited by two severe visitations. In the spring of 1665, a plague broke out, which in the course of the year swept away thousands of its inhabitants. Its first symptoms were shivering, sickness, and headache, which were quickly succeeded by delirium and death. It is calculated that the number of deaths amounted to 130,000; the common annual mortality did not at this time exceed 14,000. So dreadful was the scourge, that all business and legal proceedings were at a stand for months, and every man became a terror to his neighbour and himself. The greatest blow fell upon the poor, arising from the ill ventilation of the houses, and the narrowness of the streets in which they resided. This visitation was followed by another still more terrible. In the month of September, 1666, a fire broke out in Pudding-lane, which raged and spread until more than half the city of London was destroyed. The ruins covered above four hundred and thirty acres, including St. Paul's Cathedral, eighty-eight parish churches, most of the public edifices, and more than thirteen thousand private houses. The property destroyed was estimated at £7,000,000 sterling. On this occasion the exertions of Charles were most praiseworthy. For a time he seemed roused from his idle pleasures; and he not only attended to the wants of the sufferers, but to various plans proposed for the rebuilding of the desolated city. Great improvements were made in the reconstruction of the houses: they were now built of brick and stone, instead of timber and plaster. The cause of the conflagration was inquired into by the parliament and the privy-council, but they could not arrive at any satisfactory conclusion. It was thought by some that it arose from incendiary Papists; but there were no proofs

adduced to support the supposition. Clarendon says, that it began in a baker's house where there was a great stock of fagots, and in the neighbourhood of much combustible matter, pitch and rosin, and that it spread from house to house until the ruin was completed. He adds, that there was never any probable evidence, that "there was any other cause of the woful fire, than the displeasure of the Almighty."

For several years the history of England is a history of intrigue, profligacy, and persecution. At the head of the government was the profligate and versatile duke of Buckingham, whose influence over Charles was injurious to his morals as a man, and his reputation as a monarch. Addicted to sinful pleasures himself, he greatly pandered to the king's libertinism. Charles cared only for money, and Buckingham's chief care was to provide it for him. In 1670, Charles associated with him, in the administration, the nobles Clifford, Arlington, Ashley, and Lauderdale, which administration is known by the appellation of "Cabal," from the initials of their names. These were all unprincipled characters, and their proceedings were such as might have been expected. The profligacy of the court increased, and violence and misrule became the order of the day. From this time to the close of the reign, a continual conflict was exhibited between the crown and the people. One of the most disgraceful acts ever committed by a monarch, was, on the advice of the cabal, perpetrated by Charles, in 1672. He had for some time anticipated his revenues, and money had been lent to him by the goldsmiths and merchants of London, for which he was to pay eight per cent. till they were repaid by the amounts received at the exchequer for customs and taxes. The cabal advised the king to shut the exchequer, by refusing to pay the money lent, about £1,300,000; and by this iniquitous measure many were ruined. The king and his cabal incurred great disgrace by this act, which was increased by an attempt to procure money by a direct act of piracy, which failed; and by various measures which they adopted to promote the popish interests in England. Parliament compelled him to withdraw an act of indulgence which Charles had issued, in order to promote Popery, by withholding supplies from him till he had done so; and on his compliance, he obtained a grant of £1,200,000. But differences still continued for several years to exist between the legislature and the king; and in 1675, he prorogued

parliament to 1677, which was equivalent to a dissolution. When it reassembled, the leaders of the cabal urged this measure, in opposition to the king, and were sent to the Tower. Shaftesbury was detained more than a year; the rest were soon released.

One matter of importance marked the year 1677. This was the marriage of the princess Mary, the eldest daughter of the duke of York, to the prince of Orange. This was a popular measure, the prince being a decided Protestant, and next heir to the throne after the duke of York's family. The results were most beneficial to England.

The close of 1678 was marked by an affair which agitated the rest of this reign. This was what was called the discovery of a popish plot. Two profligate clergymen, named Oates and Tonge, gave information to lord Danby, the treasurer, of a conspiracy against the king and the Protestant religion by the Jesuits; Oates accusing many about the queen and the duke of York, as being implicated. Nothing could be more ridiculous than some part of their narrative; yet it was supported with the utmost zeal on the part of the parliament; and the aged lord Stafford, Coleman, secretary to the duke of York, and other papists were executed. The duke himself, who had rendered himself unpopular by his marriage with the Catholic princess of Modena, was obliged to leave the country. There was at this time just cause to be apprehensive of popish machinations; but there is reason to believe that the alarm was in the main ill-founded. Perhaps Dryden's view of the plot may be correct:—

“Some truth there was, but dash'd and brew'd with lies.”

About this time Charles obtained much odium for the cruelty and insolent audacity with which his minister, Lauderdale, oppressed Scotland. The people of that country being refused liberty of conscience, met in their conventicles with arms. Some among them entertained wild principles, but in general they were peaceably disposed. It was required by government that landlords should answer for their tenants and servants; that they should not have intercourse with the preachers, or resort to their religious services. This was refused; and troops were sent into Scotland to suppress the conventicles. Executions took place without number, under the most miserable prettexts; and assassinations were com-



mitted by the soldiers without any judicial form whatever. Wordsworth graphically describes the atrocities committed in these words:—

“Mountain and moor, and crowded street, where lie  
The headless martyrs of the covenant,  
Slain by compatriot Protestants, that draw  
From counsels, senseless as intolerant,  
Their warrant. Bodies fall by wild sword-law;  
But who would force the soul, tilts with a straw,  
Against a champion cased in adamant.”

At the close of 1678, the parliament which had sat for seventeen years, and which was hostile to many of the king's views and measures, was suddenly dissolved. A new parliament assembled in March, 1679. As a support against the house of commons, a new council of thirty individuals of property and consideration, half selected from each party, was appointed in April. This parliament manifested sentiments no less unfriendly to the court than the preceding one. It passed a law which has ever since proved a great protection against arbitrary or protracted imprisonment. By this law, called the Habeas Corpus Act, civil liberty gained a most precious defence. It enacts, that whoever has a person in custody, shall be obliged to show to the courts of law that he has legal authority for his proceedings, and that a prisoner may claim to be discharged on bail, if not indicted at the sessions. The house of commons endeavoured to exclude the duke of York from the throne; but the king stopped their proceedings by a prorogation. Charles even recalled the duke of York, and excluded the popular ministers, leaving the earl of Sunderland and others at the head of the government. The parliament re-assembled in 1680. Shaftesbury and his party, in the interval, had endeavoured to excite the people against the court, and had sent up many addresses declaratory of the abhorrence of the servile principles of the court party. The whole nation was now divided into the two parties of WHIGS and TORIES—terms which have ever since been in use. The design of the whigs was to set aside the duke, and they again brought forward the bill of exclusion. It was passed by the commons, but rejected by the lords; and the former having subsequently resolved not to grant any supply till the duke was excluded, and to forbid the lending of any money to the king, parliament was again dissolved. But the

next parliament, which met at Oxford, in 1681, was equally refractory: the bill of exclusion was again urged, and a third dissolution immediately followed. The king never convoked another: violence and extortion took the place of constitutional government.

At this time there was a re-action against the whigs. The earl of Shaftesbury was committed to the Tower on a charge of high-treason; but a bill against him was thrown out by the grand-jury of London. He subsequently retired to Amsterdam, where he died. Sheriff Pilkington did not escape so easily: having, in 1682, used "scandalous words," against the duke of York, in defiance of an express provision of *Magna Charta*, the ruinous fine of £100,000 was imposed on him. In this year many of the corporations were induced or compelled to resign their charters; and in the next year the civic charter of the city of London was declared forfeited, from irregular proceedings which had taken place in the elections and magistracy.

In the year 1682, the court was strengthened by the detection of a design called the Rye-house Plot. This was a Protestant conspiracy. The design was to seize, if not assassinate, both the king and the duke of York, and to establish a republican government. There were at least some who went to that extent, as Walcot, Rumsey, and others; but lord Russel, Algernon Sidney, the earl of Essex, lord Grey, the duke of Monmouth, and Hampden, who were concerned in the plot, wished only to limit the arbitrary measures, and to check the violent proceedings of the court. Lord Howard was an accomplice, but he became an evidence against the conspirators: they were implicated by his evidence alone, and that was unworthy of credit. Lord Russel, Algernon Sydney, and others were tried, condemned, and executed; the earl of Essex was found in the Tower with his throat cut; and the duke of Monmouth, who was the king's natural son, was banished. Hampden escaped with a fine. The nation saw, with deep affliction, its heroic friends, Russel and Sidney, die upon the scaffold; and posterity mention their names with love and veneration. All resistance was now prostrated: Charles proceeded to lengths of arbitrary power far beyond those of his father; but the nation had suffered so severely from civil contests, that there was no inclination to resist. To carry on the government, Charles was supplied with money from France, and he obtained more by heavy

finer from his subjects on various charges of libels and other political offences. Judge Jeffries was the great instrument in the atrocities committed: this drunken judge was sent as a sort of legate on a circuit through the provinces, and he gave the opponents of the court, to use his own vulgar phrase, "many a lick with the wrong side of his tongue." Not only political offenders suffered: the dissenters were proceeded against for going to conventicles, and for not going to church. Many were excommunicated, and ruined by prosecutions.

The Scottish covenanters were still oppressed. On his return, the duke of York was sent into that country, and his proceedings against them differed little from those of the inquisition. At this time a minister, named Cameron, wandered from place to place at the head of a large body of Covenanters in arms, and the soldiers were ordered to shoot any one who would not declare against him, and profess loyalty to the king. Cameron was killed in an encounter; but his followers rallied under Cargill, and publicly excommunicated the king and the duke of York. This increased the severity of the government: more than two thousand persons were outlawed, and numbers of the peasantry were seized and shot, while wives and kindred were persecuted for harbouring their husbands and relatives. Awed by these severities, the mass of the people resorted to the churches; but their conduct evidenced that they merely went to escape punishment. Several noblemen were tried, condemned, and executed, and the estates of the sufferers were seized by the duke's retainers. Many prisons were crowded with Covenanters: it was a period of great oppression, of which no end appeared in prospect.

The government of Charles was now as absolute as that of any monarch in Europe: the nation was swayed by servility and terror. Submissive addresses arrived from all parts of the country; and the university of Oxford condemned even the most moderate theses upon civil liberty. But in this situation of affairs the rod of Charles's power was broken by death. The last scene in which he was engaged well illustrates his character. "I can never forget," says Evelyn, "the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming and all dissoluteness, and, as it were, total forgetfulness of God, being Sunday evening, which this day se'nnight I was witness of—the king sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleveland, Mazarine, etc., a French boy singing love-songs,

in that glorious gallery, while about twenty of the great courtiers and other dissolute persons were at basset round a large table, with a bank of at least two thousand in gold before them." On that night the word went forth that the days of Charles were numbered; that he was weighed in the balance of the sanctuary and found wanting. He was seized with a fit of apoplexy, and in six days all was in the dust. He had reigned twenty-five years from the Restoration.

Charles was endowed with agreeable qualities, and some talents; but yet he was a bad king. Unmindful of the fate of his unfortunate father, he abandoned himself to sensual enjoyments and the pleasures of despots, and neglected the welfare of his people. As the only ground of excuse for these great faults, Hume adduces the councils of the "cavaliers," those illiberal selfish courtiers, who, since the Restoration, pursued nothing with so much zeal as the complete suppression of civil liberty. But these were the men of his own choice; a sufficient evidence that his principles were, like theirs, arbitrary and despotic.

## JAMES II.

A.D. 1685. Charles was succeeded by his brother, the duke of York, who ascended the throne without opposition, under the name of James II. He promised the council, who assembled on the death of Charles, that he would endeavour to preserve the government, both in church and state, as it was then by law established. But this promise was soon forgotten. He not only showed his attachment to the Popish religion by attending the ceremonial mass, but he gathered Popish noblemen about him, and sought by various means to make proselytes to the Romish church: he even sent an ambassador to Rome to negotiate a re-union between England and the papal see. The pope, however, was not so destitute of wisdom as the king was of honesty: he recommended James not to hurry matters. The pontiff knew that "the pear was not ripe;" that England was not prepared for his jurisdiction.

James, like his brother, wished to be independent of his parliament. On his accession he became a pensioner of France: Louis sent him £20,000, which was received with grateful acknowledgments. Another proceeding showed that James adopted the family determination to consider the

royal authority paramount to law. The customs had been granted to the late king for life; and James was advised, either to take bonds from the importers, or to keep the amount received separate, till parliament had directed the disposal. A proclamation was issued, however, directing that the duties should be paid and applied as usual. This was directly opposed to the constitution of the realm.

Another measure adopted by James was desirable; but at the same time it was founded on the principles of the dispensing power; this was the liberation of Papists and Nonconformists from prison: the measure seemed to promise religious toleration; but the degree of liberty dissenters were led to expect was soon shown by the persecution of Baxter, a celebrated divine of that period. Baxter was accused of having published sedition in some passages of his Paraphrase on the New Testament; and the brutal Jeffries, before whose tribunal he was arraigned, stopped all his attempts to defend his writings, and he was fined five hundred marks, ordered to be imprisoned till it was paid, and bound to good behaviour for seven years.

The parliament assembled in May, and partly from fear, partly from confidence, manifested a willingness to comply with all the wishes of the king. At this time James repeated the terms of his declaration; but he could not refrain from expressions that indicated arbitrary intentions: this was quickly followed by his interference to prevent an address opposed to popery.

While parliament was sitting two insurrections took place: one in Scotland, the other in England. That in Scotland was headed by the duke of Argyle; but he was soon deserted, taken, and executed: that in England was undertaken by the duke of Monmouth, who, calculating upon the hatred of the people to James, landed at Lyme with about three hundred followers, and issued a violent declaration against James. He was well received; crowds flocked to him from all parts, and he assumed the title of king; but he failed in his attempts on Bristol and Bath, and was defeated by the royal troops at Sedgemoor, and fled. He was found in a ditch near Woodyates, in Dorsetshire; and though he begged for life on any terms, he was executed.

Great severity was exercised on the mass of Monmouth's followers. Colonel Kirk, who had served in Africa, was let loose with his hardened soldiery, whom he called his "lambs;"

and people were tortured and hung by scores, without even the form of trial: a few only thus selected for summary punishment were allowed to purchase their lives. The horrors of martial law were subsequently exceeded by atrocities perpetrated by Jeffries, under the forms of justice: he was sent on a "western campaign," accompanied by a body of troops; and hundreds were executed, while thousands were sentenced to transportation, which at that time was slavery in the West Indies. The heads and limbs of those who were executed were exposed in every quarter of the western districts; and travellers turned with disgust from the highways to avoid these spectacles of horror. The proceedings were not even confined to those who had engaged in the insurrection: Hampden, though in prison, was fined £6,000; and a person named Prideaux was compelled to pay £15,000. Judge Jeffries was thanked by James for his proceedings; and the particulars of his brutality, as related in his letters, were often quoted by James with great glee at his levees. But a dreadful impression was made by these cruel and arbitrary measures on the minds of the people; and it was easy to foresee that one day, sooner or later, they would make a righteous retribution.

The failure of the attempts of Monmouth and Argyle seemed to strengthen James. He proceeded in his arbitrary measures; and especially those in favour of popery. In 1687 popish justices of the peace were established in all the counties, selected from the very dregs of the people. The leading divines of the established church had for some time inculcated passive obedience; but as the dangers gathered round them, they began to reconsider the subject. The result was, that they came to a resolution to oppose the popish measures of the king: they were strengthened in this resolution by the conduct of the French king, who was in close alliance with James, and who had recently revoked the edict of Nantes, which had assured the French Protestants of the free observance of their religion. James sought to subdue the newly-awakened opposition, by forming an ecclesiastical commission, with authority to carry out what was deemed expedient, "notwithstanding any law to the contrary." This commission was ordered to suspend Sharp, who had preached against popery; and the bishop of Rochester, one of its members, who opposed this order, was dismissed. By this, and other measures equally arbitrary,

some few converts were made to the popish religion; but the country still remained essentially Protestant.

James was warned, even by Papists themselves, of the danger of his proceedings in attempting to re-establish popery; but he still persisted in his course. Monastic establishments were formed; attempts were made to set up Romish seminaries; Magdalen-college, Oxford, was ordered to elect a popish head; and when this was refused, most of the fellows were expelled, and Romanists put in their places: the adherents of popery were more than ever favoured at court. It was clear what the intentions of James were; and, while the nation was agitated from one end to the other by his senseless proceedings, he sent out a declaration ordering all the clergy to read it in their churches. Passive obedience was now generally laid aside: it was determined at Lambeth that the declaration should not be read. Six bishops met the primate and some of the clergy and nobility, and resolved to petition the king not to insist upon their distribution and reading of the declaration; but this petition was vain: James declared the presentation of it to be an act of rebellion, and the seven bishops were charged with a misdemeanour, and conveyed as prisoners to the Tower. They were tried on the 29th of June; and though the king thought himself secure of the judges and a subservient jury, the verdict was "not guilty." James was reviewing his troops at Hounslow-heath when he first discovered this. The loud rejoicings of the metropolis on this occasion was responded to by a shout from the soldiers; and, on his inquiring the cause of the clamour, he was informed by Lord Feversham that it was nothing but the expression of joy at the acquittal of the bishops. "Call you that nothing?" was the reply of the angry monarch.

An important event brought affairs to a crisis. It had for some time been announced that it was possible there would be a male heir to the crown: people did not scruple to assert that this heir would be supposititious. At length, in June, 1688, a prince was born. There is little doubt of the fact; but the popular cry was that it was an imposture; the child, they said, had been conveyed to the queen's room in a warming-pan. In this emergency many of the nobility and gentry met and agreed to invite the prince of Orange to come over with an armed force to redress grievances, and to inquire as to the legitimacy of the infant. Admirals Russell and Her-

bert promoted discontent against the king amongst the seamen; and the latter, with other noblemen and men of rank and influence, went over to Holland, and offered to aid William. Their offer was accepted: William embarked with a fleet of five hundred sail for England, avowing it to be his design to restore the church and state to their due rights. Upon his arrival he was joined not only by the whigs but by many whom James had considered his best friends: even his daughter, the princess Anne, and her husband, George, prince of Denmark, espoused the cause of the prince of Orange.

Alarmed by the general disaffection, James left London precipitately, throwing the great seal into the Thames, without any provision for the administration of the kingdom. This was subsequently found by a fisherman. James rode to Feversham; but he was stopped at that place and brought back to London: he escaped, however, the second time, and reached France on the 23rd of December, where he was received by Louis with open arms. This great revolution was effected without any bloodshed, with the exception of a few Hollanders, who fell in a skirmish. The conduct of James had arrayed the army, the navy, the universities—in a word, the whole nation against him, and he was dethroned.

The succession of the crown still remained to be settled. Some advised the prince of Orange to claim it by right of conquest: he adopted a safer course. Early in 1689 he convoked a national convention of the English at London, and of the Scotch at Edinburgh. The first, composed of a freely elected house of commons and the legitimate house of peers, declared that as king James had evidently designed to overthrow the constitution, and accordingly broken the original treaty between the regent and his people, and at last left the kingdom, the throne was vacant. The Scotch, with more openness, declared that James, by the abuse of his power, had forfeited the crown. Both these assemblies transferred the royal power to William and his consort. The English convention united with this hereditary transfer—according to which prince William was to administer the government alone during life; but after his death, and that of his consort, the princess Anne was to succeed to the crown; but at all times every Catholic prince was to be excluded from the throne of Great Britain and Ireland—a “declaration of the rights of the English nation;” a declaration which did not



alter, but renovate the free constitution of England, raising it from the abject state into which it had been brought by the despotism of the Stuarts. This was "an inestimable document of the final and glorious salvation of the national liberties, after a long and difficult contest; a positive acknowledgment of the most precious natural rights; a brilliant triumph of rational legitimacy over that of absurd haughtiness and audacious power." Thus was England freed from the rule of a persecuting bigot: thus ended the government of a race of monarchs whose leading principle had been to consider that their will was to be law to their subjects, and that the duty of their people was "passive obedience."

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## CHAPTER XVIII.

HISTORY OF THE RELIGION, GOVERNMENT, LITERATURE, ARTS, COMMERCE, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, ETC., OF THIS PERIOD.

*Religion.*—During the period of the commonwealth a system of almost universal toleration was adopted. There were a great variety of dissenters, called Sectaries: there were Independents, Brownists, Millenaries, Antinomians, Anabaptists, Arminians, Libertines, Familists, Enthusiasts, Seekers, Perfectists, Socinians, Arians, Anti-Trinitarians, Anti-Scripturists, and Sceptics; but so long as they refrained from disturbing the government or peace of the country, practical toleration was extended to all. The most persecuted sect in these times was that of the Quakers, whose indiscreet zeal frequently brought them into great trouble: so much had they suffered, indeed, under the republican government, while all other denominations of religionists remained unmolested, that they alone, of all the minor sects, were prepared to welcome or to acquiesce in the restoration of Charles II. to his throne. At the Restoration, liberty of conscience was promised and guaranteed but in the reign of Charles great rigour and severity were exercised against all nonconformists to episcopacy, which was again established with a high hand both in England and Scotland. James II. was more imprudent and arbitrary even than his predecessor. It has been

seen in the narrative of his reign, that he sought by all the means in his power to bring his subjects over to popery. Some, both of the clergy and laity, from his measures, changed their faith; but the community still remained essentially Protestant: it was, indeed, the encouragement which he gave to popery that deprived James of his crown. A witty courtier of Louis XIV., in whose court the dethroned monarch took refuge, said, no less truly than wittily:—"There goes a simpleton, who lost three kingdoms for a mass!"

*Government.*—The character of the government in this period may be treated of in few words. Unwarned by the fate of his father, Charles II., on his restoration, was bent upon the recovery of the ancient powers of the crown; but the nation soon saw into his designs, and resolved to take away those remnants of despotism which still made a part of royal prerogative. The laws against heretics were repealed; a statute for holding triennial parliaments was enacted; and the *Habeas-corpus* Act, that great barrier of personal liberty, was established. The reign of James affords a most exemplary lesson both to kings and people. Hurried away by a spirit of despotism and popish zeal, he not only demanded unlimited obedience from his subjects, but sought to establish on the ruins of a religion held most dear to the nation, a faith which repeated acts of the legislature had proscribed. Seeing their liberty thus boldly attacked, even in its first principles, the people had recourse to that remedy which reason and nature dictated. They withdrew their allegiance from James, and considered themselves absolved from their oath to a monarch who himself disregarded the oath he had made to his subjects. The throne was declared vacant, and a new line of succession established, when an advantage was taken of the rare opportunity of entering into a compact between king and people. The Revolution of 1688, therefore, is the grand era of the English constitution. The Great Charter had marked out the limits within which the royal authority ought to be confined; some outworks were raised in the reign of Edward I.; but the circumvallation was not completed till the Revolution which seated the prince of Orange on the throne of England.

*Literature.*—Few works of genius of the first class appeared in England during the commonwealth. There were men of rare talents living in that period; but for the most part it was a time when men wrote and thought as they

acted, merely for the passing moment, and not for posterity. At the Restoration, however, a change for the better came over the spirit of literature. Many celebrated productions were issued from the press during the reigns of Charles and James II. Among the poetical writers may be mentioned Cowley, Waller, Dryden, Butler, Denham, Davenant, Otway, Lee, Crowne, Etheridge, Wycherly, and last, and greatest of all, the immortal Milton, whose fine epic poem, *Paradise Lost*, has never been equalled in the whole range of ancient or modern literature. The most distinguished prose writers were Baxter, Cudworth, Hobbes, Dr. Henry More, John Bunyan, sir William Temple, Izaak Walton, archbishop Leighton, Dr. Isaac Barrow, Dryden, and Clarendon. The productions of these authors are, for the most part, among the current literature of the present day; and some of them are of that undying nature that they will be familiar to the latest posterity.

*Arts.*—The history of the fine arts during the present period may be dismissed with a very short notice: it was a period of general mediocrity—the age of the French school, the success of which was not equal to its ambition. Of Antonio Verrio, a Neapolitan by birth, whom Charles II. invited into England, and who was one of the best painters of his time, Walpole says that he was “an excellent painter for the sort of subjects on which he was employed; that is, without much invention, and with less taste, his exuberant pencil was ready at painting out gods, goddesses, kings, emperors, and triumphs, over those public surfaces on which the eye never rests long enough to criticise, and where we should be sorry to place the works of a better master; I mean, ceilings and staircases. The New Testament and the Roman History cost him nothing but ultramarine: that, and marble columns and marble steps, he never spared.” This was the general character of the historical paintings of this period. In portrait-painting, the reign of Charles II. was illustrated by the works of sir Peter Lely, a native of Westphalia: he was the most distinguished portrait-painter of his time; but his works are by no means equal to those of his predecessor in fame, Vandyke. “How came you, sir Peter,” asked a nobleman, “to have so great a reputation? you know that I know you are no great painter.” “My lord,” replied Lely, “I know that I am not; but I am the best you have.” The paintings of still life in this period were more remarkable than the por-

traits. There were several eminent Dutch painters in this style, Varelst being the most celebrated. Varelst was patronized by the duke of Buckingham, and few artists have ever equalled him as a flower-painter. Sculpture during this period was almost exclusively applied to decoration: there were only two artists, however, who excelled in this art, namely, Gabriel Cibber, a native of Holstein, and Grinling Gibbons, the latter of whom was the most celebrated. The art of engraving now made considerable progress. Faithorne was the best engraver of the age; but there were several foreigners who vied with him in excellence, as David Loggan, Abraham Blooteling, Gerard Valek, and Peter Vanderbank. The invention of mezzotint had been introduced into England by prince Rupert; and the superior excellence of our engravers had by this time made it into an English art. In no country has it been practised with such success as in England.

Music had been almost discarded from England during the commonwealth; but at the Restoration it was again revived as an art. Organs were again set up in cathedrals, and choirs were re-formed throughout the kingdom: many musical composers appeared, the most celebrated of whom was Henry Purcell. The works of Purcell form a part of our national wealth: they surpass everything of the kind that England had before produced, and some of them yet continue unrivalled by any musicians of English birth. Up to the period of his decease he had no equal either in England, France, Germany, or Italy. Secular music, also, received attention at this period: regular concerts were established at Oxford and in London, though their character was far inferior to those of the present age. The most noted concerts in London were performed in a room over the coal-shop of one Thomas Britton, who lived in Aylesbury-street, Clerkenwell; but though the place of resort was humble, it was frequented by the young, the gay, and the fair of all ranks, including the highest order of the nobility.

*Commerce.*—From the period of the Restoration to that of the Revolution trade appears to have been upon the whole more considerable, and more steady in its progress, than in any former period of the same length. The two Dutch wars, by disturbing the trade of that republic, promoted the navigation of Britain; and after Charles had made a separate peace with the states, his subjects enjoyed the trade of Eu-

rope unmolested. How far commerce had increased may be seen from the following figures. In 1622, the entire value of the exports and imports was £4,939,751; but in 1669, the imports alone were £4,196,139, and the exports £2,063,274. These figures indicate a steady progress of mercantile activity and national wealth. It was in this period that tea was first brought into England. Pepys in his Diary, records, in 1661, "I sent for a cup of tea—a Chinese drink—of which I never drank before." The poet Waller has some lines on the birthday of queen Catherine, from which it would seem that her example brought this new beverage into fashionable use:—

"The best of queens, and best of herbs we owe,  
To that bold nation, which the way did show  
To the fair region where the sun does rise,  
Whose rich productions we so justly prize.  
The muse's friend, tea, does our fancy aid;  
Repress those vapours which the head invade;  
And keeps that palace of the soul serene,  
Fit on her birthday to salute the queen."

Tea was brought into England by the East-India Company, whose charter was renewed by Charles II.; but the quantity brought into the country for many years was very limited. In 1664 the company could only procure two pounds and two ounces, which cost them forty shillings a pound; and in 1666 they had to pay fifty shillings a pound for twenty-two pounds and three quarters. These two parcels were both presented to the king. Their first importation was in 1669, when they received two canisters, containing one hundred and forty-three pounds and a half, from Bantam: after this their importations gradually increased; but it was not till after the Revolution that the consumption of tea began to be general in England.

The growth of London, during the present period, proceeded at an accelerated rate. Several acts were passed for its improvement. One of these acts ordered several "common highways and new-built streets" to be new paved; directed the inhabitants to sweep the streets, before their respective houses, twice a week, under a penalty of 3s. 4d. for every instance of neglect; and commanded every person whose house fronted the street, to hang out candles in lanterns, or otherwise, in some part of his house next the street, every night between Michaelmas and Lady-day, from

dusk until nine in the evening, under a penalty of one shilling. The same act authorized the lord-mayor and city authorities to receive subscriptions for repairing certain streets, which were so narrow that they incommoded coaches, carts, and passengers, and were prejudicial to commerce and trading. By other acts two new parishes were erected at the west end: one, that of St. Anne's, Westminster, consisting principally of streets that had recently been built on a piece of ground called Kemp's Field; the other, that of St. James's, Westminster, comprehending Jermyn-street and other neighbouring streets, lately erected on ground called St. James's Fields. This proves the increase of London; but its size and importance were insignificant to what that proud city now is.

After the Restoration, the money of the commonwealth was all called in, and a new gold and silver coinage was struck, similar to that of the reign of Charles I. There was, however, one marked difference in the coinage of these two periods. On all the English money of Charles II. his head is made to look to the left, being the opposite direction to that in which his father's head is placed; and ever since it has been observed as a rule, to make two successive sovereigns look in opposite directions on their respective coinages. James II. coined gold pieces of the value of five pounds; and after his abdication he coined money in Ireland, out of old brass guns and kitchen utensils; and when brass failed him, he fabricated crowns, half-crowns, shillings, and six-pences out of pewter!

*Manners and Customs.*—The furniture of this period continued nearly the same as noticed in the preceding; but it may be mentioned, that the famous manufactory of Gobelin tapestry was established in France, in 1677, and that specimens of it soon appeared on the walls of the palaces and mansions of our nobility. A great change took place in the female costume of the upper classes in the reign of Charles II.; but citizens' wives and countrywomen continued to wear the high-crowned hat, the French hood, the laced stomacher, and the yellow starched handkerchief. At this period it would appear from the Diaries of Pepys and Evelyn, that ladies began to paint their faces; to have their hair "frizzed up to the ear;" and to wear perukes and vizards. There were three distinct fashions of male costume in this period, but a description of them is unnecessary: it will

be sufficient to say, that they were in direct opposition to the plain and humble garb of the Puritans.

It was not only in dress that the Royalists differed from the Puritans, but in manners. Swearing, which during the commonwealth had been punished by a fine, and profligate conversation, were so common, that a young nobleman or man of family was accounted no gentleman, nor person of honour, who could not, in two hours' sitting, invent some new modish oath, or make lampoons and drolleries on the sacred Scriptures themselves. Even the ladies themselves were as profligate as the king and his nobles: they would game, and swear, and drink, and sport with as easy a conscience as the most dissolute libertine. Combined with this spirit of licentiousness, was a recklessness of life. In the reign of Charles II. the rage for duelling increased beyond all former precedent. Fatal encounters were of daily occurrence, from the worst of causes, or for no cause at all. In a word, the whole head of society in the upper classes was sick: the whole heart faint with corruptions. But, notwithstanding the frivolity and profligacy of the higher classes, the bulk of the community still retained much of the good old English spirit. The Puritans generally, and some even of the Royalists, regarded with contempt the dissoluteness which had become so fashionable. This was especially the case in the country, where the contagion of the court had failed to reach. Persons of this class adhered to the primitive hours of their forefathers in rising, transacting business, and going to rest; and to the simplicity which had distinguished the English character in former periods.

The chief amusements of this period were similar to those which had been in vogue before the days of the commonwealth. Abhorrence of the drama had been one of the chief distinctions of Puritanism: a habit of play-going became a badge of loyalty after the Restoration. The theatres were re-opened, and their benches crowded more eagerly than ever. The public theatre, indeed, absorbed the chief taste and talent of the country. All the sports of the reign of James I. and Charles I. were resuscitated; and to these were added foot-racing, and boat and yacht-racing. Skating, also, was newly introduced, or rather, perhaps, a revived amusement in England at this time, and was performed "after the manner of the Hollanders." Most of the old holidays were still observed, according to the old English fashion.

## CHAPTER XIX.

THE PERIOD FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE REIGN OF  
GEORGE III.

## WILLIAM III.

A. D. 1688. William, prince of Orange, had been invited to England by a coalition of parties, united by a common sense of danger ; but this tie was no sooner broken than they flew asunder, and each party resumed its original bias. Their mutual jealousy and hatred revived ; and William soon found himself at the head of a faction. He was acknowledged king of England and Scotland ; but he soon began to experience the difficulty of governing a people, who were more ready to command than to obey their superiors. His reign commenced with an attempt similar to that which had been the principal cause of all the disturbances of the preceding reign, and which had excluded the monarch from the throne. As he had been bred a Calvinist, and always expressed an abhorrence of persecution, the Presbyterians and other Protestant dissenters considered him as their peculiar protector, and entered into his interests with the utmost zeal. For the same reasons the friends of episcopacy became jealous of his proceedings, and employed all their influence in thwarting his measures. In his first parliament William proposed a repeal of the Test Act, conceiving that the great dread of the Papists would be removed with the removal of a Roman Catholic king, and that the professions of good-will which had passed between the established church and the dissenters would lead to some amicable and lasting agreement. The repeal, however, was rejected by the lords, by a great majority. At the same time the house of lords eagerly grasped at a clause, recommended by William, which went to dispense with the oaths of the bishops and established clergy to the new government. But the dissenters in the commons showed as little regard to the consciences of churchmen, as the churchmen had shown to theirs. An amendment was moved and carried in the commons, obliging the established clergy to take the oaths of allegiance, under pain of suspension, to be followed in six months by deprivation. The



lords, in their turn, rejected this amendment. Conferences ensued; and all that the commons would allow was, that the king should have power to grant, during his pleasure, a third of their benefices to any twelve clergymen who should incur deprivation, by refusing to take the oath. William was justly surprised at the religious animosities of his new subjects; but he was still sanguine of making all sects live peaceably together, as he had seen them in Holland. He attempted to carry a bill of comprehension, by which he flattered himself that the church, the kirk, and the conventicle, might by degrees be amalgamated. Both lords and commons united in defeating this project; but in the end they agreed upon a free toleration to all Christian sects, except the Roman Catholic.

The fugitive king James met with a most brilliant reception at the court of Versailles; and the French monarch undertook to re-establish him on the throne of England. Ireland was the basis of his operations. That country, for the most part, guided by the lord-lieutenant Tyrconnel, still remained faithful to him; and James soon sailed thither with a well-equipped fleet. In 1689, with the aid of the French army, Ireland was compelled to own his sway; but in the next year king William gained a decisive victory over his forces on the river Boyne. James again fled to France, and William returned to England, leaving general Ginckel to complete the subjugation of Ireland. The whole country was reduced by Ginckel in 1691, and Ireland, as well as England and Scotland, acknowledged William as its ruler. William used his conquest with great moderation: he even invited all those who wished well to James, to join that deposed monarch in France. About 12,000 persons availed themselves of this permission; and on their arrival in France, they were taken into the service of Louis, under the title of the Irish Brigade.

Having settled the affairs of the nation, and made preparations for equipping a formidable fleet, William embarked for Holland. France and Holland were at war with each other; and the French troops were then investing Mons, in Belgium. William made preparations to relieve that place; but before he could arrive, that strong town was captured. After the fall of Mons, he hastened back to England: several conspiracies against his government had been detected, during his absence. But notwithstanding this, he again returned to Holland to lead the Dutch against the French in Flanders.

He was successful, so far as regards driving the French before him. In those days general engagements were rare things; and, except in sieges, soldiers consumed more shoe-leather than gunpowder. The French retired, and William gave up the command to prince Waldeck, and again repaired to England. He met his parliament on the 22d of October, 1691, in which it was unanimously resolved, that a supply should be granted for the carrying on of a vigorous war with France. In this parliament a poll-tax bill was carried, by which all persons except children, servants, and paupers, were to pay a shilling every quarter; every gentleman of £300 a year, twenty shillings a quarter; every person worth property amounting to £300, ten shillings; every clergyman or teacher worth £80 a year, twenty shillings; every lord of parliament, ten pounds; and nonjurors double. This exhibited the expensiveness of a continental war, and also the unskilfulness of the legislature at this period in the art of taxation.

Parliament was prorogued on the 29th of February, 1692, and William was again soon on his way for Holland. An important event took place in this his third absence. Louis had resolved to invade England once more, in order to restore James to his throne. The exiled monarch repaired to La Hogue, and was ready to embark with a considerable force, on board the French fleet, commanded by the count de Torville. The ministry of England heard of these proceedings, and admiral Russell was ordered to put to sea with all expedition. Russell was joined by a Dutch squadron, and a memorable battle was fought at La Hogue, in which a great part of the French fleet was destroyed. This victory proved so decisive, that during the remainder of the war the French would not venture another battle by sea. James returned in despair to St. Germain. Heaven, he said, fought against him; but notwithstanding, James continued his efforts to recover his crown in every possible way; though after the battle of La Hogue he never could have entertained a rational hope of success.

In the mean time the French had taken Namur, in Flanders, in the very face of William's forces, and had defeated the English at Steinkirk. Little or nothing was done in this campaign after the battle of Steinkirk; but in the month of August, a conspiracy was discovered which aimed at the life of William. Two assassins were hired to destroy him by the fugitive James, and the act was connived at by Louis: their

guilt was proclaimed to the world by the conviction of their agents, and the publication of the confession which they made before the military tribunal by which they were tried. William returned from the Continent in October, and this atrocious design of assassination was found to have raised him wonderfully in the people's affection. A better feeling existed among his subjects than hitherto, though there were still some disaffected towards his government. While he was in Flanders, the earl of Marlborough and others had been accused of conspiring to restore king James. They were arrested and placed in the Tower; but there does not appear to have been conclusive evidence of their guilt, for after the defeat of the French fleet they were liberated. On the meeting of parliament, Marlborough, Scarsdale, and Huntingdon complained, in their places in the house of lords, of the treatment they had received, and of the conduct of the judges who had refused to bring them to trial, conformably to the Habeas-Corpus Act; and the house of lords came to the resolution, "That no peer should be remanded to prison by the king's bench, upon his appearing before them by virtue of the said act, after having entered his prayer to be tried, unless there appear against him two witnesses upon oath, or in a capacity to be sworn." These lords had been held to bail, and a day was appointed to consider in what manner they should be discharged from their recognizances; but the king terminated the business by discharging them himself, and the ministers were exonerated by a bill of indemnity. It is said that Marlborough still continued to intrigue with James, and that all the while he was begging employment from William. It is probable that his loyalty depended on a good place in the government: who would give him most, he would serve best.

In this session a bill was passed, entitled, "A bill touching free and impartial proceedings in parliament," which had the effect of banishing all the servants of the crown from the house of commons. A bill for triennial parliaments was also passed, which provided for annual sessions, and a fresh election every three years. William, however, refused to give his assent to this bill: thus venturing on an exercise of prerogative, which no ordinary circumstances could reconcile either with prudence or with a constitutional administration of the government. The commons, however, felt the necessity of maintaining the present government, and they granted liberal supplies for the war.

Early in 1693, William was again with the allied army on the continent. A great battle was fought at Lauden, in which the French were victorious. William was subsequently re-enforced and again offered battle; but it was avoided, and the campaign then ended. In the same year the French captured a large number of merchant vessels at sea.

On his return to England, in November, William found considerable discontent prevailing, on which he resolved to change his ministry. Fresh efforts were made for the renewal of the war: additional taxes were imposed; and the English troops were increased to 83,000 men. The public debt at this period had increased to £34,000,000: the large rate of interest then paid, with the sacrifices for raising money, rapidly swelled the amount of the principal. The necessity for further advances led to the instituting a national bank, whose capital, at first £1,200,000, should be lent to government at three per cent. This amount was raised in ten days, and thus the Bank of England was established: the act for raising the capital of the bank received the royal assent in April, 1694. About the same time the East India Company was further established.

William left London again to join the allies immediately after these domestic affairs were settled. This year their arms were attended with greater success. Both by sea and land the progress of the French was checked. "I am glad," said William, when he met his parliament, in November, "to meet you here, when I can say our affairs are in a better posture, both by sea and land, than when we parted last. The enemy has not been in a condition to oppose our fleets in these seas; and our sending so great a force into the Mediterranean has disappointed their designs, and left us a prospect of further success. With respect to the war by land, I think I may say, that this year a stop has been put to the progress of the French arms." Admiral Russell had been employed in the Mediterranean, and he had cleared that sea of the French, relieved Barcelona, blockaded Toulon, and had made the English flag respected from one end of the inland sea to the other. Another part of the English navy had bombarded and nearly destroyed Dieppe and Havre de Grace, and had thrown the whole French coast into an agony of consternation. By land, the allied forces had captured the town and castle of Huy; and the French, under Delorges, were defeated with great loss, on the Rhine, by the prince of Baden.

The main army of the French, however, under the duke of Luxembourg, was enabled to cover French Flanders from a threatened invasion of the allies. Parliament was satisfied with the advantages gained: loyal addresses were returned to the king's speech, and supplies to the amount of £5,000,000 were readily voted. In this session the Triennial Parliament Bill was again carried, and this time William gave his assent to it: this act was received by the nation with great joy.

The consent of William to this bill was attributed by many to the dangerous illness of the queen, whose death it was imagined might weaken his right, and lead to fresh and more dangerous conspiracies. Her majesty's life had been one of continued anxiety during the king's absence on the Continent. Her constitution, which had never been a good one, was much weakened by this mental suffering; and in this state of mind she was attacked by small-pox of the most malignant sort, which proved fatal. In her last hours she was attended by the archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Tennison, who only a few days before had succeeded the wise and excellent Tillotson. Mary had much private discourse with Dr. Tennison, and was calm and resigned, seeming to desire death rather than life. She died on the 28th of December, in the thirty-third year of her age. She was deeply regretted by the nation at large, though the bigoted partisans of James rejoiced at the event of her death. One Jacobite divine impudently preached a sermon from the words of Jehu respecting Jezebel: "Go see now this cursed woman and bury her; for she is a king's daughter." Few queens, however, died more deservedly regretted than Mary. She was an exemplary wife, and a good sovereign. William was neither a fond husband, nor subject to feelings of a delicate nature; but he mourned her loss unfeignedly. For some weeks after her death, says Burnet, he was so little master of himself, that he was not capable of attending to business, or of seeing company. The death of Mary brought into notice the princess Anne, as the next heir to the throne. The king assigned apartments to her in St. James's palace, and presented her with her sister's jewels: but this was more from political views than affection for her person.

William, however, shook off his grief to rejoin the allies on the Continent. In the year 1695 he followed up their successes. The strong fortified city of Namur was captured. The French general Luxembourg died early in this year, and

he was succeeded by Villeroy, who was far inferior to him in abilities. The French suffered many reverses in this campaign: from the capture of Namur, indeed, William had the advantage till the close of the war. On his return, as usual after the campaign, a new parliament met, in which the strength of the whigs was found to be considerably increased. Further efforts in the war were adopted, and a re-coinage of the money in circulation was agreed upon. A sum of £1,200,000 was granted for that purpose, to be raised by taxes upon windows. The restoration of the coinage, which by clipping and other circumstances had become greatly reduced in value, was one of the most important benefits of William's reign. This parliament, also, made an effort to restore the national honesty: a more difficult task than that of the restoration of the coinage. Bribery and corruption were then almost universal. The duke of Leeds, sir John Trevor, and others, were accused of receiving money from the city of London and the East India Company. Sir John Trevor was expelled from the commons; but the investigations were stopped by the prorogation of parliament.

After the death of queen Mary, the friends of James renewed their exertions to restore that monarch to the throne. In 1696 a plot was discovered for assassinating king William; and an association was formed to seize him, and convey him to France, or put him to death in case of resistance. Preparations were also made for an invasion of England. But all these attempts proved abortive. The designed invasion was given up, and several of the conspirators were executed. The dangers to which William was exposed had the effect of giving stability to his throne. The commons entered into an association binding themselves to assist each other in support of the king and his government. There is clear proof that all these designs were encouraged by James and the king of France; although those who suffered at Tyburn denied that he was privy to the scheme of assassination. James himself took great pains to prove his innocence on the present occasion. He remarked to Erizzo, the Venetian ambassador at Paris, "As to any attempt upon the person of the prince of Orange, I am wholly ignorant; and though to face an enemy at the head of his troops, in my opinion, can never be reputed an assassination, I do swear that I know nothing of it." But these words rather convict him of guilt, for he seemed to have held the notion entertained by some of the assassins them-

selves: that because William might have a few guards with him, the falling upon him would have been warfare, and not murder. The commission which James had given to his adherents also proves his guilt. It was conceived in these words:—

“JAMES R.

“Our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby fully authorize, strictly require, and expressly command our loving subjects to rise in arms and make war upon the prince of Orange, the usurper of our throne, and all his adherents, and so seize for our use all such forts, towns, strongholds within our dominion of England, as may serve to further our interest, and to do from time to time such other acts of hostility against the prince of Orange, and his adherents, as may conduce most to our service, we judging this the properest, justest, and most effectual means of procuring our restoration and their deliverance; and we do hereby indemnify them for what they shall act in pursuance of this our royal command.

“Given at our court of St. Germain's en Liege, the 27th of December, 1695.”

In this commission there is a plain instigation to assassination and murder.

In the year 1696 William again joined the allies on the Continent, but this campaign was far from being brilliant. The only exploit of the year by his forces was the destruction of a magazine of ammunition and military stores at Givet. In the next year the French subjected Barcelona. The contest was also carried on in America, Africa, and the East Indies. Colonies were lost on both sides, and commerce—the promotion of which was a material object in William's policy—was almost destroyed. This accumulated misery of war disposed the contending powers for peace. France, especially, the exertions of which had been excessive, felt exhausted; and Louis, now in the decline of life, desired repose, or at least respite, in order to gather new forces for a far more important transaction about the Spanish succession. A peace, therefore, was concluded in September, 1697, at Ryswick. France had to restore the Spanish possessions, and engaged not to disturb king William. The main principle of the treaty was to bring back matters to the state in which they had been previous to the commencement of the war. By this treaty the hopes James had entertained of recovering his throne were cut off: he appealed and protested

against the recognition of William as king of England, but in vain.

William returned to England in November, and was received with congratulations. Addresses were presented from every part of the kingdom, congratulating him on the conclusion of a peace, in which honourable and reasonable terms had been acquired, by his wisdom, fortitude, and perseverance. But the peace did not promise to be lasting. Louis was slow in evacuating the fortresses and territories which he was bound to give up; he still kept the exiled Stuarts at Versailles, and had in no sense given up the hopes of that family. William saw his danger, and recommended parliament to provide for a land force, declaring that England would not be safe without such a force. But a standing army at this time was objected to as inconsistent with a free government, and as absolutely destructive of the English constitution, and the question was carried in the commons against the court: all the forces raised since the year 1680 were to be disbanded. Parliament, however, in this session, settled a revenue upon William for life: the amount was £700,000 per annum. Several measures were adopted this session for the suppression of vice and profaneness, and the encouragement of morality and piety. Amongst these were societies for the reformation of manners, which in a few years became greatly extended. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was also established. Great activity was shown in commercial matters: another East India Company was formed, but both were eventually united.

William prorogued this parliament in July, without betraying any symptoms of either grief or ill-humour; but he was highly offended by its refusal of his demand for a land force, and unexpectedly dissolved it by proclamation. A new one was summoned to meet on the 24th of August; but this did not prove more complying upon this subject: it adopted a resolution that all the land forces in English pay, exceeding 7000 men, and that all the forces in Ireland, except 12,000 men, should be forthwith disbanded. This went to deprive William of the services of his Dutch guard, which had followed him through good and bad fortune, and which was dearer to him than almost any other object. William was justly displeased with the want of confidence and gratitude in the English: he even contemplated giving up his crown, and retiring to the United States of Holland: a speech was



written out with his own hand for that purpose, but the design was abandoned. By some it was considered only as a threatening; but chancellor Somers, who knew more of what was passing in the king's mind than any one, asserted that he was at one time in good earnest. There is evidence that the great body of the people would have regretted the loss of William as a monarch; but many of the statesmen of the day boasted of the facility of making a new king at their will and pleasure. The earl of Sunderland, who had recently retired from the office of lord-chamberlain, and who was believed to have had almost the influence of a prime-minister over the king, upon being told that William had threatened to throw up the crown, exclaimed, "Does he so? Well, there is Tom Pembroke, who is as good a block of wood as a king can be cut out of; we will send for him and make him our king." But William still retained his crown.

During this year the palace of Whitehall, which for a long course of years had been the residence of our kings, was burnt to the ground, with the exception of the banqueting-house. In August a treaty for the partition of the Spanish monarchy was concluded between England, France, and Holland. The death of the Spanish monarch was expected, and the object of that treaty was to prevent the union of France and Spain under one sovereign. The prince of Bavaria was declared heir to the Spanish throne; and he dying soon after, another treaty was concluded, which declared the archduke Charles presumptive heir. But on the death of the Spanish monarch, which took place in 1700, Philip of Anjou ascended the throne of Spain, the deceased monarch having declared him to be his successor; but in doing so Philip was obliged to sign a renunciation of the throne of France: this led to the war of succession.

In 1701 the English parliament passed an act for the settlement of the succession to the English crown: this was rendered necessary by the death of the duke of Gloucester. This act provided that succeeding kings should be of the established protestant church; that future monarchs should not go out of England without the consent of parliament; that the judges should not be removable without cause; and that after the deaths of king William and the princess Anne, the succession to the crown should be limited to the princess Sophia of Hanover and her descendants. The princess Sophia was in direct descent from James I. by his daughter Elizabeth, the eleo-

tress palatine, who was her mother; and her descendants alone, of all the posterity of James I., were Protestant. This act was therefore a political arrangement of the highest importance to the religious world: it opposed a solid bulwark to the range of Romish sophistry and ambition: no popish monarch could henceforth reign in England. Soon after this act was passed James II. died at St. Germain's, in the 68th year of his age. His son was proclaimed king of England at St. Germain's, and treated as such by the court of Versailles: his title was likewise acknowledged by the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and the pope. William complained much of this manifest violation of the treaty of Ryswick, and recalled his ambassador from Paris: on the other hand, the French monarch dispersed a manifesto through all the courts of Europe in vindication of his conduct.

Early in 1702 the king called a new parliament, and his speech on this occasion was received with universal applause: it was so much admired by the well wishers to the Revolution, that they printed it with decorations in the English, Dutch, and French languages. A grand alliance had been formed between England, Holland, and the emperor of Germany, which was highly applauded by parliament. Both houses drew up a warm and affectionate address, in which they expressed their resentment at the conduct of the French king, and assured William that they would assist him to the utmost of their power against all his enemies. Large supplies were granted, and forty thousand forces were ordered to be raised to join the allied army. The whole nation joined in the cry for war with France.

While William, however, was preparing for this war, his reign was brought to a close: he had been unwell in the winter, and in February he broke his collar-bone by a fall from his horse. The shock proved fatal to his enfeebled constitution: he died in March, 1702, in the fifty-second year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.

William was not made by nature for popularity: his manners were cold and forbidding. But though this did not please the multitude, it fitted him the more for the times and circumstances in which he lived and reigned. Contrasting his character and conduct with those of the Stuarts, his predecessors, his great superiority must at once be acknowledged. While they aimed at becoming absolute, he endeavoured to rule in strict accordance with the principles of the English

constitution: in a word, he may safely be placed among the small number of English kings, who down to this period can really be pronounced England's benefactors.

### ANNE.

A.D. 1702. William was succeeded, as sovereign of England, by Anne, princess of Denmark, to the general satisfaction of all parties. As soon as she was proclaimed, she declared her resolution to continue the preparations for carrying on the war with France; and both houses of parliament approving of the measure, war was declared against France in one day at Vienna, London, and the Hague. France had previously declared war against Holland. The earl of Marlborough was sent to Holland to take the command of the English forces, to sign treaties of alliance, and plan for the campaign.

Anne was thirty-seven years of age when she came to the throne: she was good-natured, and popular in her manners, but weak-minded and easily led. For some time lady Marlborough was her guiding genius: under her influence she formed her ministry, chiefly of tories. As for lord Marlborough, he did not care with which party he ranked so that he had the power: he expected to obtain wealth and honour from the war, and he was not disappointed.

The leading events of this reign were the campaigns under that general. Anne was crowned on the 23rd of April, and a few days afterwards Marlborough left England to take the command of the allied forces: his first campaign was successful: Liege was taken, and the Dutch frontier secured from the French. On his return Marlborough was made a duke, with a pension of £5000 per annum. In an address to the queen by parliament it was stated that he had retrieved the glory of the English nation, thus casting a reflection on the memory of William. In this parliament the tories had a decided majority, and they carried matters with a high hand; they even obtained indulgence for those Jacobites or partisans of the pretender, who had not yet taken the oath of abjuration. A bill was brought in, called, "An Act to prevent occasional Conformity," which was designed to destroy the act of toleration, by forbidding all in office to attend any places of worship excepting those of the established church. But this iniquitous measure was re-

jected by the peers, they chiefly objecting to the rigorous fines and impositions proposed.

The war became general in 1703; but no decisive action took place. The coalition against France was fortified and extended; but the allies made no progress. The close of this year was marked by an awful storm. On the 27th of November a hurricane blew down many houses and churches, and damaged others to a great extent: the damage in London alone was estimated at £1,000,000. In parliament, which met in November, another attempt was made to pass the bill for occasional conformity; but it was again rejected by the lords. A law passed which would now be considered very oppressive: it empowered justices of peace to cause any idle persons, not having regular callings, to be taken up and pressed for soldiers. Such an arbitrary power was dangerous in the hands of unjust magistrates.

Early in 1704 the queen gave up the first-fruits and tenths, being small amounts paid by the clergy, to increase the smaller livings: this is called "Queen Anne's Bounty." The sum then only amounted to about £16,000; but it has since increased: it had never been paid to the treasury, but was given by her predecessors to persons in favour, without regard to worth or character.

In this year Marlborough gained a great victory over the French in Germany. Having a large increase of English forces, he determined to carry on the war upon the Danube, in unison with prince Eugene, so as to make a vigorous effort against the main French army, which had been joined by the elector of Bavaria, and was to act directly against Austria. The two armies met at Blenheim, and, after a hard-fought contest, a complete victory was gained by the allies. The French and Bavarians lost thirty thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; the allies about twelve thousand. Tallard, the French general, was taken prisoner. By the battle of Blenheim the French king discovered "that he was no longer invincible." About the same time that it was fought admiral Blake captured Gibraltar, a conquest of great importance, but not duly appreciated at the time.

The proceedings in parliament this year were accompanied by much party feeling. The Occasional Conformity Bill was again brought forward, but again rejected by the lords. But though the lords acted thus wisely on this subject, they needed restraint from the commons in the proceedings

they urged against Scotland. There was much disaffection towards queen Anne's government in that country; and the lords urged the instant union of the two kingdoms, and the necessity of having the succession of the crown of Scotland declared settled on the princess Sophia and the heirs of her body. Such an union was desirable; but it could not be effected with a rigorous hand, whence the measure was opposed by the commons. The session was closed by a dissolution in April, 1705, whereby a tory house of commons was superseded: the whigs obtained a majority in the elections.

In the campaign of 1705 the French had the advantage in Flanders. Marlborough expected to accomplish much, but was prevented by the disunion of the allies. In Spain, however, the earl of Peterborough, by a bold and romantic effort, took Barcelona. The queen, when she met her parliament, declared her intention to continue the war till the French prince was driven from Spain, remarking that no peace with France would last longer than their first opportunity of dividing the allies, and attacking some of them with advantage. Her determination led to victory. On the 23rd of May, 1706, the allies gained a great battle at Ramillies, and the result was the loss of the whole of the Spanish Netherlands to France. The losses of this campaign induced Louis to propose terms of pacification; but as he was unwilling that Spain should be divided, and as the allies were ambitious of conquest, his proposal was rejected.

A most important event distinguished the year 1706; this was the union between England and Scotland. By this union the natural-born subjects of each kingdom were put upon a common footing, so that they had no longer different and opposing interests. It was stipulated that the United Kingdom of Great Britain should be represented by one and the same parliament; that Scotland should be represented by sixteen peers and forty-five commoners; and that all peers of Scotland should be peers of Great Britain, and rank next after the English peers of the like orders and degrees. Great opposition was made to this act by the tory interest: on the other hand the whigs zealously supported it, and it made its way through both houses with celerity. When it received the royal assent the queen expressed the utmost satisfaction. In Scotland the national feelings were strongly against the union; but there was no outbreak there, as anticipated. The duke of Hamilton, though the principal opponent of the

union, saw the folly of opposition, and wisely endeavoured to quiet the most violent of his partisans.

In 1707 the duke of Marlborough was busily occupied both in arms and negotiation; but nothing decisive resulted from either. In Spain a battle was fought at Almanza, which was decisive in favour of the French party. From that time the ultimate triumph of Philip was secured: the Austrians, however, succeeded in conquering Naples, thus separating that kingdom from Spain. An attempt of the English on Toulon failed; but an army which entered the south of France, under prince Eugene, caused Louis to weaken his forces in Flanders. In Scotland, the partisans of the pretender were active, expecting efficient aid from Louis; but the French monarch was too aged, and the pretender too young for vigorous measures, and the opportunity was suffered to pass. The expected invasion from France caused parliament to suspend the Habeas-corpus Act, and to order the arrest of some of the pretender's partisans. The Scottish privy-council, which had caused many evils, was also abolished.

Great changes took place this year in the court of queen Anne. The duchess of Marlborough having wearied the queen by her insolence and overbearing conduct, she was supplanted in her majesty's affections by Mrs. Masham, a poor cousin of the duchess, for whom she had obtained a situation in the royal bedchamber. Harley and Bolingbroke, two of the ministers, secured the new favourite to their interests; and they all combined to undermine the power of Marlborough and Godolphin. The whole whig party was in danger from their intrigues; but these intrigues ended in the dismissal of Harley and Bolingbroke from office: the discarded ministers, however, only retired for a time; they still maintained their hold upon the queen, through Mrs. Masham.

In March, 1708, the pretender, with a French force, sailed from Dunkirk, to raise the standard of rebellion in Scotland; but on reaching the frith of Forth, finding himself closely followed by a strong naval force under Byng, the French admiral refused to land him, and returned to France. In the Netherlands this year's campaign was attended with various results. The French were at first successful; but they were completely defeated in July at Oudenarde: the campaign closed in October, with the capture of Lisle by the

allies. In Spain little was done; but the English fleet was successful in the Mediterranean: Minorca was captured, as was also the island of Sardinia. Admiral Leake threatened to bombard Civita Vecchia, the port of Rome; but the pope saved that town by the acknowledgment of the archduke Charles as king of Spain.

In the autumn of this year the prince of Denmark, queen Anne's husband, died: he was an insignificant character, taking no part, while living, in the affairs of the nation. At this period the intrigues at court still prevailed: the queen was influenced against her ministry, and came to an open quarrel with the duke of Marlborough. The interests and destinies of Europe appeared to be wholly influenced and mostly determined by the petty disputes of three females—queen Anne, the duchess of Marlborough, and Mrs. Masham. The decisions as to most important measures turned on the veriest trifles of their personal broils. The queen, influenced by Mrs. Masham, even while appearing to the world to seek solitude on account of the loss of her husband, attended to and encouraged secret measures for a change of ministry. But in the new parliament, which met in November, the whigs were prevalent, and a change of ministers was found to be difficult. The chief measure of this parliament was to vote means for carrying on the war. Money was for the first time raised by lottery, an evil proceeding which continued for a century, though manifestly injurious to the nation by the promotion of a spirit of gambling.

In 1709 the French were again defeated at Malplaquet; but in Spain the war was increasingly disastrous to the allies. During this year another political storm broke forth. One Sacheverell, an ignorant worthless preacher, attracted public attention by sermons in which he railed at the rulers of the state, abusing some of the bishops for their approval of toleration, and unwillingness to persecute the dissenters. He raised a cry that the church was in danger, misapplying passages of scripture which speak of the church of Christ, in order to support his erroneous views. In a moment of error the council resolved to prosecute the preacher: in December his sermons were voted malicious, scandalous, and seditious libels, and he was taken into the custody of the house of commons. His impeachment was brought before the lords in February, 1710. In the meantime it became evident that Sacheverell had the countenance of many of the leading clergy, and of

the queen. Mobs were stimulated to riotous proceedings: the cry of "The church is in danger!" was repeated by the lowest and most profligate characters, and the whole affair was made use of against Marlborough, who desired to deprive Anne of her present favourite, Mrs. Masham. Sacheverell was found guilty by the lords; but they only ventured to inflict upon him a slight censure; his sentence was virtually a triumph; his health was drunk at party orgies; his portrait sold in all forms. After his trial the queen's affection was entirely alienated from the duchess of Marlborough; and her husband soon after returned to England, only to be insulted and disgraced: the command of the army was taken from him and given to the duke of Ormond. The whig administration was also broken up, and the earls of Rochester, Bolingbroke, Harcourt, and Harley, afterwards earl of Oxford, formed the new ministry. Thus the honour of the nation was sacrificed to court intrigues, managed by Mrs. Masham, who was soon after addressed as "my lady Masham;" the queen having thus dignified her new favourite.

The campaign of 1710 was comparatively inactive in Flanders, while in Spain, after again occupying Madrid, Charles was compelled to retire. Parliament, the members of which had been newly elected, met in November: its chief business was to order the erection of fifty new churches in the metropolis; and to pass an act to strengthen the landed interest, by requiring all members of counties to possess land which would produce them £600 per annum, and of boroughs half that sum.

The new ministry were disposed for peace: this emboldened the French court to seek more favourable terms than they had hitherto offered. One circumstance in favour of peace was the death of the emperor Joseph, by which the archduke Charles succeeded to the throne of Spain. After some negotiation, it was settled that a congress should meet on the 1st of January, 1712, at Utrecht. By the treaty which was concluded there Spain yielded all right to Gibraltar, and the island of Minorca; while France resigned her pretensions to Hudson's Bay, Nova Scotia, St. Christopher's, and Newfoundland. It was also agreed that the fortifications of Dunkirk should be demolished, and its port destroyed. The ratification of the treaty being exchanged, peace was proclaimed in London, with the usual ceremonies,



in 1713. It was a peace to be desired, for the war had been characterized by great ferocity: great victories had been won, which had obtained the plaudits of the nation; but the horrors which had attended the strife were not taken into the account.

"O, war! what art thou?

After the brightest conquest, what remains  
Of all thy glories? For the vanquish'd, chains;  
For the proud victor—what? alas! to reign  
O'er desolated nations—a drear waste  
By one man's crime, by one man's lust of power  
Unpeopled! Naked plains, and ravaged fields,  
Succeed to smiling harvests, and the fruits  
Of peaceful olive, luscious fig, and vine.

\* \* \* \*

"When the song

Of dear-bought joy, with many a triumph swelled,  
Salutes the victor's ears, and soothes his pride,  
How is the grateful harmony profaned  
With the sad dissonance of virgins' cries,  
Who moan their brothers slain! of matrons hoar,  
Who clasp their withered hands, and fondly ask,  
With iteration shrill, their slaughtered sons!  
How is the laurel's verdure stain'd with blood,  
And soil'd with widows' tears!"

MORE.

The conclusion of war was followed by a renewal of party strife and intrigues. No longer restrained by the tie of common danger, ministers gave a loose to their mutual animosity. Bolingbroke charged the earl of Oxford with having maintained a private correspondence with the house of Hanover: Oxford wrote a letter to the queen, in which he endeavoured to justify his own conduct, and expose the turbulent and ambitious spirit of his rival. In all probability, Oxford's greatest crime was his having given umbrage to "my lady Masham;" though it is clear that he was favourable to the Hanoverian succession: he was dismissed; and Bolingbroke triumphed in the victory he had obtained. His ambition, however, was defeated, as the place of lord-treasurer was filled by the duke of Shrewsbury. The altercation at court upon this occasion had a fatal effect upon the queen: her constitution was already impaired by the gout, and she was immediately seized with a lethargic disorder, of which she soon after expired in the fiftieth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign. A.D. 1714.

Little need be said of the personal character of queen

Anne. Her mind was weak and indolent, and easily governed by favourites: her imbecility caused her submission to the duchess of Marlborough, which was, as a means, instrumental to the military glories of her reign; while the same infatuated regard placed on another female favourite was overruled to stop the devastations of war, and to bring about a peace. Till towards the close of her reign she was a favourite with neither party in parliament: then the Tories affected to idolize her; and after her death she was dignified with the name of "The good queen Anne."

## GEORGE I.

A.D. 1714. The regency bill, passed in 1705, had provided for the government on the demise of the queen; the seven great officers of state, therefore, with eighteen peers named in an instrument signed by the elector of Hanover, took upon themselves the temporary administration of the state. The queen had no sooner breathed her last than orders were issued by the regency for proclaiming king George in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The earl of Dorset was then appointed to carry to Hanover the intimation of his majesty's accession, and to attend him on his journey to England. Arrangements were also made in order to defeat the designs of the pretender, and to secure the Protestant succession. The friends of the pretender were active, but it was of no avail: George was proclaimed king without opposition. At a private meeting of the partisans of James, bishop Atterbury advised that they should immediately proclaim him; but they shrank from the attempt. "Long live king George!" was the general cry throughout the nation. Both houses of parliament took oaths to the new sovereign, and loyal addresses were voted unanimously. In the same breath, and with the same drop of ink, they expressed their grief at the death of their queen "of blessed memory," and their lively pleasure at the accession of a king whose right to the crown was so undoubted, and whose virtues were so princely. Even those members who were in favour of the pretender, fearing a committal to the Tower, joined in the universal congratulations.

This prince, who was son of Ernest Augustus, first duke, and afterwards elector of Hanover, and the princess Sophia, granddaughter of James I., was in the fifty-fifth year of his

age when he ascended the throne of Great Britain. Accompanied by the electoral prince, he landed at Greenwich on the 18th of September, where he was received by the duke of Northumberland, captain of the life-guards, and the lords of the regency. His subjects of Hanover had witnessed his departure with tears: his English subjects received him with joy and acclamation. On his arrival he showed marked attention to the leading whigs; but he looked coldly on the tories, who had equally run to welcome him to England. He would not admit some of the leading tories into his presence, while others were barely permitted to kiss his hand. This was ominous: it was followed by an instantaneous and total change in every office of honour and advantage. The tories were excluded from all power: the whigs engrossed the whole. These early marks of aversion to the former party alienated the minds of many from his person and government, who otherwise might have served him with zeal and affection. The number of malcontents in England, indeed, considerably increased by the king's undisguised attachment to the whig faction. The clamour that the church was in danger was revived, jealousies were excited, seditious libels published, and dangerous tumults raised throughout the kingdom.

In April, 1715, general Stanhope delivered to the house of commons all the papers relating to the late negotiations of peace and commerce, as well as to the cessation of arms, and moved that they might be referred to a committee. These papers had been seized in the possession of Bolingbroke, Strafford, and the poet Prior. The committee appointed was a thoroughly whig committee, and the result was such as might have been expected. Mr. Walpole was appointed chairman, and he soon after declared that the report of the committee was ready. In the mean time, he moved that a warrant might be issued by the speaker to apprehend several persons: especially Mr. Thomas Harley and Prior, who, being in their places, were immediately taken into custody. Walpole then impeached lords Bolingbroke and Oxford. The latter appeared in the house next day, when he found himself avoided as though he had been a viper, and he retired with some confusion. The duke of Ormond consulted his safety by withdrawing from the kingdom. His correspondence with the pretender was less susceptible of proof than that of Oxford; but, as he could not expect an impartial trial, he fled. The result of the earl of Oxford's trial was,

that he was sent to the Tower. He was accompanied thither by a large concourse of people, who exclaimed, at the top of their voices, "High church, Ormond, and Oxford, for ever!" Lord Bolingbroke also was impeached, and his guilt was more evident than either that of Oxford or Ormond. Bolingbroke fled to France; and as neither he nor Ormond surrendered themselves within the time limited, their names and armorial bearings were erased out of the list of peers. Inventories were taken of their personal estates; and the duke's achievement as knight of the garter was taken down from St. George's chapel, at Windsor. Prior was kept in close custody, and no person was admitted to see him without an order from the speaker.

The easy accession of the house of Hanover, after all the plots and plans that had been laid, and all the pledges that had been given to the pretender, struck the world with astonishment. Efforts, however, were not wanting to shake the new throne. The high church party especially applied their broad shoulders to this work. By sermons and by pamphlets they irritated the populace with suspicions of the king's temper and orthodoxy. They painted his religion in bad colours, representing him as puritanical; and they drew an odious distinction between a native and a foreign prince: they prophesied that England would be eaten up by Hanoverian rats, and other foreign vermin. Their exertions were not without their fruits. In some places the disciples of orthodoxy not only cried, "Down with the dissenters!" but pulled down their places of worship. As for the German attendants on their majesties, they could scarcely move out of doors without being insulted. One day, a German lady of the court being insulted as she passed through the city of London, put her head out of the carriage window, and exclaimed in broken English, "Why do you abuse us, good peoples? We come all for your goods." "Yes," replied a fellow in the mob, "and for our chattels too!"

In the midst of this personal unpopularity of George and his court, numerous papers in behalf of the pretender were written, printed, and circulated. He was known to be a bigot and a coward; but he was represented in these papers as candid, tolerant, and benevolent: the very paragon of a prince: resembling in his countenance Charles II. There was no chance of an invasion in his favour being attended with success in England: king George was unpopular, it is

true, but not with the entire body of the people; and even those who clamoured against him, for the most part preferred him, as a Protestant, with all his faults, to a Papist, who was represented as a prince of the most perfect qualities. There was, however, scope for action in favour of the pretender in the sister kingdom, Scotland. The dissensions occasioned in that country by the union had never been wholly appeased: and, as they had no hopes of dissolving that treaty, they determined to support the pretender. They maintained a correspondence with the malcontents in England, who, finding themselves totally excluded from any share in the government and legislature, and exposed to the insults and fury of their opponents, began to wish in earnest for a revolution. Taking advantage of their promised support, and by the assistance of the French king, the pretender was enabled to prepare a small armament in the port of Havre. The duke of Ormond and lord Bolingbroke engaged in his service, and corresponded with the Tories in England. All these intrigues and machinations were discovered, and communicated to the court of London, by the earl of Stair, who then resided as English ambassador at Paris. This nobleman detected the scheme while it was yet in embryo, and he gave such early notice of it as enabled the king to take effectual measures for defeating the design. But the most fatal blow to the pretender's interest was the death of Louis XIV.: that ostentatious tyrant, who, for more than half a century sacrificed the repose of Christendom to his insatiate vanity and ambition. Upon the decease of Louis, the duke of Orleans entered into engagements with Great Britain; and instead of assisting the pretender, amused his agents with mysterious and equivocal expressions, calculated to frustrate the designs of the expedition.

The partisans of the pretender, however, had proceeded too far to retreat with safety, and therefore resolved to try their fortune in the field. The earl of Mar assembled three hundred of his vassals, proclaimed the pretender at Castle-town, and set up his standard at Brae-Mar, in the month of September. About the same time two vessels arrived at Arbroath, from Havre, with arms, ammunition, and a great number of officers, who assured the earl of Mar that the pretender would soon be with them in person. The earl now assumed the title of lieutenant-general of the forces, and in a short time he found himself at the head of 10,000 men, well

armed. Among the earl's adherents were the marquesses of Huntley and Tullibardine, the earls of Marischal and Southesk, and several other Jacobite noblemen. In the mean time, the earl of Derwentwater took the field in England, with a body of horse. Being joined by some gentlemen from the borders of Scotland, he proclaimed the pretender at Warkworth, Morpeth, and Alnwick. He then attempted to seize Newcastle; but being defeated, he retired towards Scotland. There he was again re-enforced by some of the Scottish insurgents; but returning into England, he was overpowered at Preston, in Lancashire, by the king's forces, under generals Wills and Carpenter, and his troops were compelled to lay down their arms. On the same day the duke of Argyle defeated the rebel army under the earl of Mar, at Sheriff-Muir, and the earl retreated with the remnant of his forces to Perth.

The pretender had been amused with the hope that the people of England would rise as one man in his behalf. He was convinced of the vanity of his expectations in that quarter by a fruitless voyage, made by the duke of Ormond to the western coast. Nothing, therefore, remained for him, but to hazard his person in Scotland. He arrived at the royal palace of Scone, near Perth, on the 8th of December. Here proclamation after proclamation was issued, and one of them fixed his coronation for the 23d of January, 1716. He was warmly supported by the Episcopalians, but not by the Presbyterians. It was noticed that only two of the former prayed for king George, and only two of the latter for the pretender. By the episcopal clergy the pretender was compared to Moses, Joseph, and David; and they declared that his princely virtues were such that he was worthy to wear a crown, even if he had not been born to one. But he never obtained that crown. He had been promised the support of 16,000 men in arms, but he found only about 5,000, and those were ill armed and in no good humour. The very appearance of the pretender had disappointed them, if it had satisfied the episcopal clergy. One of the rebels, in drawing his portrait, said of him:—"He cared not to come abroad amongst us soldiers, or to see us handle our arms, or do our exercise. Some said the circumstances he found us in dejected him: I am sure the figure he made dejected us." This was a bad omen: where mutual confidence is wanting between a leader and his troops, there can be no success. The disposition of the troops of the pretender was soon discovered.

Hearing that the king's army, commanded by the duke of Argyll, had been re-enforced by 6,000 Dutch troops, and were marching towards them, the chiefs of the pretender's forces resolved to abandon the enterprise. The pretender himself fled. He embarked on board a small ship that lay in the harbour of Montrose, from whence, attended by the earl of Mar, and a few other Scottish noblemen, he arrived in five days at Graveline. Acts of vengeance followed. The house of commons impeached the earls of Derwentwater, Nithisdale, Carnwath, and Wintoun; together with the lords Widdrington, Kenmuir, and Nairn, for being concerned in this rebellion. They were all found guilty, and most of them suffered, though the king himself was inclined to mercy. Bills of high-treason were found against others: twenty-two were executed at Preston: four or five were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn. Upon some who were taken both in the north of England and in Scotland, military law was executed: they were tried in bands by a court-martial, and then shot in a heap. What was still more dreadful, five hundred prisoners of inferior condition were left inhumanly to starve of hunger and cold in various castles and gaols in the north. Such was the issue of this ill-timed rebellion.

A few weeks after this rebellion was quelled, the king gave the royal assent to an act for enlarging the time of continuance of parliaments to seven years. The great object of this Septennial Act was to keep the tories out of parliament. It passed both houses by large majorities, and "with the applauses of some and the curses of others," it became the law of the land.

In the year 1717, the earl of Oxford, who had been long in prison on a charge of high-treason, was impeached in Westminster-hall, and acquitted. No prosecutor appeared against him, and the ex-prime-minister stepped forth as a free man, to the great mortification of the duke of Marlborough and his vindictive duchess. An act of grace and free pardon was subsequently passed by parliament, by which the earl of Carnwath, and lords Widdrington and Nairn, were released from the Tower, and many others were liberated from Newgate, the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and other places of custody. In Scotland, also, the prison doors were generally thrown open to the captive Jacobites. Matthew Prior, Thomas Harley, and a few others were excepted out of the act of grace; and as the clan of Rob Roy had made

itself conspicuous in the late rebellion, "all and every person of the name of Macgregor" were likewise excepted. But the sting was not taken out of the act of attainder to those who were pardoned: their estates remained forfeited to the crown.

In 1718 a quadruple alliance was signed at London between the courts of Vienna, Paris, the Hague, and Great Britain. In the same year Sir George Byng defeated the Spanish fleet in the Mediterranean; the Spaniards having attacked the citadel of Messina in Sicily, Messina was given up by the quadruple alliance to the emperor of Austria. War was soon after declared against Spain both by Great Britain and France. This war was resolved on by the British parliament, which met in November, though Walpole and others loudly declaimed against it. In the same parliament an act was passed "for strengthening the Protestant interest;" the real object of which was to repeal the intolerant act against Occasional Conformity and the Schism Act. Clauses were originally introduced into this bill for the repeal of such parts of the Test and Corporation Acts as excluded Protestant dissenters from holding certain offices; but these were struck out by the lords. Latent bigotry and open political manoeuvre prevented toleration from becoming the general rule of government.

In 1719, Spain, being at war with England, sent out a fleet to act in behalf of the pretender. The manifestoes issued by him show that he had the most sanguine hopes of being successful. He was, however, again disappointed, for the fleet was cast away off Cape Finisterre. About the same time, an English squadron, assisted by some French soldiers, attacked the Spanish shipping at Santona, and destroyed property to the amount of a million dollars. The French also captured the town and citadel of St. Sebastian. Other parts of Spain were further attacked by the English and French, and in 1720 the king of Spain sued for peace, and consented to accede to the quadruple alliance. This accession gave a twelve years' peace to Europe.

In the British parliament, which met in November, a bill was passed for limiting the peerage. At this time the king was at variance with his son, the prince of Wales, and it was thought that he sanctioned this measure in order to take vengeance on him, by weakening his party, the tories. Lord Cowper, in opposing it, adverted to this in a forcible manner.



"Precipitation," he said, "was always dangerous, and in many cases suspicious; and he could not help being of opinion, that, if there were no secret meaning in this bill, it would not be pressed upon the house in so extraordinary a manner." Walpole, in the commons, alluded to the enmity which existed between the king and the heir to the throne in a manner still more marked; and he spoke with equal plainness of the personal character of George, and of the seeming surrender of one of the most important of his prerogatives. He remarked:—"We are told that his majesty has voluntarily consented to this limitation of the prerogative. It may be true; but may not the king have been deceived? which, if it is ever to be supposed, must be admitted in this case. The character of the king furnishes us also with a strong proof that he has been deceived; for although it is a fact that in Hanover, where he possesses absolute power, he never tyrannized over his subjects, or despotically exercised his authority, yet can one instance be produced of his ever giving up a prerogative?" Walpole declared that this bill would make the lords masters of the king, and shut up the door of honour to the rest of the nation.

It was during this session of parliament that the memorable South-Sea Company received the royal assent. The scheme was projected by Sir John Blunt, who had been a scrivener, and who was possessed of all the cunning, plausibility, and boldness requisite for such an undertaking. The company was originally formed for the purpose of trading to the South Seas; but that speculation being unprofitable, Blunt contrived to persuade some of the proprietors that it would be profitable to purchase up all the various stocks of the national debt, and consolidate them into one fund. This scheme met with the approbation of the ministers. Aislabie, chancellor of the exchequer, said that if the proposal was accepted, the prosperity of the nation would be marvellously increased, and all her debts paid. Some members expressed their doubts; but it was generally believed that a golden age would follow the adoption of this project. Its projectors managed so shrewdly that many thousands of persons advanced large sums of money, expecting to receive a great interest for it. South-Sea stock was sold and re-sold at enormous prices. Subscription succeeded subscription, each mounting over the other, till the stock rose to above a thousand per cent. Nor was this the only project which gained

the public favour. Bubble companies sprung up and grew round the mighty original like mushrooms round a rotten tree. There were joint-stocks for making salt-water fresh; for making oil out of sunflower seeds; for extracting silver out of lead; for transmuting quicksilver into a malleable and fine metal; for trading in human hair; for fattening of hogs; and for a wheel of perpetual motion! The South-Sea stock had the honour of being the gold table: the better sort of the other bubbles, were silver tables; and the lower sort were farthing tables for footmen. Every day brought forth a new project, till all trade was suspended, save gambling in shares. Change Alley was crammed from morning till night by all classes of society, from the prince to the peasant; all of whom were eager to become shareholders in some of the bubble companies. But soon these bubbles burst. The South-Sea company, jealous of the others, and desirous of monopolising all the folly and all the money of the nation, obtained writs against the managers of the lesser bubbles, and fear of prosecutions put an end to most of them. But in thus exposing the cards of others, the South-Sea Company drew attention to their own game. They wanted only to disclose a part of the truth; but they let out the whole. People began to suspect, and then to be certain, that they had been playing their solid gold against bits of useless paper. The South-Sea stock that had been going at one thousand per cent. in August, fell in September to less than three hundred, and no exertions could ever get it up again. Bankers, brokers, merchants, and goldsmiths now began to fail, and to quit the country; each ruining hundreds or thousands of others in his own ruin. Public credit sustained a terrible shock, and the nation was thrown into a dangerous ferment. Nothing was heard but the ravings of grief, disappointment, and despair. Bitter were the fruits of the universal imprudence: an infinite number of families, before wealthy, were steeped in poverty. At length the house of commons took the matter into consideration. A committee of secrecy was chosen by ballot, to examine the books, papers, and proceedings of the company; and in a short time a report was made that they had discovered a train of the deepest villany that had ever been contrived to ruin a nation. In consequence of this some of the directors and principal officers of the company were taken into custody. Others were expelled the house of commons. The estates of the greatest delinquents were confiscated towards

making good the damages sustained by the public, and such prudent regulations were made as the case would admit of. The transaction was a powerful comment on the words of the apostle Paul, that they who would be rich fall into temptation and a snare.

The proceedings against the proprietors of the South-Sea Company chiefly occupied the attention of the house of commons in the session of 1720 and 1721. Nothing of importance occurred after vengeance had been taken on them till 1722. In that year the great duke of Marlborough died. His funeral was almost regal: all his vices and political baseness were forgotten, and nothing was borne in mind but his high achievements as the first of English captains. While Marlborough was lying on his death-bed, the nation was agitated by fresh rumours of plots and conspiracies. The duke of Orleans sent the king certain intelligence of another conspiracy against his person and government, in favour of the pretender. A camp was immediately formed in Hyde-Park, and several suspected persons were apprehended. Among these were Dr. Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, the lords North and Grey, and others of inferior rank. A young gentleman of the Temple, named Laver, was tried in 1723, at the King's-Bench, for enlisting men into the pretender's service; and being found guilty, he was hanged at Tyburn. He was the only person who suffered death on this occasion. The bishop of Rochester was deprived of his office and benefice, and banished the kingdom: the rest were admitted to bail. At the same time the king granted a pardon to lord Bolingbroke, and soon after an act passed restoring that nobleman to his family estate.

The session of parliament in 1724 was distinguished by the trial of the earl of Macclesfield, lord chancellor of England. That nobleman had connived at certain venal practices touching the sale of places, and the money of suitors deposited with the masters of chancery. He was convicted of these practices, after a trial of twenty days, and condemned in a fine of £30,000, with imprisonment till that sum was paid. He was committed to the Tower, but at the lapse of six weeks he paid the money and was discharged. Sir Peter King, one of the justices of the common-pleas, now created baron King, succeeded him in the chancellorship.

In the year 1726, the king receiving advice of some inimical designs of the Spaniards, sent a squadron, under the com-

mand of admiral Hosier, to the Spanish West Indies. This expedition proved unfortunate. Admiral Hosier, upon his arrival in those seas, finding himself restricted by his orders from obeying the dictates of his courage, and seeing his best officers and men daily swept away by the unhealthy climate, and his ships exposed to inevitable destruction from worms, is said to have died of a broken heart. In consequence of these hostilities in the West Indies, the emperor and Spain prepared to retaliate on the English. The king of Spain laid siege to Gibraltar with an army of 20,000 men; but the powers at variance were equally averse to war, and a treaty was opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, for adjusting all differences, and consolidating the peace of Europe. The siege of Gibraltar was raised. It had lasted four months, and the Spaniards had lost a great number of men by sickness. The merit of this pacification is generally attributed to sir Robert Walpole and cardinal Fleury, both of whom were men of peace.

On the 3rd of June, 1727, the king, having appointed a regency, embarked at Greenwich, for Hanover. He arrived in Holland on the 7th. He was then in apparently good health; but on the 10th, as he was travelling along the road, he was seized with apoplexy; and on reaching Ippenburren, he was quite lethargic. Before his attendants reached Osnaburgh, he expired. He was in the sixty-eighth year of his age. In spite of many vices and infirmities of character he had submitted admirably to the restrictions of constitutional monarchy, and had on many occasions displayed considerable ability as a ruler and a politician. In private life he seems to have possessed some attractive qualities. Horace Walpole, who was not a flatterer of kings, calls him a good-natured prince, and records several instances of his amiability, humour, and wit. He was attached to his German dominions; and this was made use of by the tories to render him odious to the British nation; but it is certain that he wished and sought to govern England according to the maxims of the British constitution and the genius of the people. If ever he seemed to deviate from these principles, it appears to have been from the suggestions of a venal ministry, whose power and influence were founded on corruption.

## GEORGE II.

A.D. 1727. George II. was proclaimed king of Great Britain on the 15th of June, being the day after the express had arrived with the account of the death of his father. The intelligence of his father's death was communicated to him by Sir Robert Walpole, who, as he knelt at his feet, kissed his hand as his king, and inquired whom his majesty would be pleased to appoint to draw up the usual speech or declaration to the council. "Sir Spencer Compton," replied the monarch, abruptly; an answer which implied Sir Robert's dismissal from office. But Compton was found unequal to the task, and Sir Robert not only made the draft of the speech, but kept possession of the treasury. All the great officers of state were continued in their places, and the system of politics pursued by the late king underwent no alteration.

In his speech to both houses, the king, at the opening of the session, professed a fixed resolution to merit the love and affection of his people, by maintaining them in the full enjoyment of their religious and civil rights. In return, parliament settled £800,000 per annum on him for life, and granted £100,000 as a future provision for the queen, in case she should survive his majesty, together with the palace of Somerset-house, and Richmond Old Park. The king, from the throne, thanked the commons for these marks of affection, and, after adverting to the flourishing state of the country, prorogued the parliament. Shortly after the necessary dissolution was proclaimed, and writs were issued for a new parliament to meet in January, 1728.

The Jacobites had been sanguine in their hopes that the death of the first George would lead to a revolution, and finally to a restoration. At this critical moment, however, they saw all their hopes vanish into thin air. At the news of the death of George I. the pretender hastened from Bologna, where he had been residing, to Lorraine, whence he dispatched a messenger to bishop Atterbury, who was at Paris; but the bishop had small encouragement to offer the pretender, nor were the advices received from other Jacobites more encouraging. Lord Orrery, in London, confessed that the number of discontented among the people was very small; and the earl of Strafford was obliged to confess that the torrent was too strong to resist. George II., indeed,

ascended the throne with the almost approbation of the people; his coronation, with that of the queen, was performed at Westminster-abbey, on the 11th of October. At this time the courts of France and Spain were perfectly reconciled. All Europe was freed from the calamities of war; and the peace of Great Britain suffered no interruption except from some transient tumults among the miners of Cornwall, who, being provoked by a scarcity of corn, rose in arms, and plundered the granaries of that county. In a word, few British kings ever ascended the throne under more auspicious circumstances than George II.

In person and in manners George II. was less dignified than his predecessor: he was also more fiery and passionate, and was generally supposed to have less talent for business. He was meanly avaricious, a most unfortunate quality in a prince: he was, however, a man of undisputed courage in the field; and he had these peculiar advantages over his father, that he could speak English fluently, was more acquainted with the people, and was sociable, communicative, and accessible on all occasions. In his habits and occupations he was as regular as clock-work: he was, in fact, so much a slave to routine that he seemed to think his having done a thing to-day a sufficient reason for his doing it to-morrow. He was a kind and even a submissive husband; and it was his good fortune that he allowed his wife to rule him and the state for him. He was married to Carolina Wilhelmina, daughter of the margrave of Anspach, who was a superior and accomplished woman. Caroline was an ardent lover of literature and philosophy; she even affected to combine the characters of a philosopher and a princess royal, a beauty and a wit, a metaphysician and a divine. Her levees were a strange picture of the motley character and manners of a queen and a learned woman. She received company while at her toilet: prayers and sometimes sermons were read, learned men and divines were intermixed with courtiers and ladies of the household, and the conversation often turned on metaphysical subjects, blended with repartees, sallies of mirth, and the tittle-tattle of a drawing-room. But, mixed with these absurdities, Caroline had a good fund of homely sense, discretion, and dignity; and, what was better than all, her character was without a blemish: it was her native excellence that obtained such influence over her husband. During ten years she was more king than he was; and he seldom went

wrong except when led contrary to her advice or suggestion. Tickell says that she was

"Formed to gain hearts that Brunswick's cause denied,  
And charm a people to her husband's side."

The new parliament met on the 23rd of January, 1728: it was found to be loyal and compliant. In his speech the king assured the houses that it was necessary to continue those war-like preparations which had hitherto secured the nation, as the execution of the preliminaries signed at Paris had been retarded by the obstinate opposition of Spain. Parliament responded to this assurance by grants of money for the support of an army equal to the contingency. In the session of 1729 petitions were presented to the commons from the merchants of London, Liverpool, and Bristol, complaining of the interruptions they had suffered in their trade by the depredations of the Spaniards in the West Indies. Other merchants also complained, and the house in a committee examined several witnesses, and passed several resolutions, in which the Spaniards were accused of violating the treaties subsisting between the two crowns; and with having treated with inhumanity the masters and crews of ships belonging to Great Britain. An address was presented to the king, desiring that he would use endeavours to procure satisfaction. The king promised to comply with this request. An embassy was sent to the Spanish court at Seville, and a treaty was concluded, by which Spain joined in a defensive alliance with England, France, and Holland, confirmed preceding treaties, revoked certain privileges granted to the emperor by the treaty of Vienna, put the English trade in America on its former footing, and restored all captures. By this treaty the peace of Europe was established. The terms of this treaty were discussed in the session of 1730, and the opposition raised many objections to it; but they were too weak to set it aside. In this session the East India Company's charter was prolonged to 1766, on the condition of the company's paying £200,000 towards the supply of the current year, and reducing by one per cent. the interest of the money they had already advanced to the public: this measure was also objected to by the opposition, and, finding that all their attempts to stop the proceedings of government were useless, they exerted their strength in the press, and deluged the city of London with inflammatory papers and pamphlets, in which

there were little regard to decency and truth. In proroguing parliament, the king, in alluding to these publications, termed them "scandalous libels."

In this year seven chiefs of the Cherokee nation of Indians in America were brought to England. Being introduced to the king, they laid their crown and regalia at his feet, and, by authentic deed, acknowledged themselves subjects to Great Britain: they were astonished at the riches and magnificence of the British court.

The history of England, for the next four years, chiefly consists of an annual revolution of debates in parliament, in which the same arguments perpetually recur on the same subjects. Among these sir Robert Walpole's Excise Bill merits attention: this met with great opposition, both within and without doors. After long and violent debates it was carried in the commons; but the opposition which the minister encountered without doors prevented his project from being carried into execution: the whole nation was alarmed, and clamoured loudly against it. The populace crowded round Westminster-hall, and blocked up all the avenues to the house of commons: they even insulted those members who had supported it; and Sir Robert Walpole, beginning to fear for his life, thought proper to drop the design by moving that the second reading should be postponed. The miscarriage of the bill was celebrated by public rejoicings, and its projector was burnt in effigy by the populace: but Sir Robert was hardly deserving of such treatment. It is recorded, to his honour, that when he found the act could not be carried into execution without an armed force, he declared that he would sooner resign office than enforce taxes at the expense of blood.

In this period a proposal was made in the commons for the repeal of the Septennial Bill. Many judicious arguments were urged both for and against this motion. Ministers alleged that the increase of Papists and Jacobites rendered it dangerous to weaken the hands of government: they challenged the opposition to produce one instance in which the least encroachment had been made on the liberties of the people, and defied the most ingenious malice to prove that his present majesty had ever sought to extend any branch of his prerogative beyond its proper limits. The opposition urge many warm, nervous, and pathetic remonstrances in favour of the motion, but in vain: it was negatived. After it had



been disposed of, having sat nearly its term, parliament was dissolved, and the result of the elections was found to be still favourable to ministers. The minority was larger than formerly; but the majority was still an overwhelming one.

The vice of drunkenness had always been one of the worst defects of the English character. With a view of improving the manners of the people in this respect, in 1736, parliament imposed a tax upon gin and other spirituous liquors: this was thought to be the best way of putting a stop to the vice of drunkenness, especially as the tax imposed was twenty shillings per gallon, which made spirituous liquors too dear for the poor, who chiefly or solely used it. But this gin-tax did little good either to the public morality or to the public revenue. Clandestine dealers increased their trade; and "persons of inferior grade" got drunk as frequently as before, and committed sundry riots "because the government had endeavoured to put gin out of their reach." Hogarth's engravings, which were published at this period, was more likely to stop the vice of drinking than this or any act that ministers could pass for that purpose.

In the course of this year the marriage of Frederic, prince of Wales, with the princess of Saxe-Gotha was celebrated. Upon this occasion, when an address of congratulation was moved to his majesty, Mr. George Littleton and Mr. William Pitt, embraced the opportunity of pronouncing eloquent panegyrics on the prince of Wales and his consort. These two young members soon distinguished themselves in the house of commons by their superior talents. The beginning of the year 1737 was distinguished by a rupture in the royal family: it was occasioned by the prince of Wales carrying away the princess from Hampton-court, where their majesties resided, to St. James's, where she was delivered of a daughter, who was named Augusta. This rupture was not healed in November, when queen Caroline died: her loss was deeply felt both by the king and the nation. George II. was devotedly attached to his wife, though he was not a faithful husband. An anecdote will prove his affection for her. One of his German attendants having a picture of Caroline which was said to be a better likeness than any one in the king's possession, he desired that it might be brought to him. When it was produced the king was deeply affected, and he desired to be left alone with it till he rang the bell. The bell was not rung till two hours had elapsed, and when the owner

of the picture entered, George exclaimed, "Take the picture away: I never yet saw the woman worthy to buckle her shoe." Caroline had been the better genius that guided the king her husband. It is said that queen Caroline on her death-bed refused to see the prince of Wales; and it is certain that the king still entertained resentment against his son. The lord-chamberlain had orders to signify that no person who visited the prince should be admitted to the court of St. James's. The prince of Wales lived like a private gentleman, cultivating the virtues of social life; and, while living in retirement, in 1738, the princess of Wales gave birth to a son, who afterwards swayed the sceptre of England under the title of George III.

When the session of 1738 opened, the king informed the members that a convention had been concluded and ratified between him and the king of Spain, in which the latter had agreed to make reparation to the British merchants for their losses, by certain stipulated payments. This famous convention, which was concluded at the Pardo, caused warm debates in both houses. In the commons the two contending parties summoned their whole force for the approaching dispute: on the day appointed for considering the convention more than four hundred members had taken their seats by eight in the morning. All the officers and adherents of the prince of Wales joined the opposition: the prince himself sat in the gallery to hear the debate. On this occasion Mr. Pitt declaimed against the convention as insecure, unsatisfactory, and dishonourable. Sir William Wyndham and Mr. Pulteney also poured all the thunder of their eloquence against the insolence of Spain, and the concessions of the British ministry. On the other side, Sir Robert Walpole exerted all his fortitude and dexterity in defence of himself and his measures; and an address of thanks was carried, though only by a small majority. To such a degree of animosity were both parties inflamed, that the most eminent members of the minority retired from parliament: they were considered by the nation as martyrs to the liberty of the people. The debate was maintained with equal warmth in the lords: the chief speakers against the convention were lord Bathurst, the earl of Chesterfield, and the duke of Argyle; it was defended by the duke of Newcastle, the earls of Cholmondeley and Ilay, and lord Harvey. The dispute was learned, long, and obstinate; but it ended in favour of the address. In this

session a bill was carried, facilitating the importation of wool from Ireland, and laying additional duties upon the exportation of that commodity in its crude state. Another act was passed, permitting the introduction of sugar into foreign ports in British ships, without first landing it in Great Britain.

Though war with Spain was postponed by the convention of Seville, it was not averted. In the course of this year negotiations were interrupted by differences; and Walpole, dearly as he loved peace, was compelled to prepare for war. War was proclaimed in London on the 19th of October in the most jubilant manner. People seemed to fancy that they had already obtained the mines of Mexico and Peru, and the Spanish colonies in South America. It is said that several of the leaders of the opposition walked in procession after the heralds who proclaimed war by sound of trumpet; and that the prince of Wales stopped before the Rose-tavern at Temple-bar, to drink with the mob, "Success to the war!" All the bells in London were set ringing; on hearing which Walpole exclaimed, "They may ring the bells now; but they will soon be wringing their hands." Parliament met in November, and its chief measures were to provide the materials for carrying on the conflict.

Parliament was prorogued in April, 1740. While it was yet sitting, advices were received that admiral Vernon had taken Porto-Bello, with only six ships of war. In the same year Vernon bombarded Carthagena, and took Fort Chagre. But his successes were soon ended. In the year 1741 an expedition under his command, and that of general Wentworth, proved totally unsuccessful. The miscarriage of this expedition, which had cost the nation an immense sum, filled the kingdom with murmur and discontent. The people were depressed in proportion to that sanguine hope by which they had been elevated. The general discontent had a manifest influence upon the election of members for a new parliament, which took place this year. Sir Robert Walpole felt himself on the brink of ruin. Although he had been averse to the war, he knew that the majority of a single vote would at any time commit him to the Tower, if ever that motion was made. His safety, he felt, could only be effected in dividing the opposition: this he tried to bring about in various ways; and failing in his design, he declared, during the session of 1742, that he would never more sit in the house of commons. The king adjourned the parliament for a few days, and in the

interim, sir Robert Walpole was created earl of Orford, and resigned all his employments. But the newly-created earl soon found means to transfer the popular odium from himself to his opponents. A coalition took place. Some were gratified with titles and offices; and all were assured that in the management of affairs, a new system would be adopted, according to the plan they themselves should propose. About the same time the king and the prince of Wales were reconciled: an event which was celebrated with rejoicings throughout the kingdom. This reconciliation, however, was purchased: the prince of Wales had an additional £50,000 per annum granted to him, and then his enmity to the earl of Orford was disarmed, and he, with all the leaders of the opposition, went to pay their respects at court.

At the passing of the Gin Act, in 1731, Walpole had foretold that it would encourage fraud and increase drunkenness. This proved correct; and in 1743 ministers proposed a new bill, granting licences at twenty shillings each to the retailers, and a duty per gallon on spirits at the still-head. This was more to obtain revenue than to prevent drunkenness; and hence it met with great opposition. It was denounced as a licence to the people to poison themselves; as a bait spread over the pitfalls of debauchery; and as an attempt to raise the revenue at the expense of the morals and habits of the people: but the bill passed both houses by large majorities.

War with Spain still continued, but no important successes were obtained on either side. England was also at this time engaged in another war. The emperor of Germany had recently died, leaving an only daughter, Maria Theresa, who was married to Francis of Lorraine. The claim of this princess was not only just, but it had the security of several treaties. The elector of Bavaria, however, urged and aided by the French court, disputed it. England sided with Maria Theresa, and in 1742, her cause was sustained by an English army, and English subsidies. In the next year George II. appeared personally with an English-Hanoverian army, in Germany, forced the elector of the palatinate to neutrality, gained a victory over the French at Dettingen, and destroyed their lines on the Zurich. In 1744 a Spanish and French fleet was defeated by admiral Mathews, near the harbour of Toulon, and France then declared war against England.

France seconded this declaration of war by assisting Charles Edward, son of the old pretender, to make an attempt to

effect a descent upon England. A pressing invitation had been sent from Scotland, where the mischievous attempts of 1715 had been too soon forgotten. In 1745, therefore, being furnished with some money, and still larger promises, the young pretender embarked for Scotland. He was accompanied by the marquis of Tullibardine, and a few other desperate adventurers. For the conquest of the whole British empire, he brought with him only seven officers, and arms for 2,000 men. He landed on the coast of Lochabar, and was soon joined by some highland chiefs and their vassals: 1,500 men ranged themselves under his standard, and others were invited to join him by manifestoes, which were dispersed throughout all the highlands. The ministry was no sooner confirmed of the truth of his arrival, than Sir John Cope was ordered to arrest his progress. The young adventurer marched to Perth, where his father, the Chevalier de St. George, was proclaimed king of Great Britain. The rebel army then advanced towards Edinburgh, which they entered without opposition. The pageantry of proclamation was also performed in that city. But though the young pretender was master of the capital, the citadel, with a garrison under the command of general Guest, braved all his attempts. Sir John Cope marched towards Edinburgh to give battle; but the adventurers attacked him near Preston-Pans, and totally defeated his troops: the king lost 1,500 men; the rebels not above eighty. Thus successful, the pretender marched forward with vigour; he advanced to Penrith, then to Manchester, and finally to Derby. He determined, however, once more to return to Scotland, where, after many attacks and skirmishes, the duke of Cumberland put himself at the head of the troops at Edinburgh, which consisted of about 14,000 men. He resolved to come to a battle as soon as possible, and marched northward, while the pretender retired at his approach. The duke then advanced to Aberdeen, where he was joined by the duke of Gordon, and some other lords. The Highlanders at that time, A. D. 1746, were drawn up in order of battle on the plain of Culloden, to the number of 8,000 men. The duke marched thither; and a battle was fought, in which the rebels were totally routed: the field was covered with their dead bodies. The rebellion being quelled, the legislature resolved to make examples of those who had joined in it. Many who had borne arms in the rebel army were executed on Kennington Common, at Carlisle, at Penrith,

and at York. Among those who were executed may be noticed the earls of Kilmarnock and Derwentwater, and lords Lovat and Balmerino. A few of the rebels obtained pardon : a considerable number were transported to the plantations. Thus ended the last attempt of the house of the Stuarts to regain the dominion of Great Britain.

This war in Scotland was a most advantageous diversion for the French. While the English were putting it down, they had been marching from conquest to conquest ; and at the time when the battle of Culloden was fought, were threatening Holland with annihilation. The war continued to rage on the Continent ; and many were the defeats, the victories, and the negociations which took place, till they were put a stop to by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748. The war between England and Spain procured for the former triumph and booty. The hero Anson, in his voyage round the world, captured many rich Spanish vessels, and plundered private commercial cities. The commerce of Spain was ruined by these losses. The gain of England became still greater when she took up arms against France, in the war concerning the Austrian succession. In every sea a multitude of French and Spanish vessels fell into the hands of the English. It was in vain that France sent her fleets to convoy her vessels of commerce. Great defeats, which they experienced repeatedly, especially by admirals Anson and Hawke, destroyed her naval force so completely, that she had scarcely a ship of war left. Yet the struggle had cost much blood and treasure, so that when peace was made, it was celebrated by fireworks, illuminations, and rejoicings. By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the pretender was to be banished from France ; and after the peace was concluded, Great Britain enjoyed an enviable prosperity. The effects of Walpole's pacific and frugal administration upon the elevation of national industry had not been interrupted by the war ; and when it was concluded they became more evident than ever.

The public rejoicing for the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was succeeded, in 1749, by complaints that ministers had sacrificed the honour and interest of England ; but the eloquence of Pitt kept the house of commons in order, and the feeble voice of opposition was almost hushed. During this session several bills were passed for the encouragement of trade, and for the establishment of fisheries which might compete with those of the Dutch. Several bills were also passed for the

formation of new roads, and for the improvement of the city of London. With the return of peace, the intelligence, capital, and spirit of the nation were turned in these directions, and the effect of these was made manifest in several admirable works. The session closed in April, 1750, after which the king, as was his usual custom, repaired to Hanover.

The king had scarcely left England, when bitter dissensions broke out in the cabinet. These were healed on on his return; but the session of 1751 was characterized by the strife of parties. No question, however unimportant, was brought forward which did not give rise to clamour. Abuse took the place of argument; and especially on a question of privilege, which the house was called upon to discuss. While this privilege war was at its hottest, and many months before it was concluded, the prince of Wales was removed from factious struggles and the expectation of a crown, which was almost within his grasp, by death. In consequence of a cold, he was seized with a pleuritic disorder; and after a short illness he expired, on the 20th of March. The little that has been related of Frederick is not calculated to conciliate esteem for his memory; but his character was neither so bad as it was painted by his enemies, nor so good as it was represented by his friends. He appears to have been weak, rather than vicious; and more pettish and passionate, than headstrong and malignant. He left a family of eight children. It is said that the king recovered his shock in one day; and that, except the princess, his wife, the grief of no one was either sincere or lasting. After his death, prince George, Frederick's eldest son, was created prince of Wales.

In the course of the present year, 1751, the calendar was changed. The Gregorian was adopted, in order to make our computation of time harmonize with that of the rest of civilised Europe.

Nothing worthy of record occurred in the year 1752. The year was chiefly marked by continental embarrassments, and by squabbles at court, and in the household of the young prince of Wales. In 1753 an alteration took place in the law of marriage. At this time unions could be formed with more facility all over England, than they were at a recent period at Gretna-Green. No publication of banns was required; no licence looked for: any clergyman might perform the ceremony at any time, or in any place, without the consent of parents, or

any preliminary conditions. The Fleet prison was the great temple of the pseudo Hymen. Pennant says: "In walking along the street in my youth, on the side next to this prison, I have often been tempted by the question, 'Sir, will you be pleased to walk in and be married?' Along this most lawless space was hung up the sign of a male and female hand conjoined, with 'Marriages performed within,' written beneath. A dirty fellow invited you in. The parson was seen walking before his shop; a squalid, profligate figure, clad in a tattered plaid nightgown, with a fiery face, and ready to marry you for a dram of gin or a roll of tobacco." To remedy this abuse, a bill was passed which provided that all marriages should take place either by banns published on three successive Sundays, or by licences granted by the bishops; and that all other marriages should be void, and the clergyman who solemnized any such, transported for seven years.

In this year matters were fast ripening to a fresh rupture between the subjects of Great Britain and France in different parts of America. In 1754 the ambition and intrigues by which the British interests were invaded and disturbed in America extended itself to the East Indies, where they endeavoured to embroil the English company with divers of the native princes. This was made the subject of discussion in parliament; and in the session of 1755 the committee of supply eagerly voted a million for the defence of our American possessions. Admiral Boscawen was sent with a fleet towards the Gulf of St. Lawrence, to intercept a French fleet which had been prepared in the ports of Rochfort and Brest, and which was carrying re-enforcements to the French Canadians. Boscawen's orders were to fall upon the French, and if possible to destroy them. A thick fog prevented the two armaments from seeing each other; but two of the French ships, which had been separated from the rest, were captured: the main body of the fleet got safe into the river St. Lawrence. As soon as the news of this action arrived at Paris, the French ambassador was recalled from France.

War was declared against France by his Britannic majesty on the 7th of May, 1756. Admiral Byng was sent with a fleet to the relief of Minorca; but he neglecting to fulfil his instructions, the place was lost, and he was tried by a court-martial and shot. His sentence appears to have been too severe; but the example proved of great service to the nation during the ensuing war. The voice of the people de-



manded his death, or he might have escaped, for he had powerful friends among the ministry. Such was the beginning of the Seven Years' War.

The popular indignation that effected the ruin of admiral Byng overthrew the cabinet which had employed him. In order to conciliate the people, and to remove the odium they had brought upon themselves, ministers admitted into a share of the administration Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, who were both distinguished and admired for their talents and integrity. But however much the people were conciliated by these promotions, this mixed union was not of long continuance. As the new members of the administration were neither to be persuaded nor intimidated into any measures which they deemed repugnant to the true interest of their country, they were represented to the king as obstinate, imperious, and ignorant: these suggestions produced the desired effect. In April, 1757, by his majesty's commands, they resigned office. The voice of the nation, however, was again found to be all-potent. Numerous addresses were presented soliciting the king to restore them to their places; and his majesty was obliged to yield: they were reinstated in June, and the public were again appeased. At the same time Mr. Fox was gratified with the office of receiver and paymaster-general of the land-forces. Many other alterations were made in the ministerial arrangement.

Pitt was secretary of state; and he was scarcely re-possessed of the seals, when he confirmed an opinion that had been expressed of him, that he would go further than any man. He made an offer for ceding Gibraltar to Spain, in exchange for Minorca, on condition of Spain joining England in war against France: this offer savoured of insanity, but, luckily for Pitt, so precious an object as Gibraltar could not tempt the king of Spain to break his neutrality. Nor were Pitt's first warlike schemes either well conceived or attended with success. An expedition was sent to make a descent on the coasts of France; but it returned home without effecting anything of moment. Before this failure the duke of Cumberland, with an army of Hanoverian and confederated troops, amounting to 50,000 men, had been foiled, beaten, and driven back from the Rhine, the Weser, and Hanover, by the French, and was at length compelled to sign a disgraceful capitulation, which is known in history by the name of the "Convention of Closter Seven." In North America, also,

where re-enforcements had been sent by Pitt, little or nothing was achieved: the French there obtained several advantages, which made the war longer and more difficult than was expected. In the East Indies, however, by the activity and military genius of Clive, the tide of victory was turned in our favour. Clive had begun his extraordinary career in the East as early as 1748; and by the end of the present year all the towns and factories of the French on the coast of Coromandel were in the possession of the British. By the victories of Clive over the French, and over the native princes, the broad foundations of our Indian empire were securely laid. In the same year some trifling advantages were also obtained by the British navy over the French castles and factories on the African coast.

In the session of 1758, to meet an increasing expenditure, some new taxes were laid on houses and windows. In this year Pitt again chose the coast of France for the scene of his romance: a large fleet was sent out for that coast in June, which was to do something of great moment, but which was not clearly defined. Howe was commander of the fleet, and the duke of Marlborough general of the forces. The troops anchored in the bay of Cancele, near St. Maloes: this was the object of their attack; but St. Maloes was so strongly situated, and so well fortified, that it could not be carried by assault. After burning some small vessels, both generals and men returned to their shipping. Marlborough in his haste left some tea-spoons behind him, and these were sent home in a cartel-ship by the duke d'Aiguillon, politely to mark contempt. Subsequently attempts were made upon Havre de Grace and Cherbourg; but these were equally unsuccessful, and then the fleet returned to Portsmouth. Later in the year general Bligh captured Cherbourg; but he also was defeated in an attempt made upon St. Maloes: he was compelled to retreat, and in so doing lost the flower of his forces. In the same year captain Marsh took Senegal; and commodore Keppel the island of Goree, on the coast of Africa. Cape Breton was also retaken by general Amherst; and fort Frontenac surrendered to lieutenant-general Bradstreet, and fort Du Quesne to general Forbes. It was well for Pitt's popularity that the fleet and army in America were thus successful; otherwise, from the temper of the king and the people, he would have been in danger of not only losing his popularity but his power as a minister. In 1759 the

British arms were more successful. In May the island of Guadaloupe surrendered to the English; and about the same time Maregalante, Santos, and Deseada, became subject to Great Britain. Later in the year was fought the great battle of Minden, in which about 7,000 English defeated 80,000 of the French regular troops. A great naval victory was also obtained by admiral Boscawen. The affairs of the French were desperate, and their credit ruined; and they resolved to make an attempt to retrieve them by an invasion of Great Britain; but Boscawen attacked the Toulon squadron destined for the expedition, near the Straits of Gibraltar, took three ships and burnt two. The great harvest of laurels obtained this year, however, was in Canada. Quebec, the capital of French Canada, was captured by the gallant Wolfe, who fell at the moment of victory. Everything yielded to the British forces: all Canada was conquered. These successes greatly increased Pitt's popularity. In the session of parliament, which commenced in October, all the supplies he demanded for the continuance of the war were readily granted. The army was fixed at more than 175,000 in British pay. Pitt is reported to have said:—"Some time before I should have been well contented to bring France on her knees; now I will not rest till I have laid her on her back."

In the beginning of the year 1760 captain Thurot, a French marine adventurer, made a descent on Carrickfergus, in Ireland; but he was met on his return from thence by captain Elliot, and defeated and slain.

While the arms of Great Britain thus prospered in every quarter of the globe, the king was suddenly seized with the agonies of death, in his palace at Kensington. The right ventricle of his heart burst, causing an instantaneous and painless death. "Full of years and glory, he died without a pang, and without a reverse. He left his family firmly established on a long-disputed throne, and was taken away in the moment that approaching extinction of sight and hearing made loss of life the only blessing that remained desirable." He died in the seventy-seventh year of his age, after a reign of thirty-four years, distinguished by a variety of important events.

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## CHAPTER XX.

THE RELIGION, GOVERNMENT, LITERATURE, ARTS, COMMERCE, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, ETC. OF THIS PERIOD.

*Religion.*—The Revolution which dethroned the family of the Stuarts was the victory of Protestantism, and, as such, the victory of the established church; and this victory was complete. There were some who were dissatisfied with it; but all their attempts to subvert the established order of things proved abortive. These attempts have been narrated in the foregoing pages, and it is therefore sufficient here only to advert to them. In England the Revolution consolidated and confirmed the established episcopacy; but it had an opposite effect in Scotland: there it swept it utterly away, and in its place re-erected the old abolished edifice of presbytery on broader and deeper foundations than ever. But in both countries the Revolution, regarded in reference to this matter, was alike the completion of the Reformation, or at least the accomplishment of the first aim of that great movement—the acquisition and secure establishment of a national church in harmony with the national faith. Popery was completely shorn of its power: laws were enacted which rendered it impossible for the Roman Catholics again to obtain power in England. By the Revolution, however, the generality of Protestant dissenters obtained greater liberty of conscience than they had ever before enjoyed. The Corporation and Test Acts, indeed, still remained on the statute-book; but they were left free to worship God in a manner most agreeable to their own consciences: the liberty they enjoyed is proved by the establishment of several new sects both in England and Scotland. Methodism took its rise in this period: it sprung up in England, and was planted both in America, Scotland, and Ireland. Its founders were John Wesley and George Whitefield: their labours were chiefly confined to the labouring population, among whom Methodism has greatly flourished to this day.

*Government.*—With the present period a new era in our constitutional history commenced. There were no more attempts on the part of the English monarchs to render themselves absolute: the monarchy was strictly and definitively

limited by law. It had, indeed, been limited by law before; but it was found to be one thing to place a law on the statute-roll and another to enforce it: now, however, the kings of England felt it their interest as well as their duty to govern by the laws of the kingdom. The Revolution had taught a lesson not soon to be forgotten; besides, it introduced a race of kings more honourable than the family of the Stuarts: moreover, there was no longer any claim to title on the score of hereditary right. A descendant of the old family was placed on the throne, but it was not the next in succession; and this rendered hereditary right about as invalid as if a total stranger had been elected king. Hence all those mischiefs having their source in

“ The right divine of kings to govern wrong ”

were completely swept away. Both the kings of England and their people united in a due observance of the laws and constitution of the kingdom.

*Literature.*—It has been remarked that the Revolution, brought on by some of the causes that had given birth to the commonwealth, and restoring something of the same spirit and condition of things, came like another nightfall upon our literature, extinguishing whatever was poetical in the land still more completely than even that previous triumph of the popular principle. Up to this period English literature had grown and flourished chiefly in the sunshine of court protection and favour. Whatever were the faults of the Stuarts, the high praise must be given them of encouraging learning and merit. When they were dethroned literature was left to the public appreciation and favour, and this not being sufficiently extended to afford it the necessary warmth and shelter, it naturally languished. Patronage was wanting, without which there was no inducement for the exertion of talent and genius. The spirit and affections of literature were, in fact, in the main, courtly; and when the encouragement of the court was withdrawn, it drooped and withered from the deprivation, both of its customary support and sustenance, and of its chief inspiration; of that in which it lived, and moved, and had its being. Such was the state of literature in the time of William III. In the reign of queen Anne, however, literature again flourished. In that reign appeared a crowd of great men, whose characters are well known, and whose

names are familiar to every one acquainted with the literature of his country. There was then an intimate connexion between the learned and the great; and both were gainers thereby. Swift, Addison, Rowe, Steele, Prior, Pope, Congreve, and others, not only enjoyed the friendship and familiarity of those in power, but most of them obtained places in some of the less burdensome departments of government, which put it in their power to pass the rest of their days in ease and independence. Thus raised above the necessity of writing for bread, and enabled to cultivate their talents, several of those men of genius united in furnishing the public with a daily paper, under the name of "The Spectator," which greatly contributed to improve both the manners and tastes of the people. The ministers of George I. were patrons of literature, and some of them were no mean proficient themselves. The reign of George II. also produced a great number of learned and ingenious men. The bench of bishops was never better provided with able prelates than it was at the commencement of his reign; a proof that the nobility and ministry were judges of literary qualifications. In other departments of erudition the favour of the public supplied the coldness of the court. A taste for literature had been excited, and literature was well supported. After the rebellion in 1745, when Pelham was considered first minister, the coldness of government towards literature was removed: men of genius began then again to taste the royal bounty. Although, therefore, at the commencement of this period it drooped, at its close it again flourished. Few great poets existed; but prose writers of celebrity abounded: their works are still purchased and read with pleasure and profit.

*Arts.*—The arts were in a very low state during this period. Painting was generally degraded throughout Europe. In Italy the art was almost extinct: the French school was on the decline, and the sources were now dried up or vitiated from which the demands of England had hitherto been satisfied. Sculpture, also, was reduced to the manner of Bernini. Architecture flourished under Wren and Vanbrugh; but when they died no one was found worthy to succeed them except Inigo Jones. Agriculture, however, was greatly improved in this period. The English system of gardening was now introduced by William Kent. With little talent for any other art except that useful one, the art of rising in the world, Kent professed himself a painter, sculptor, and architect, and contrived

to establish and maintain through life the reputation of a universal genius. His only title to the extraordinary reputation he obtained, however, lies in his talent for landscape gardening: on this ground his fame rests on a substantial basis. Kent taught us to imitate nature, or, more properly speaking, to act upon her plan in forming our pleasure-grounds, instead of impressing upon every natural object the hard stamp of art. He taught us that the perfection of gardening consists in humouring and adorning, not in constraining, nature. He taught us that the whole secret of good gardening consists in making proper use of natural scenery, wood and water, hill and valley, in conjunction with architecture, so as to give beauty and variety to the embellished ground; in judiciously veiling and exposing the surrounding country; and in contrasting the luxuriant meadow with the barren heath, the verdant slope with the rugged steep, the sylvan temple with the ruined tower, the meandering rill with the majestic river, and the smooth surface of the lake with nature's most sublime object, the ocean.

Engraving made great progress in this period. Historical pictures can only become the property of the rich, and are liable to be injured by time or accident. Hence the utility of the art of engraving, by which copies may be multiplied at a moderate price. Hogarth commenced his career as an engraver; but this great and original genius soon felt his strength, and aspired to something beyond this occupation. Hogarth formed a new school in painting. His works are unlike those of other men. "He belonged to no school of art—he was the produce of no academy—no man, living or dead, had any share in forming his mind or in rendering his hand skilful. He was the spontaneous offspring of the graphic spirit of his country, as native to the heart of England as independence is; and he may be fairly called, in his own walk, the first-born of her spirit. He painted life as he saw it. He gives no visions of bygone things—no splendid images of ancient manners: he regards neither the poet's page nor the poet's song: he was content with the occurrences of the passing day, with the folly or sin of the hour; but to the garb or fashion of the moment he adds story and sentiment for all time."

Music made vast strides in the British dominions during the period between the Revolution and the reign of George III. The improvement was equally observable in the

church, the chamber, and the theatre. Among the names of distinguished composers may be mentioned those of Purcell, Handel, Playford, Eccles, Haydn, Arne, Carey, and Leve-ridge. There were also many able writers on the science of music, as Holden, Malcolm, Smith, Avison, and Pepusch. Academies of music were formed at this period, as, also, a club under the name of The Madrigal Society.

*Commerce.*—At the commencement of this period, the Revolution having induced a war with France, commerce, which had been rapidly increasing, was depressed. So greatly were the resources of the country cut off that at the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, the kingdom seems to have felt like a man staggering with fatigue and weakness. On the return of peace, however, the spirit of enterprise reopened the channels of industry and commerce. From that time there was a gradual and steady expansion of the stream of commerce. The active spirit of our national industry, and the growth of our trade and manufactures, were shown by nothing more remarkable than by the continued extension of the metropolis and most of our other long-established centres of population, and the rapid rise of several places of insignificance to the rank of great towns. In London no less than eight parishes were erected in this period, and Bristol, Hull, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, Frome, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dublin, each derived a large accession of population, some of them to the extent of several times the numbers they contained at the period of the Revolution. One of the sources to which the stream of our commerce owed its gradual and steady expansion, was the growing importance of our possessions in the islands and on the continent of America. Large numbers had emigrated to those colonies within the present period, and hence they enlarged their boundaries, and became of the utmost importance to the mother country. But the most beneficial trade arose from the colonies in the West-India islands. The East-India trade, also, was rendered more important than it had been in any previous period. It may, likewise, be noticed that England became a corn-exporting country, though not to a very considerable extent.

*Manners, Customs, &c.*—The costume of this period underwent several alterations in the different reigns; and as it is familiar from various prints, no further notice is required. The same may be said of the furniture of our English man-



sions. The commencement of the eighteenth century furnished them with nearly every article of convenience or luxury which they at present possess. These articles were generally made in so superior a style in respect both of elegance of form and durability of material, that they are now greedily sought after, and imitations are widely fabricated to meet the demand.

The circumstances in which the present period commenced had the effect of diffusing a political spirit throughout English society. Party feeling took possession of all classes, and gave rise to various new habits of life, extensively influencing the manners and customs of the time. Old and young, rich and poor, men and women, became politicians. Contentions about affairs of state not only overran literature and religion, the coffee-house and the church, but the places of public amusement, and the very street merriments of the people. Punch abandoned his domestic brawls for public feuds, and might be heard, at the corners of streets, gibbering for or against the existing order of things at the pleasure of his employer. Female politicians abounded. Ladies were known to be of a certain political party by the arrangement of their patches. The Spectator gives a humorous account of a whig lady who had a natural mole, like a patch, upon the tory side of her brow, by which she was sometimes taken as an ally by her political opponents; and thus, like a privateer under false colours, she often sunk the enemy by an unexpected broadside. At the theatre, the female whigs and tories sat upon opposite sides of the house: those who remained neutral in politics patched both sides of the brow, and occupied the middle boxes. The men met to discuss politics in club-houses, coffee-houses, and chocolate-houses. Club-houses were so numerous that there was one for almost every parish, in which the people met to regale themselves, and to find fault with the management of public affairs. In these places politicians were wont to meet to settle the balance of Europe, to crown and depose kings at pleasure, and to prove that England was on the brink of ruin. The tradesman and the merchant forsook the shop and the warehouse to take care of the state, and harangue upon the misconduct of the ministry, without thinking of their own. As a necessary consequence, the approaches to a club-house had often an ambushment of bailiffs and bailiffs' followers. Financiers, after they had satisfactorily cleared off the debts of the nation,

were often carried to the sponging-house for being unable to settle a paltry bill.

Education at this period was very superficial. The substance of a finished education for a young gentleman was a little Latin and less Greek. When a youth had been whipped through the parts of speech, and was able to construe a few "nonsense verses," he was then considered qualified to shine equally in the senate or at a masquerade. To these he added the accomplishment of dancing, and perhaps a little music. The grand finish to such an education was the tour of Europe: he was sent, as it were in leading-strings, to gaze at streets, mountains, rivers, and trees. The state of female education was equally deplorable. Its essentials may be understood from such expressions in boarding-school advertisements as the following: "Where young women may be soberly educated, and taught all sorts of learning fit for them." A young lady's education was, indeed, made short work of. By the time she was fourteen she was usually introduced into society, and taught to show off her personal attractions so as to get herself a good marriage. Thus launched into life, it is no wonder that the characteristics of both sexes were lightness and frivolity; and that they were often led into errors which blighted their prospects for life.

This defective state of education led to great evils in the community. The annals of the day are filled with descriptions of eccentric characters, by whose turbulent conduct the peace of society was outraged. There were fellows who assumed the dress and titles of military officers, who bilked coachmen, thrust themselves into the theatres gratis, and forced quarrels upon the peaceably disposed at public places; there were Darby captains, who attended gaming-houses; there were Tash captains, whose occupation was too infamous to name; and there were Cock-and-bottle captains, whose vocation consisted in beating bailiffs, and doing such other exploits, for hire. Of all the turbulent characters of this period, however, none were so distinguished as the Mohocks. These fellows assumed the name and outdid the atrocities of a tribe of Indian savages. They acted under a president, whom they styled Emperor of the Mohocks, and their aim was to excel each other in wanton outrages upon the peace of society. Their violences were generally committed under the influence of liquor, of which they drank to excess. Their favourite sport was to attack watchmen, who at that time

were generally weak, broken-down old men, who were unable to make any successful resistance. Another favourite sport was to make people cut capers, by thrusting swords into their legs; and they took a peculiar delight in placing women in empty barrels and then rolling them down Snow-hill. The lives of persons were often endangered by the outrageous conduct of these Mohocks. Swift, in his letters to Stella, relates, that while he was in London he was frequently fearful of being maimed, or even murdered by them.

Another evil arising out of the defective state of education was that of superstition. Almost every mansion was believed to be haunted by a ghost, and every parish tormented by a witch. Fortune-telling was a most thriving occupation both in town and country: the customers of the seer or sibyl not being merely people of low degree, but those of the highest rank. Even the wise and the learned had not yet shaken themselves loose from such unintellectual thralldom. Dryden calculated nativities; Steele nearly ruined himself in seeking after the grand magisterium; and Whiston not only believed in the miracle of Mary Tofts, who was said to have brought forth a warren of rabbits, but endeavoured to prove that she was announced in the prophecies of Ezekiel. These hallucinations continued to linger among literary men, until they were finally laid with the Cock-lane ghost.

Among the amusements that illustrate the character of this period, watering-places may be first mentioned. Medicinal springs had long been known, and the diseased, the hypochondriacal, and idle had long flocked to them; and as the healing waters increased in reputation, it became fashionable to spend the summer season in their neighbourhood. Bath was one of the chief places of resort: next to Bath, Tunbridge and Epsom wells were in the greatest repute. As the luxuries of these places were as expensive as they were fashionable, people of moderate fortunes contented themselves with the more accessible mineral springs of Islington, to which they repaired with their families, and where they imitated the amusements of the more fashionable watering-places. Playgoing was still frequent, without the theatre having undergone any moral improvement. The same sort of plays were acted, and the same licence in behaviour tolerated, as had prevailed during the reign of Charles II. Balls were held in halls or taverns for the entertainment of the lower classes. Hampstead was a noted place for such merry meet-

ings; and the excesses to which they led were so infamous, that no respectable tradesman cared to be seen in that beautiful suburban village. Shooting-matches were at this time common in the outskirts of London; but the chief outdoor sports were football, bowls, skittles, and cricket. Prize-fights were also now frequent: the common weapons were broadsword, sword and dagger, and the single-stick. These gladiators mangled each other for the amusement of the crowd, and devoted themselves to the savage calling as to a regular trade, subsisting upon the subscription purses or admittance fees. Public fairs were more attended at this period than they had ever been in England. That of Bartholomew was, in particular, a noted place of resort. Every parish in the metropolis discharged its population into Smithfield when the fair commenced, as into a vast reservoir. The noble and the mean mingled there to take their fill of pleasure, while pick-pockets and sharpers prowled about to take advantage of their folly. The amusements of gentlemen in the country differed from those of gentlemen in London. Their chief domestic entertainments were anniversary festivals, which the progress of fashion had as yet left almost untouched. Other amusements out of doors were hunting, shooting, and fishing; and in doors, card-playing, dancing, and music. As for the manners of the peasantry, they exhibited much of the simplicity by which they had been characterized in the days of Elizabeth. The toils and occupations of the rustics still continued to be enlivened chiefly by wakes and fairs, which were thronged with puppet-shows, pedlars' stalls, raffling tables, and drinking booths; while the peasants themselves contended with each other in wrestling, grinning through a horse's collar, cudgel-playing, and foot-racing. There were also trials in whistling, where the person who could whistle through a whole tune without being put out by the drolleries of a merryandrew, that were played off before him, was the victor. Contentions of this nature were frequent during the celebration of the annual church festivals, and especially at Christmas. Thus seasons which should have been kept holy, were turned into occasions for the display of mummery and buffoonery.

## CHAPTER XXI.

THE PERIOD FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III. TO  
THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

## GEORGE III.

## PART I.

A. D. 1760. George II. was succeeded by his grandson, who upon the death of his father, Frederic, prince of Wales, became heir-apparent to the throne. His majesty's first care after his accession was to assemble the parliament, to whom he made a speech, in which he laid great stress upon his being born and educated a Briton. From this endearing expression, and from the general tenor of his speech, the people conceived the fondest hopes of a happy reign. Few sovereigns, indeed, ever ascended the throne of England under more auspicious circumstances than George III. The kingdom was in a glorious and flourishing state, victorious and happy, though engaged in a necessary war. The king called this war, a war "for the protestant interest," and asked the assistance of parliament to prosecute it with vigour. Yet it was soon found that he was favourable to peace. In 1761 Pitt discovered that a private treaty had been lately entered into between France and Spain, termed "the family compact;" and he proposed in council that a fleet should be sent to intercept the Spanish flotilla, or to block up Cadiz. This proposal was overruled, and Pitt, together with lord Temple, resigned office. A pension of £3,000 per annum was settled on the former for three lives, and a peerage was conferred on his lady and her issue.

In 1761 George III. was married to Charlotte, princess of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, a small but sovereign German state. their majesties were crowned at Westminster-abbey on the 22nd of September. This coronation could boast of one very unusual and curious spectator; this was Charles Edward Stuart, the young pretender, who came over in disguise to witness the coronation of a king on the throne which he considered to be by right his father's, or his own. It has been said that the king knew he was in the capital, and that he would not have him molested: a proof that he knew he possessed the hearts of his people.

The close of the year 1761 left the affairs of Europe, both military and political, in a very remarkable situation. Endeavours had been made to bring about a peace; but they served only to increase the animosity of the contending nations. Great Britain had never been in a more critical situation. At this time she was engaged in a war, not only with all the great continental powers, but with the greatest part of the maritime strength of Europe: success, however, attended her arms, both by sea and land. In the month of February Martinique, the chief of the French Caribbees, was reduced by admiral Rodney and general Moreton; and this conquest was speedily followed by the surrender of Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Lucie, St. Vincent, and Tobago. Great Britain remained in possession of the entire chain of the Caribbees. Havannah, the capital of the isle of Cuba, was also taken by the British; and Manilla, the capital of the Philippine Islands in the East Indies, was reduced by admiral Cornish and general Draper. These blows were struck at the power of Spain; and they were followed by the capture of a Spanish register-ship, which added another million sterling to these valuable acquirements: the English forces, moreover, defeated the Spaniards in several encounters in Portugal; and such were the bitter fruits derived by Spain from the war within ten short months, that a war with England became so unpopular as to make the people cry out for "Peace with England, and war with all the world!"

In 1762 lord Bute succeeded the duke of Newcastle as first lord of the treasury. The resignation of this high-minded nobleman, who was considered as head of the whig interest, was followed by that of several others of great rank and influence. At this time the accumulated disasters of the war disposed the Bourbon powers to peace. Lord Bute, pressed by a powerful opposition, and fearing their triumph if the war continued, willingly accepted their proposals. In a short space of time, therefore, France and Spain on one side, and England and Portugal on the other, signed at Fontainebleau the preliminaries, and at Paris, in 1763, the definitive treaty of peace. Prussia also concluded a peace at Hubertsberg with Austria and Saxony. According to these treaties, England recovered Minorca, and retained Acadia, all Canada to the Mississippi, as well as Cape Breton, and all the islands and coasts of the river St. Lawrence, and of the gulf into which it empties. In the West Indies England was to have Gre-

nada, St. Vincent, Dominique, and Tobago; and in Africa the French possessions on the Senegal. From Spain England obtained all Florida, ceded as far as the Mississippi, and permission to fell dye-wood in the bay of Honduras, and in other places of the Spanish territory. In return for these concessions England restored the Bourbon crowns all her other great conquests: thus ended the Seven Years' War. Great Britain improved the peace by consolidating and extending her power in the East Indies, and in all parts of the world; and in elevating her commerce, and diminishing her debt, which had been greatly augmented. At the close of this war the national debt amounted to £146,500,000; but the treasures of the East and West Indies, and the commercial gain from all parts of the world, rendered this burden not very oppressive to the people.

Political dissensions arose out of this peace. The anti-ministerialists maintained that the peace was inadequate to our successes, and that the interests of the nation had been sacrificed in order to render lord Bute secure and permanent in his office. On the other hand, Bute and his friends as strenuously insisted that all the objects for which the war had commenced were obtained and confirmed by the peace; and that the nation was so exhausted, both with respect to men and money, that supplies for carrying on the war for another year could not be raised without involving the country in difficulties and distress. The debates in both houses were very warm on this subject, and the opposition were distinguished by the title of "The Glorious Minority." In addition to the popular clamour excited against Bute on the score of favouritism, and on account of the peace, a tax laid on cider, subject to the law of excise, occasioned such violent attacks on him, that he resigned. He was succeeded by Mr. George Grenville.

Many furious papers and pamphlets were published by the partisans of both sides: one of the most violent was "The North Briton," a paper conducted by Mr. Wilkes, member for Aylesbury. The speech of his majesty having been attacked in the forty-fifth number of this paper, with indecent freedom, the earls of Halifax and Egremont, secretaries of state, issued a general warrant for apprehending the printer and publisher of the said libel. Wilkes was apprehended and sent to the Tower: his papers were also seized at the same time. Upon his being brought up to the court of Com-

mon Pleas, however, he was released, as the court were of opinion that the privilege of parliament extended to libels. This prosecution rendered Wilkes the most popular man of his day. The constant cry of the populace was, "Wilkes and Liberty!"

In 1764 a series of resolutions was passed in parliament respecting new duties to be laid on foreign goods imported by the Americans. Certain restrictions were also laid upon the profitable contraband trade carried on by the Americans with the Spanish colonies. These measures gave rise to great discontent in America. This was alluded to in the king's speech on the opening of the session in 1765; but, unwarned, Grenville brought forward and carried an act for laying nearly the same stamp duties on the Americans as were payable at the time in England. It was predicted by colonel Barre, who had served beyond the Atlantic, and who knew the people and the country well, that this act would induce rebellion. So it happened. The passing of the American Stamp Act first kindled the sparks of a conflagration which subsequently enveloped a great part of Europe, as well as North America, in its flames.

In this year the king was slightly attacked with that malady which thrice afterwards afflicted him, and finally incapacitated him for the duties of government. On his restoration a change took place in the ministry. A new administration was formed, called the Rockingham Administration, the marquis of Rockingham being appointed first lord of the treasury. The chief business of this ministry was to undo all that their predecessors had done, particularly by repealing the Cider and Stamp Acts; but it did not stand long. In 1766 another entire change of administration took place. The duke of Grafton succeeded the marquis of Rockingham as first lord of the treasury: several other alterations were made in the inferior parts of the state, and the custody of the privy-seal was bestowed on Mr. Pitt, now created earl of Chatham.

About this time peace was established in the East Indies by lord Clive, who returned to England in 1767: but a new enemy soon appeared in that quarter of the globe. Hyder Ally, who from a common soldier had risen to the dignity of a prince, and who ruled over a large tract of land on the Malabar coast, in confederacy with the viceroy of the Deccan, declared war against the English. The council of Madras



sent a body of troops, under colonel Smith, who obtained a complete victory over them, when the viceroy immediately made peace with the English. Hyder Ally took refuge among the mountains, from whence he made frequent incursions: peace, however, was finally proposed to him, which was accepted.

In 1768 the flame which had been for some time kindling between Great Britain and the colonies of America burst forth. During the last session of parliament duties were laid on paper, glass, and other articles, to be paid upon their importation into America from England. This was considered as a fresh invasion of their chartered rights. The general assembly came to a resolution to discontinue the use of all British manufactures till these duties were repealed. In this respect they were soon gratified. In 1770 a new act was passed, which abolished the impost upon all articles of commerce except tea. From the smallness of this impost, it was clear that the sole object of England was to establish as a principle the right of taxation. The Americans perceived this design, and united to resist it: they refused to receive tea upon which an impost was laid; any one who would purchase it was declared infamous. And finally, in 1773, some cargoes of tea which had arrived at Boston, were thrown into the sea by armed inhabitants of that city, who had disguised themselves in the dress of Mohawk Indians. Several other cities on the coast imitated the example of Boston.

While ministers were thus opposed in the American colonies they were embarrassed at home. After Wilkes had been set at liberty for the libel in the forty-fifth number of *The North Briton*, he put forth another libel against a member of parliament of the name of Martin. That gentleman took the law into his own hands. He challenged Wilkes; and in the duel which ensued, wounded him so severely, that he was compelled to retire to France for the recovery of his health. While there Wilkes was expelled from the house of commons, and outlawed, for not appearing to plead to bills of indictment preferred against him for various other libels. In 1768, however, when a new election took place, Wilkes contrived to get himself elected for the county of Middlesex. This caused great excitement at the time. For weeks and months the court and cabinet attended to the business of this demagogue, to the exclusion of almost everything else. After his election Wilkes surrendered to the Court of King's-Bench.

By this proceeding he got his outlawry reversed, and was fined a thousand pounds, and sentenced to be imprisoned for two years. His struggles, however, were not yet at an end. The house declared him incapable of being elected. A new election took place, and he was again returned. He was again rejected, and again re-elected. He now triumphed. Intimidated by the people, who took up his cause with warmth, government ceased the prosecution: Wilkes went from prison to parliament. His debts, amounting to £20,000, had previously been paid by subscription. It was well said by the earl of Chatham, that it was through the misconduct of ministers that Wilkes became a person of consequence in the state: his merits would never have gained for him any popularity. For several years Wilkes continued to be a thorn in the sides of ministers, and to be the idol of the people; but he finally sunk into well-merited contempt.

The embarrassment of ministers caused several resignations. Among these was that of the duke of Grafton, who resigned his office of first lord of the treasury, and was succeeded by lord North, already chancellor of the exchequer. Subsequently the duke of Grafton accepted the privy-seal, but he made it a condition that he should not attend the cabinet. The restoration of Grafton caused a great stir, and it especially called forth the atrabilious rancour of Junius, a powerful anonymous writer of that time, who prided himself on having driven his grace into retirement. Who this writer under the feigned name of Junius was, is a mystery to the present day.

Disorders and discontents continued to prevail, and every day to increase in all the American colonies. War broke out in 1774, and England thought to stifle it with a handful of soldiers. General Gage, with four regiments, blockaded Boston, hoping to effect the subjugation of that province, and that of all the other colonies. The port of Boston was to be closed, according to the direction of the British parliament, until the East India Company should be indemnified; the charter of king William III., and with this, its constitution, was to be taken from the province of Massachusetts Bay; all rights of government were to be transferred to the king, or the servants appointed by him; and severe punishments were to be inflicted upon all participants in disorders or rebellion. But these rigorous measures did not bend the spirit of the colonies. Preparations were made for resistance with pru-

dence, circumspection, firmness, and boldness: unity, patriotic devotedness, and a noble ardour for liberty, prevailed in all the provinces, and in all classes of society. Upon the first intelligence of these severe decrees it was resolved to suspend all commerce with Great Britain until those acts were repealed; and all the provinces declared their willingness and zeal to succour the oppressed city of Boston. A general congress assembled in Philadelphia, which took the direction of the common cause, and resolved to promote the work of liberation. But, hostile as the preparations, ordinances, and prohibitions appeared on both sides, as yet no blood had flowed. Hot debates occurred in the British parliament on the subject; and many advocated the repeal of the obnoxious decrees: but ministers were firm. Envoys were sent from America to endeavour to heal the breach; but their demands were not conceded. Conciliatory motions were made in parliament; but they were not regarded. At length the storm, which had long threatened to pour forth its fury, commenced. In 1775, general Gage sent troops from Boston, in order to seize at Concord some heads of the liberal party, and at the same time to destroy some military stores deposited there. This occasioned the first bloody affair at Lexington. It was of doubtful decision; but in its effects favourable to the cause of the Americans, since it increased their courage and animosity. A considerable force assembled and marched against Boston; and the battle of Bunker's-hill, an eminence not far from that city, in which the Americans were successful, gave the English a fearful foreboding of the difficulties they would have to encounter. At this time congress had appointed George Washington commander-in-chief of all the American forces: a man, who, in every way, proved worthy of the trust reposed in him. His appointment created confidence. The inhabitants of the provinces breathed nothing but war. All the youth capable of bearing arms, all the men fit for service, prepared for the struggle.

A bold attempt was made by the provincials upon Canada. A small body of volunteers under Ethan Allen, who resembled a puritan of the old times, took by surprise the fortresses of Ticonderago, Crown Point, and Skenesborough. This success encouraged congress to make a bold expedition against Canada. Two forces invaded the country: the one under the command of Montgomery; the other under that of Arnold. Montgomery, after successful engagements, cap-

tured St. John's and Montreal, and then, uniting with Arnold, laid siege to Quebec. But in a storm upon this strong city, Montgomery lost his life: the English remained masters of Canada. In Virginia the Americans were more successful: the English governors were driven from thence, and the banner of liberty waved triumphantly in this fine country.

The British parliament still assumed a warlike attitude. In the session which commenced in the autumn of 1775, and closed in the spring of 1776, Mr. Burke proposed to redress the American grievances; but a resolution moved by him to that effect was lost by a majority of two to one. The warlike ardour of the country gentlemen, however, was considerably cooled when lord North moved that the land-tax should be raised to four shillings in the pound. Some of the opposition ironically congratulated them upon this first-fruits of their darling coercive American measures; while others attempted to show that it would be a perpetual mortgage on their estates.

General Howe had succeeded Gage in the command at Boston; but he was not more successful. In 1776 Washington took possession of it, and Howe removed his troops to Halifax. In the same year the English suffered considerably in a fruitless attack on Charlestown; but Howe drove the Americans out of Long Island, and took possession of New York. Offers of reconciliation were now made by Howe; but they were rejected. Sir Peter Parker and general Clinton took Rhode Island; and the English also made some incursions into the Jerseys. On the other hand, Washington surprised and took prisoners nearly a thousand Hessian troops in the British service, with several stands of arms. The Americans sent Franklin to the court of Louis XIV., to seek the assistance of France; but decorum did not permit open negotiation with rebellious subjects. Open aid was refused; but officers and munitions were suffered to go to America clandestinely. Congress now declared the united colonies an independent state; and the fundamental articles of the federal constitution were forthwith published. Henceforth there was no possibility of return: America placed herself between magnificence and ruin.

In 1777 a bill was passed in parliament granting letters of marque and reprisal against the Americans, whose privateers were swarming not merely among our West Indian islands, but also in the seas of Europe. Another bill passed, giving

the king permission to secure and detain persons charged with or suspected of the crime of high-treason in America, or on the high seas, or of piracy. Earl Chatham moved an address for the immediate cessation of hostilities in America; but there were few who supported him, and his motion was negatived. Chatham had been imposed on by Franklin, who led him to believe that the Americans were not aiming at independence, or he would have been the first man to advocate war, and the last to propose peace.

The operations of the war this year were various: there were two actions between Howe and Washington, and Philadelphia surrendered to the former. Burgoyne reconquered all that the Americans had gained in Canada; but having penetrated into America as far as the banks of the Hudson, his retreat to Canada was cut off, and he surrendered to general Gates, with his whole army. An expedition, under Clinton, up the north river, was more successful; and this general soon after succeeded Howe as commander-in-chief, and took up his position at New York. On the whole the campaign was favourable to the British; but the advantages they gained did not compensate for the expense of blood and time which they had cost. Washington yielded somewhat to the English superiority; but he was not conquered. The capture of Burgoyne's army, consisting of 10,000 men of the finest troops, Britons and Germans, was also a terrible loss to the English at this juncture: on these troops the proudest hopes had been built.

The cause of America now appeared so well fortified that France thought it no longer dangerous to acknowledge the new republic, and to contract an alliance with it. A treaty of commerce first, and then, early in 1778, a treaty of alliance was concluded with America; and Franklin, who had conducted the negotiations, as minister and plenipotentiary of the United States, appeared dignified and venerated at the court of France. The immediate result of this was war between that country and England. A French fleet, under count D'Estaing, appeared on the coast of America to her assistance. Affairs now wore so gloomy an aspect that commissioners were sent by the British government to treat for peace; but it was too late: the offers made were proudly rejected. The war was carried on with mutual animosity, and the whole of Georgia was reduced by the British forces. A sea-fight took place between an English fleet, under the

command of admiral Keppel, and a French fleet under count D'Orvilliers; but there was neither victory nor defeat on either side. Censure was passed on vice-admiral Palliser's conduct on this occasion; and he applied to Keppel for redress, which was denied. Palliser then exhibited articles of accusation against Keppel, who was tried by a court-martial, and honourably acquitted.

The flames of war still continued to spread. In 1779 Spain joined France, in virtue of the family compact. In the following year Great Britain was also compelled to declare war against Holland, to prevent this republic joining America. The project of a treaty of alliance and commerce, found on board of a Dutch vessel captured by the English, justified this resolution. About this time England experienced sensible detriment by the system of an armed neutrality established by Russia: this system, which was designed to prevent the injurious restrictions imposed upon neutral flags, was adopted by Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, Spain, France, Holland, and almost all the neutral powers. By it the neutral flag could cover the commerce of the enemies of England, and convey the materials for ship-building from the north into the ports of France and Spain. To add to these embarrassments, a war was commenced in India against the British power. Hyder Ally, leagued with the Mahratta power, conquered a large extent of country, and victoriously marched into the Carnatic; but though surrounded with enemies England did not succumb: she fought them with a courage, a perseverance, and power, that excited the astonishment of the world; and, notwithstanding all disasters, increased the splendour of the empire, and extended the glory of the nation.

The chief topic which engaged the attention of the British parliament for a series of years was this war with America. The minority was against its continuance, and made repeated attempts to put a period to it; but the majority was for it, and therefore it was prolonged. Ministers especially advocated war, and the sentiments of the king were in complete unison with theirs. The Americans were considered rebellious children; and force was deemed the only method of restoring them to their duty and loyalty.

War was now waged by land and sea in all parts of the world; battles, heroic exploits, victories, and defeats, quickly succeeded one another, till at length the belligerent powers,

tired of war, unanimously desired and agreed upon peace. The events of the war, after the subjugation of Georgia, are briefly as follow :—

In New England, where the two main armies stood over against one another, almost total inactivity prevailed for two years. Clinton, enfeebled by sending off many detachments, abstained from any important offensive operations ; and Washington, whose army was smaller, and in want of provisions, clothing, and the ammunitions of war, could not derive any advantage from his adversary's weakness. The conquest of Georgia encouraged the English to carry their arms into the southern provinces. In 1780 Clinton sailed from Rhode Island to South Carolina, and conquered Charlestown. A numerous artillery, several ships of war, and about 6000 men, fell, with this important fortress, into the hands of the British. About the same time sir George Rodney with a large fleet captured five Spanish ships of the line, one of which was lost by being driven on shore, and another was blown up. Blood also flowed in Africa, and in the East Indies. The French made themselves masters of the English possessions in Senegal, while all the French possessions in the East Indies fell into the hands of England. Fleets of merchantmen were captured on both sides : the most intimate relations of private life were made sensibly to feel the evils of war.

The year 1781 was distinguished by a desperate engagement, near Dogger's-bank, between a squadron of English ships, under admiral Parker, and an equal squadron of Dutch ships, commanded by admiral Zoutman. The action was maintained four hours with equal gallantry on both sides ; but to whom the victory belonged remains doubtful : Zoutman sailed for the Texel ; and Parker's ships were too much disabled to follow him. In America the war was this year disastrous to the British arms. After Clinton's victory at Charlestown, he returned to New York, leaving lord Cornwallis in South Carolina. Cornwallis defeated general Gates at Camden, and then marched into North Carolina, where he continued his conquests. Arnold, also, who had deserted from the American cause, spread terror widely in Virginia and Connecticut. Cornwallis finally took up his position at York-town. Here his victorious career was checked. On a sudden he was surrounded by Washington, and a French force, under Rochambeau and Lafayette, and, cut off from all aid, he was compelled to surrender, with his whole army,

amounting to 6,000 men, to the victorious enemy. About the same time, the French admiral, De Grasse, repulsed the English fleet under Hood and Graves, designed to remove Cornwallis and his forces from their position, at the mouth of York river. By this blow America became free. England lost the hope of re-conquest. She continued the war, but only defensively. Savannah and Charlestown were evacuated, and the British troops occupied New York alone, until peace.

The events of the war with other powers this year were various. In America the Spaniards conquered the English fortresses on the Mississippi, as well as Pensacola and Florida. In Europe they conquered Minorca. All their efforts against Gibraltar, however, proved fruitless. The valiant Elliott repulsed all the attacks of the combined French and Spanish forces. He immortalized his name especially by destroying the floating-batteries which the Bourbon powers had fitted out against this strong fortress. A continuous shower of balls made red-hot in furnaces, poured upon them from the cannon of the fortress, set them on fire, and burnt most of them down to the water's edge. In the West Indies, Rodney saved the island of Jamaica, and the preponderance of the English trident was manifested by a great victory over the French admiral De Grasse, near Guadaloupe. On the other hand, admiral Suffrein fought four times successfully against the English fleet in the East Indies, and obtained for the flag of France the final ascendancy. Tippoo Saib, Hyder Ally's son and successor, aided by France, also fought with success against the British power; but the final European peace, which deprived him of French assistance, arrested his victorious career. He then was compelled to sign a treaty of peace.

The support which lord North's administration had received in carrying on the war, had for several years been on the decrease. Ministers lost ground upon almost every question; and in 1782, the whig opposition making an adroit use of the reverses of the war against the tories in power, overthrew them. A complete and radical change took place in the administration. The marquis of Rockingham was appointed first lord of the treasury; and associated with him in the government were Shelburne, Fox, Burke, Camden, Richmond, Keppel, Cavendish, and the young William Pitt. Rockingham having died soon afterwards, his place was filled by the earl of Shelburne. Negotiations were now com-



menced for a general peace, under the auspices of Austria and Russia. The acknowledgment of the independence of the United States of North America laid the foundations for the work of peace; and in 1783 treaties were signed between England on the one hand, and America, France, Spain, and Holland, with whom she had so valiantly contended, on the other.

Conformably to these treaties Great Britain acknowledged the thirteen United States as free, sovereign, and independent. England ceded to France the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, St. Lucie and Tobago in the West Indies; Senegal and Gorée, in Africa, and Pondicherry, with other districts in the East Indies, were in part restored, and in part ceded to France. Spain obtained, as the price of her exertions, the island of Minorca and the two Floridas. Holland recovered Trincomalee and other possessions in the East Indies, but ceded Nagapatnam to Great Britain, and acknowledged the honour of the British flag. On her part Great Britain obtained many islands previously in the power of the French, and the right of the navigation of the Mississippi equally with the Americans, from its source to the ocean. No notice was taken of the armed neutrality, which no British minister could have ventured to admit. England had not to regret the detachment of the thirteen provinces. Freedom of commercial relations, advantageous to both countries, superseded a right of sovereignty, which, though oppressive to America, was by no means lucrative to the mother country. That sovereignty to the last yielded hardly as much as its maintenance cost.

Peace had scarcely been agreed upon when new changes took place in the British ministry. From the first the earl of Shelburne had to contend with a strong opposition. The rock on which his cabinet split was, however, the peace they had thus concluded. Its conditions were made the pretext of an attack, which was followed by the most complete triumph. Parliament petitioned the king to choose other ministers. The duke of Portland succeeded Shelburne: North, Fox, and their adherents shared the other places. But their term of power was brief. At the close of the year 1783, the king appointed a new ministry, at the head of which was William Pitt, the young son of the great earl of Chatham, who proved to be as able a statesman as his father.

During this war with America, A. D. 1780, an alarming riot occurred in London. It had been determined to remove

some of the restrictive laws which oppressed the Roman Catholics. Taking alarm at this, some sincere Protestants formed an association for the purpose of resisting concessions which they deemed dangerous to the welfare of the state. At the head of this association was lord George Gordon, a member of the house of commons, and a man of the most eccentric character. Those who first attended the meetings of the association were by no means likely to break the peace: but they soon found themselves associated with men careless as to religious truth, and desirous only to make a political instrument of the society; and with others actuated by fierce unscriptural fanaticism. Under these circumstances those by whom the association was founded withdrew their support and countenance from it; probably hoping that by so doing it would be broken up. But such was not the case. Thieves and ruffians from all parts of London attended the meeting, and subsequently broke open the prisons, in order to liberate their imprisoned associates, set fire to various buildings, and committed a series of the most dreadful and desperate crimes. The mob were infuriated by the drink they obtained from the cellars of the houses which they plundered, and numbers fell victims to intemperance. Robbery was the order of the day. Their cry was "No popery!" but their aim was plunder. The military were at length called out, and after several encounters, in which many of the insurgents were shot, the riot was quelled. Many were apprehended, and were visited with the penalties of the law. Sixty were found guilty: twenty of these were executed; the rest were transported. Lord George Gordon was tried for high-treason, but acquitted: though a guilty man, he was not brought within the limits defined by law as constituting that crime. It was evident that he was a madman; and he afterwards proved his insanity, by professing himself a Jew, and assuming a sort of Hebrew garb. When this riot was quelled, the metropolis resembled in many places a city stormed and sacked: all business was at an end; the public buildings were occupied by troops; and the streets were silent and empty, except where firemen were labouring to extinguish the smouldering fires.

## PART II.

Early in 1784 his majesty dissolved the parliament. The result of the general election was highly favourable to the po-

pularity of Mr. Pitt, who, upon the opening of the new parliament, carried a bill for the regulation of the East India Company: they were made subject to a board of control, consisting of five commissioners appointed by the king. At this time the company found a formidable enemy in the person of Tippoo Saib, who defeated the British army under general Mathews, and gained many other advantages: a treaty, however, was at length agreed upon between Tippoo Saib and the company, in virtue of which both parties were maintained in the possession of their conquests.

The year 1785 was a period of great political contention. Mr. Pitt presented to the house of commons a series of resolutions tending to settle the commerce of England and Ireland on a mutual and equitable footing: they met with great opposition in both houses; and though they were passed, they were so increased and mutilated, that they retained hardly anything of their original form. On being sent over to Ireland they met with great opposition, and were thrown out in the Irish parliament with contempt. Both countries considered them as destructive to their own interests. In the next session Mr. Pitt brought in a bill to form a sinking-fund of one million annually, to be vested in commissioners, and to be applied to the reduction of the national debt: this passed both houses, and received the royal assent. About the same time a treaty of commerce and navigation was signed at the court of Versailles between France and Great Britain. By this treaty an intercourse was established between these two countries, on the basis of reciprocal advantages. Duties were lowered, and privileges and rights granted to the manufacturing and trading subjects of each kingdom, which had hitherto never been known between them. This was an enlightened measure; but events soon occurred which set aside all the advantages which would otherwise have arisen from it. The treaty was strongly objected to by the opposition in the session of 1787; but it was ably defended by ministers, and received the sanction of parliament.

During the year 1787 an attempt was made upon the life of the king by a woman named Nicholson. While presenting a petition with one hand, she aimed a desperate blow at his majesty with a knife which she held in the other. But his condescending manners in this instance were the means of saving his life: as the woman presented the petition, he bowed to her, and the blow in consequence fell short of his person. As his

servants rushed to secure her, his majesty humanely exclaimed, "Do not hurt her; she is probably insane." This turned out to be the fact, and she was confined in Bedlam for life, the king benevolently giving orders for her being treated with every kindness and indulgence consistent with her safe custody.

In 1788 the king was seized with a violent disorder, and continued ill a long time, with very little hopes of his recovery. His complaint was at first a bilious fever, which resulted in depriving him of reason. It was thought that he would never be again capable of holding the reins of government; and long deliberations took place in parliament concerning the formation of a regency. All parties agreed in the propriety of appointing the prince of Wales regent; but they were divided as to the extent and nature of the powers with which, as such, he ought to be entrusted. Party feelings ran high upon this subject; and, before the disputes were ended, the king happily recovered at once his bodily and mental health. This event gave the most lively joy to all his subjects. When, in the spring of 1789, his majesty went to St. Paul's cathedral publicly, to return thanks to the One only giver of health and intellect, he was attended by crowds of his affectionate people, who greeted him with the most enthusiastic exclamations. The king entered the cathedral amidst the peal of organs, and the voices of five thousand children of the city charity-schools, who were placed between the pillars on both sides, and singing the hundredth psalm. His majesty was most deeply affected, and observed to those near him, with great emotion, "I now feel that I have been ill." For some years after this event nothing occurred in England that demands historical notice; and the king, who was eminently fitted for domestic happiness, as well by his strictly moral habits as by the great love he bore to his family, took but little part in public business, his physicians recommending him to indulge as much as possible in retirement and leisure.

In aiding the Americans the king of France struck a blow at the stability of his own throne. There was already a revolutionary spirit displayed in France, and the rebellion in America gave an impetus to it which no measures could stem. Year after year the spirit of disaffection became stronger and stronger; and at length, in June, 1789, the storm which had long appeared in the horizon burst over the head of the devoted monarch. On the 20th of that month

the French king was divested of all his absolute authority, and reduced to one of the most limited monarchs in Europe. The Bastile, that den of slavery and cruelty, was so effectually demolished by the populace, as not to leave one stone upon another. A national assembly was chosen by the people, who took from the king the power of making war and peace, and abolished all titles of peerages; it being their opinion, that no distinctions should be known but such as arose from virtue, genius, and merit. But these proved only the beginnings of changes. In July, 1790, the French monarch made a solemn surrender of the power hitherto lodged in his hands, and from that time became the servant of the people. In the field of Mars he took a solemn oath to abide by the new constitution, as prescribed by a decree of the national assembly: but this oath was only taken by compulsion. The French monarch soon afterwards endeavoured to escape to his German dominions; but he was stopped on the borders of Flanders, brought back to Paris, and closely guarded in one of the royal palaces. In the meantime the national assembly drew up a new code of laws, and brought them to the king, who signed them. This allayed for a period the tumults of the kingdom; but the storm was only hushed for a while, again to break forth in greater fury. In August, 1792, there was a dreadful engagement at the Tuilleries: the Swiss guards were vanquished and massacred, while the king and royal family were compelled to take refuge in the national assembly. This was followed, in September, by a terrible insurrection in Paris, when the prisons were forced open, and all the state prisoners and confined priests massacred. Louis was charged by the French convention with being the author of these dreadful scenes; and, having declared the abolition of royalty and the formation of a republic, it was resolved that he should be tried before them. This trial took place, and the tribunal, which absurdly exercised at once the incompatible characters of accusers, prosecutors, and judges, condemned the unfortunate monarch, who was beheaded in January, 1793. Paris now became like a den of wild beasts: it exhibited a scene of horrors unparalleled in the history of civilized nations. Executions daily and hourly took place: not only individuals but whole families, suspected of disaffection to the ruling powers, were mercilessly destroyed. All power was now in the hands of Robespierre, a man risen from obscurity, and known only for his crimes. To be rich

and noble was a crime sure to be visited with death. Among the illustrious victims of his cruelty was the helpless and unoffending queen: she perished by the guillotine. The surrounding nations stood aghast at the crimes committed in Paris; and at length they kindled the flames of a great continental war, in which England was fated to take a conspicuous part.

It was on the first of February, 1793, that the French declared war against England; and at the same time, Holland. England was ready for the mortal combat. In the course of the summer, Valenciennes surrendered to the duke of York, and Toulon to lord Hood. The latter place, however, was re-conquered by the French general Dugommier; but before leaving it, the English set fire to the French vessels in the harbour, together with the dockyard and the arsenal. In the re-conquest of this city Napoleon Buonaparte took a distinguished part: a man who soon filled the world with the terror of his name.

In 1794 lord Howe defeated the French grand fleet, took six sail of the line, and sunk three. By land the English were this year unsuccessful. The duke of York was defeated in several battles, both in France and Holland, and was compelled to retreat into Germany. Holland was conquered and made a dependent state on France: "a daughter republic leagued with the powerful mother." During this year Robespierre and his party were overthrown, and, with twenty other terrorists, was guillotined. But the party who succeeded to the power in France were no less sanguinary than the monster they had destroyed. Nay, they were still more so. Executions were the order of the day: every man's hand seemed lifted up against the life of his brother and fellow-citizen.

While the British arms were employed against republican France, there were attempts made to set up a republic in England. Men, unworthy of the liberty and prosperity they enjoyed under the British constitution, and deeply enamoured of those atrocious principles which had disturbed Europe, and deluged France with blood, instituted clubs, under the specious title of Corresponding Societies. But ministers were on the alert. The habeas-corpus act was suspended, and numerous individuals were arrested. They were brought to trial; but though they were morally guilty, they were not legally so, and consequently they were acquitted. Two men, in Scot-

land, however, who were tried by the severer laws of that country, were sentenced to transportation.

In 1795 the French directory, which was established after the fall of Robespierre and his associates, made overtures for peace with England. But though the directory had now become more moderate in its measures, it was not the less obstinate: the war was continued. In this year England sent out a powerful fleet to aid the emigrants who were endeavouring to stem the torrent of revolution in France; but all their efforts proved fruitless: hundreds were taken and shot; but two thousand took refuge on board the English fleet.

During this year the prince of Wales was married to his cousin, the princess Caroline of Brunswick: a marriage which proved to be a source of misery to the princess. In the same year Warren Hastings was acquitted of charges brought against him for mal-administration while governor of India; and for which he was impeached by the commons, at the bar of the house of lords. His trial commenced in 1788; and the circumstance was at that time the all-absorbing topic of the day: but it had recently obtained very little notice, and the fact of his acquittal was almost unheeded.

The defection of Holland, and its alliance with France, proved of great consequence to England. In 1795 admiral Elphinstone took the Cape of Good Hope, by capitulation. In the East Indies, also, the English conquered Trincomalee, with all the Dutch territory of Ceylon, as well as the Moluccas and Malacca; and in 1796 they made themselves masters of Demerara in the West Indies. During this year lord Malmesbury was sent to negotiate a peace with France, but failed: he was compelled to leave Paris in twenty-four hours. France this year was allied by treaty with Spain, which opened a new period to the war. Admiral Cordova, with twenty-seven ships of the line, ten frigates, and seventy merchantmen, in 1797, sailed out of Carthage, with the intention of joining the French fleet at Brest, but he was met by admiral Jervis, who, with only fifteen ships of the line, defeated him off St. Vincent, and frustrated his design. The Spanish fleet fled to Cadiz, where Nelson blockaded it. In the same year a great Dutch fleet, under admiral Winter, was almost annihilated by admiral Duncan. But notwithstanding so much success and glory, the war became daily more burdensome to England, and the most brilliant superiority did not secure her from particular reverses and great dangers. In

consequence of the victories gained by Napoleon in Italy, Corsica was wrested from England, and that island united with the French republic. The danger of the war to England induced ministers again to negotiate for peace; but they met with no better success than before.

On the 12th of May an alarming mutiny broke out on board the fleet at Sheerness. The mutineers blocked up the entrance of the Thames, hoisted bloody flags, and compelled all the ships of war in the Medway and at the Nore to join the flag of revolt. The mutiny spread into the squadron of admiral Duncan, most of whose ships left him and joined the mutineers at the Nore. But this rebellion was happily quelled. Several of the ringleaders were taken and executed, and the rest then returned to their duty.

In 1798 the French arms were almost everywhere victorious. The French entered Rome, and planted the tree of liberty before the Capitol, and they overran Switzerland. After this Napoleon set sail for Egypt, taking with him the greater part of a large army ostensibly collected at Toulon for the invasion of England. Malta, Alexandria, and Cairo fell into his hands: the Mameluke chiefs, who endeavoured to arrest his progress, were every one defeated. But while at Cairo, and in the midst of the festivities of victory, Napoleon received the terrible news of the destruction of his fleet. It had been left at anchor in the road of Aboukir, and admiral Nelson, who had been long in search of it, discovered it there in order of battle. Nelson attacked it without delay. The French fought valiantly, but their valour was vain. Only two ships of the line and two frigates escaped: the rest were either captured or destroyed. More than 5,000 French were slain, and about 4,000 taken prisoners. This was the most glorious, and at the same time most important victory since the beginning of the war. Europe heard this news with transports of delight. France by this time had become the abhorrence and terror of the Continent; and the victory of Aboukir animated the courage and the hopes of the European monarchs. A second coalition was soon formed: a coalition more formidable than the first, as it was joined by the two great powers of Austria and Russia.

In 1799 the question of the union of Great Britain and Ireland was carried in both the Irish houses of parliament; and in the following year it was agreed to in England. The coalition this year received a severe blow in Holland. An



English-Russian army made a descent at Helder, in North Holland, in the hope of bringing the Batavian republic again under the dominion of the Stadtholder; but delay, occasioned by negligence and contrary winds, bad preparations, and other causes, frustrated this enterprise. The English fleet captured several Dutch vessels; but the land army was soon overpowered by the generals Brune and Daendels. The Russian general, Hermann, was made prisoner of war, with some thousand men, at Bergen; and the duke of York finally capitulated, and obtained permission to return with the remnant of his army, upon the condition of setting 3000 French prisoners in England at liberty. The emperor Paul, of Russia, had already suffered reverses in Switzerland; and, exasperated with the issue of this enterprise, he separated from the coalition: this event led to a rupture between England and Russia. In 1800 the Russian ambassador left this country under the passport granted for a courier; and an embargo on English ships soon after took place at Cronstadt. But though Russia had withdrawn from the coalition, Great Britain proudly continued the war. France, on the other hand, though victorious, appeared desirous of peace. Napoleon wrote with his own hand to the British monarch; but the British ministry fulfilled his most cordial wish in rejecting the proposals made. The consequence of this attempt at peace, indeed, was confirmed exasperation. Napoleon made an adroit use of it for reviving martial courage and enthusiasm. The whole nation of France assumed a warlike attitude: every man capable of bearing arms was ready to go out to battle.

The war continued. In the years 1800 and 1801 England gave two great blows to her enemy; these were the re-conquest of Malta and Egypt. Malta was captured after a blockade of two years. In Egypt, after the departure of Napoleon, Kleber had taken command of the army, and had continued the war with success. But Kleber fell by the hand of a Turkish assassin; and on Menou taking the command, disunion arose in the army. At this time England had fitted out a powerful enterprise for the final suppression of this formidable colony of the French. Admiral Keith commanded the fleet: general Abercrombie the army. The descent was made at Aboukir, and the French were beaten here, and subsequently at Ramanieh. Abercrombie fell in the first battle, and then the command devolved on general Hutchinson. The English were again victorious at Alexan-

dria, Menou capitulated, and the ruins of the French army were transported free to France upon English vessels.

But while the English were thus victorious in Egypt, Napoleon was pursuing a successful career in Europe: so triumphant were his arms that Austria, one of the sternest enemies of France, was compelled to sign a treaty of peace: this peace with the principal enemy of the republic on the continent was soon followed by reconciliation with the other hostile powers; with Russia, Naples, and Portugal. The first consul, Napoleon, concluded peace likewise with the Porte, and with the powers of Barbary, and especially with Algiers. But reconciliation with England was more difficult: several causes, however, eventually combined to bring about even that consummation.

At this time a violent fermentation, which assumed more and more a dangerous character, prevailed in the interior of England. Combustible matter of various kinds was accumulated: French principles had taken deep root, and were spreading on every hand: circumstances connected with the war, apart from the contagion of evil example, contributed to this state of things. The enormous sums which the war against France, connected with the payment of heavy subsidies to most of the states of Europe, swallowed up, made higher taxes, and an unexampled increase of the national debt necessary. Within the first six years of the war it had increased to about £200,000,000; but in 1801 it amounted to £500,000,000: this greatly increased taxation. Many branches of industry were also interrupted or destroyed by the chances of war, or by the changes of policy in foreign countries: then, again, the poor-tax rose to a fearful height, while the distress of the indigent was not appeased. As a compensation for these, and other evils, England had merely her triumphs by sea, and her increasing commercial greatness which was built upon them: but even this dominion of the sea threatened danger by the resistance it excited among the neutrals. Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and Prussia engaged in a project of another armed neutrality, similar to that of 1780: they were incited to this chiefly by a claim set up by England to search even commercial vessels sailing under convoy. But the British trident rose with vengeance against this armed neutrality. Fifty-four vessels, under admirals Parker and Nelson, broke through the Sound, and in March, 1801, appeared before Copenhagen. The Danes fought va-

liantly: but they were conquered: Denmark was compelled to consent to an armistice upon the condition that, during the truce, the armed neutrality should be suspended. The English now sailed into the Baltic sea, to attack the Swedish-Russian fleet. But an event took place which stopped its operations. The Russian emperor, Paul, lost his life in consequence of the hatred which he had incurred by his despotism; and his son and successor, Alexander, concluded a convention with England, in which he acknowledged the British claims to the right of search, and renounced his claim to the possession of Malta, which had been one of the chief causes of complaint with his predecessor against Great Britain. The peace of the north was re-established.

Peace was also finally made with France. From the causes above-mentioned the British government resolved to treat with that country: but before this resolve was taken a change took place in the administration. The stern character of Pitt did not even yield to necessity: he resigned; and Addington was made prime-minister, whereupon lord Hawkesbury, the new secretary of state for foreign affairs, declared the willingness of the king to make peace. Preliminaries were signed in London in October, 1800; but the definitive peace was not concluded before March, 1802: it was agreed upon in a congress assembled at Amiens; England signing it on the one side, and France, Spain, and Holland, on the other. By this treaty England restored all her conquests, with the exception of Ceylon and Trinidad; and the Cape of Good Hope was to be open equally to the vessels of the contracting powers. Egypt was to be restored to the Porte; and Malta was again assigned to the knights of the order of St. John. The peace was proclaimed in London on the 29th of April, with the accustomed ceremony and pomp, and at night there was a general illumination in honour of the event.

Peace was, however, but of short duration. On neither side were the stipulations of the treaty justly observed; but on the part of Napoleon they were most flagrantly violated. This brought on a new rupture with England: preparations were made for war. The restoration of Malta to the knights of St. John had not taken place, and when France demanded it, a counter-demand was made for France to adhere to the stipulations into which she had entered before Malta was given up. This led to mutual recriminations, and finally

kindled a new war. Before the commencement of hostilities Napoleon committed an act which rendered all thoughts of a lasting peace impossible. Contrary to the law of nations, he ordered the arrest of all the English on the soil of France, who were sojourning there, or travelling under the protection of the law of hospitality and peace. Had no other causes of difference existed, this would have inevitably re-lit the flames of war between the two nations: Napoleon, indeed, was never desirous of reconciliation with England: peace was on his lips, but war was in his heart.

The first martial deed was the invasion of Hanover by the French forces; a vulnerable point in which Napoleon could wound the honour of England. Hanover was too weak for resistance, and a convention was concluded, according to which the Hanoverian army retired beyond the Elbe into the duchy of Lauenburg, upon the condition of not serving against France before exchanged. After this conquest, in 1804, Napoleon reached the highest pinnacle of his fame and power: he was created emperor of the French. That proud nation again submitted to the rule of one man; "and that one man the vilest of all." With the exception of England, Russia, Sweden, and the Porte, every foreign prince, and even the emperor of Austria, made haste to acknowledge the imperial dignity of Napoleon.

But this unbounded ambition of Napoleon finally proved his ruin. His continued violation of treaties, and his continual augmentation of empire, by incorporating the surrounding smaller nations with France, promoted the formation of a third coalition against him. England, Sweden, Russia, and soon after Austria, concluded a league against France. The return of Pitt to power contributed mainly to this result. The treaties by which this coalition was formed were concluded early in the year 1805. The chief power upon which Pitt calculated was Russia. England engaged to pay £1,125,000 for every 100,000 of regular troops which the allies could raise. It was expected that 500,000 soldiers could be assembled; and England was rich enough to pay them: British gold was, in fact, the support of the war. Great calculations were also made upon the accession of Austria, and it was expected that Prussia might be induced to take part in the great struggle; but that country, overawed by the French masses in its vicinity, remained neutral.

Napoleon turned his arms against Austria. A sanguinary

battle was fought at Austerlitz between the French and a combined force of Austrians and Russians. His usual success attended him: he was completely victorious; and the Austrian emperor, threatened in his capital, was compelled to consent to a most degrading treaty of peace. England fought only with money and vessels. A great battle was this year fought by a British fleet: Nelson, the greatest of modern naval heroes, was the commander. Nelson met with a combined French and Spanish fleet, under admiral Villeneuve, off Trafalgar, and immediately prepared for action. He gave this emphatic signal to his officers and men as the battle commenced, "ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN TO DO HIS DUTY;" and bravely did his officers and men respond to this signal. A complete victory was gained: out of eighteen sail of the line the French preserved only nine; and out of fifteen sail of the line the Spaniards preserved only six. The marine force of Napoleon might be said to be annihilated: but the victory was dearly purchased. In the midst of the action Nelson was mortally wounded; and almost as soon as the last of the enemy's ships had struck her colours he expired. His last words were, "Thank God, I have done my duty." His death was deeply deplored by the nation, and all honours were paid to his remains: they were deposited under the noble dome of St. Paul's; "a fitting and a glorious resting-place." After this battle the Cape of Good Hope was reconquered by the English.

Another loss was sustained at this critical juncture by England, in 1806. On the 23rd of January Pitt expired, in the 47th year of his age: he was buried in Westminster-abbey. After his death there was a complete change in the administration: lord Grenville was made first lord of the treasury, and with him were associated Fox, Sidmouth, Howick, and others of their party. So complete a ministerial change had not been made for years: all places were swept clean, and new men put into them. This ministry obtained the denomination of "All the talents." But the power of this administration was not of long duration. In about eight months Fox followed his great rival Pitt to the tomb, and a new ministry was composed, of which Spencer Perceval was the acknowledged premier. Attempts had been made by "All the talents" to make peace with Napoleon: but they proved abortive: the French emperor amused them with negotiations, but his successes had been so great by land that he had no

thoughts of submitting to any terms that could be proposed. Our military and naval operations this year were extended to the south of Italy and Sicily, Portugal, the East and West Indies, and South America; but no decisive blow was struck at the gigantic power of France. On the other hand, Napoleon struck a terrible blow at the power of Prussia. In this year that country awoke from its fatal blindness: war was resolved upon. But it was too late: the Prussians were defeated in a bloody battle at Jena; and all the country, from the Rhine to the other side of the Oder, fell into the hands of the victor. The French troops occupied Brunswick, Hesse-Cassel, the Hanseatic cities, and finally Mecklenburg and Oldenburg. All North Germany groaned under the scourge of the victors; and South Germany afforded him troops and gold.

Intoxicated by the victory of Jena, Napoleon issued from Berlin an arrogant decree, whereby he declared the British islands in a state of blockade. By this decree all powers that would not be considered the enemies of France, had to take part in a war waged upon the British flag and British commerce. All commerce and all correspondence with England were forbidden; and all vessels that acted contrary to this ordinance, with all English goods and merchandise, were declared lawful prize; and the ports of France and its allied states were closed against all vessels coming from England or the British colonies. In 1807 England issued, in retaliation, two counter-proclamations, by which all commerce from the ports of France and its dependent states were interdicted: all the coasts of France and its allied countries were declared to be in a state of blockade; and all vessels trading with them, as well as all merchandise or manufactures of such countries, were pronounced lawful prize. Enraged at this retaliation, Napoleon issued a new decree from Milan, in which every vessel that fulfilled the conditions demanded by England was declared as English property, and subject to the prize-law. Nor did his rage stop here. By two subsequent decrees, all colonial merchandise was to be subjected to an impost of fifty per cent., and all English goods were to be burnt. All peaceable commerce in Europe was thus annihilated. England, however, possessing the commerce of the rest of the world, suffered but little. Not so other nations: they were reduced to misery by this iniquitous continental system. Denmark suffered bitterly for putting this system

in force. England sent a large fleet against Copenhagen, which was bombarded and taken: all the Danish ships of war, and their stores, fell into the hands of the British.

In 1807 two great battles were fought between the French and Russians, in which the former were victorious. This led to a peace between France and Russia: a treaty was entered into between Napoleon and Alexander, in which they agreed to divide the world between them. Prussia and even Austria, also, entered into a treaty of alliance with France; and Russia declared war, after the capture of Copenhagen, against England. One of the first results of these treaties was the conquest of Spain, by Napoleon. Soon after the peace of Tilsit, he cast his insatiable look upon that country, and made himself master of it by a revolting act of violence. But this hazardous enterprise became the first cause of his overthrow. The whole nation rose against him, and commenced a Guerilla warfare, which occupied his attention and thinned his troops for six years. Although successful in particular instances, Spain remained in spirit unconquered, and finally came off victorious.

In their resistance to Napoleon, the "world-tyrant," the Spanish nation was nobly assisted by England. In 1808 sir Arthur Wellesley was sent out with 10,000 men, and having communicated at Corunna with the Spanish leader, he proceeded to Portugal. After overthrowing the throne of Spain, Napoleon had sent his troops to invade Portugal. That country was unable to resist the invaders, and the king and his family left Europe, and embarked under English escort for Brazil. The object of sir Arthur Wellesley was to drive the French from Portugal, through Spain, and back into France. He landed at Mondego Bay, and proceeded to Vimiera, where a decisive battle was fought, in which the French were defeated. The result of this battle was the complete deliverance of Portugal from the power of France. Later in the year, sir John Moore landed at Corunna, with a force of 12,000 men, to the direct assistance of the Spaniards, and another great victory was obtained over the French, but it was purchased at the loss of the brave British commander. In this year, also, a Russian fleet, under admiral Siniavin, surrendered to the British. From this time the English troops had a firm foundation for their campaigns in the Peninsula. The battle of Corunna was fought in January, 1809. The French had a few days before attacked Saragossa, and after a

desperate resistance, this city, filled with ruin and corpses, fell into their hands. But English aid nobly sustained the cause of the Spaniards. Sir Arthur Wellesley, acting in union with Portuguese and Spanish troops, invaded Spain and Portugal, and gained a brilliant victory at Talavera, in New Castile. In memory of this achievement he was created "Viscount Wellington of Talavera."

This success, however, produced no important results. Napoleon had been directing his arms against Austria, and having prostrated that power, he again poured an overwhelming force into Spain. In 1810 the British troops, pressed by the enemy, and not being effectively aided by the Spanish nation, retreated, and the French followed them into Portugal. The French were now once more established in Spain, but the spirit of the people remained unbroken, and Cadiz, which was invested, defied the proud enemy. Napoleon had placed his brother Joseph on the throne of Spain, and he now organized the civil and military administration of the kingdom; and suppressed all the orders of monks and mendicants in the whole extent of Spain, confiscating the property of the cloisters, and applying it to state objects.

In November, 1810, George III. was again afflicted with a mental malady, to the sincere grief of his subjects. This awful visitation was attributed by his physicians to the shock he sustained in the previous month, by the death of his favourite daughter, the princess Amelia. He had been for some time afflicted with blindness; and on one occasion, when visiting the princess, a few days before her death, she put a ring on his finger. His majesty could not see it, but he felt it, and knew its import: that it was to be worn in memory of one whom he so dearly loved. This shock was too much for his nerves: reason gave way, and to the day of his death no glimmering of it returned. His favourite residence, Windsor Castle, was the place of his retirement, and there, for nearly ten long years, he remained in a state of blindness and insanity, tenderly watched by his queen and his children, and mourned over by his affectionate people, who endearingly spoke of him as "The good old king."

#### PART III.

Parliament appointed the prince of Wales to the regency; who, though he had been averse to the king's ministers and



their policy, wisely and nobly retained them in office. This gave offence to the party to whom he had hitherto been attached; but the wisdom of his decision was evident. A change in the ministry, however, was soon after brought about by a tragical event. The chief minister, Perceval, in May, 1812, was shot in the lobby of the house of commons, by a Liverpool merchant, named Bellingham, who falsely imagined that his victim had prevented him from obtaining a sum for which he had a claim upon government. Lord Liverpool was appointed to his place, and Castlereagh shared with him the power. The gigantic struggle against Napoleon was continued, principally under the auspices of Castlereagh, and, as will be seen, Great Britain finally triumphed over him. At this time the French emperor seemed the most envied of mortals. He had divorced his faithful wife, Josephine, who had shared his fortunes and his triumphs, and had married the archduchess Maria-Louisa, daughter of the emperor of Austria, against whom he had so long, so inveterately, so unjustly, and yet successfully, waged war.

It was in the Peninsula that England chiefly combated with Napoleon. In the year 1811 the French arms maintained their preponderance in Spain, in spite of all the exertions of the Spaniards and some reverses. Yet, notwithstanding so much misfortune, the courage of the Spaniards remained unabated. The Guerillas rose more boldly than ever; and various successes gave some consolation for victories gained by the French. During this time Cadiz sustained with firmness an obstinate siege: an attempt of the British to relieve the city failed, but it did not surrender.

A more fortunate period for Spain commenced in 1812. Napoleon, emperor of France, and Alexander, emperor of Russia, had, by the treaty of Tilsit, agreed to divide the world between them. Both had aggrandized themselves by virtue of that treaty, at the expense of surrounding, and even far distant nations; but there was in that treaty the germs of a fatal quarrel with the spoilers of the world, which, sooner or later, could not fail to break out. They had apparently ratified their unholy compact at Erfurt, and the fate of the Continent seemed to depend upon these potentates. But where there is unbounded ambition there can be no good faith, and though Europe witnessed the union with disquietude, it was clear to men of penetration that it would not be lasting. And so it proved. Causes of contention soon arose between

the two emperors; the principal being that of commerce or of the continental system, for the maintenance of which Russia, after having suffered by it, refused to continue her co-operation. This quarrel at length broke out into open war; both parties mutually declared war against each other. Napoleon assumed the offensive: at the head of a mass of 500,000 men, he approached the Russian frontiers, and he made his way as far as the city of the czars, Moscow. But here his triumphs ended. Moscow was set on fire by some Russians who had been left in the city, and the conqueror was compelled to commence a retrograde movement. His retreat was most disastrous. Winter had approached, and the fiat of the Almighty went forth against him. Famine, frost, and snow, and the never-resting lances of the Cossacks overtook his proud army, and but few of his troops returned to their native country. It is said that 300,000 human bodies and 150,000 dead horses were burnt upon the Russian soil.

In the mean time, Wellington had given a deadly blow to the power of the French in Spain. Marshal Marmont, who was advancing into Portugal, was defeated by him at Salamanca; and in consequence of this battle, king Joseph left Madrid, and Wellington made his solemn entry into that city. But this triumph was short lived. The combined French armies marched again towards Madrid; and Wellington, having experienced great loss in fruitless storms upon the citadel of Burgos, retreated towards Portugal. King Joseph now re-entered the capital of his kingdom. The grand cause of Wellington's retreat arose from the ill support which he received from the Spanish cortes; but that body, now convinced of error, appointed him commander-in-chief of all the Spanish armies. From this time things inclined to decision. Great Britain redoubled her efforts, and the cortes summoned up all the force of the Spaniards to combat with the enemy. In 1813 Wellington defeated the French in three great battles, at Vittoria, Pampeluna, and in the vicinity of the Pyrenees, and Spain was almost delivered from their power. King Joseph fled from Madrid, and he saw Spain no more.

The nations of Europe now combined to crush the great enemy of the peace of the world. Prussia, Sweden, Austria, and the princes of the confederation of the Rhine, all set their troops in motion against him. To meet these varied enemies Napoleon assembled new and formidable legions: the bloody

conscription was extended, and 800,000 men were raised for the slaughter. At first he was successful: near Luetzen he gained a great victory over the combined forces of Russia and Prussia. This victory was followed by others at Bauzen, Wurschen, and Dresden. But after this last smile of fortune, Napoleon soon experienced her decided and constant disfavour. Victories were gained over his generals by the Prussians, under Blucher, on the Katzbach, in Silesia; at Culm and Nullendorf, in Bohemia; and at Dennewitz, by the crown-prince of Sweden and Bulow. In consequence of these disasters of his generals, Napoleon saw the three great armies of the allies approaching, and he had to choose between battle and retreat. He chose the former alternative. His troops were marched into the plains of Leipsic, and here was fought the immortal battle of nations, in which God gave the allies victory over their enemy. The battle lasted from the 14th to the 19th of October, and its results were decisive: 80,000 French lay dead on the field. The allies lost about 50,000. The French now fled towards Erfurt, and in their retreat experienced many other severe losses. In his flight Napoleon was opposed by the Bavarians, hitherto his friends; but he cut his way through their opposing forces, crossed the Rhine, and never set foot again in Germany. That country was finally and for ever delivered from his power: after his retreat most of the fortresses of the Oder and the Elbe, and of other points occupied by the French, surrendered. The liberation of Germany was followed by that of Holland and Spain: the prince of Orange and Ferdinand were restored to their thrones.

Thus, by a series of unexampled reverses, in the course of one eventful year, the ruler of Europe was limited to the defence of France. But for his mad ambition, he might have retained his throne. He was offered France, with the Rhine for its boundaries, but he refused to have his dominions thus limited. The allies now resolved upon the great decisive contest. Four hundred thousand warriors assembled on the Rhine, and in Holland; the combined forces of Austria and Naples marched from Italy; and the legions of the Spaniards and Portuguese, united with the English, poured over the Pyrenees. New battalions of Germans, Austrians, Prussians, and Russians, also, pressed on in enormous masses in all directions, especially towards the eastern boundary of France. Napoleon prepared for the coming storm with his

characteristic ardour and energy. A new levy of 300,000 men was decreed by the senate.

It was on the 1st of January, 1814, that the allies entered France. The campaign which followed is "rich in prodigies of valour and military art." Pressed by his enemies, Napoleon never appeared greater than he did on the eve of his fall. Victories were obtained by him over the Prussians, Russians, Austrians, and Germans, at Brienne, Champ Aubert, Montmirail, Nangis, and Montereau. But, in spite of all his exertions and victories, his throne was destined to be overthrown. His marshals had in the mean time experienced various defeats; the Austrians had conquered Burgundy, and finally, Lyons; and Wellington had driven Soult from the Pyrenees, and was directing his victorious march towards the interior of France. In order to divert his enemies, Napoleon took the bold resolution of throwing the war into the rear of the enemy, into the countries between the Rhine and the Moselle. But this proved a false step. The allies did not follow him, as he expected, but marched forwards to Paris. The defence of this city had been confided to Joseph Buonaparte; but he was not prepared to withstand the attack of the allies. At the head of 200,000 men the monarchs and generals entered Paris in triumph, and the rule of Napoleon ceased. The Bourbons were restored, and he was compelled to sign an unconditional act of abdication. Yet he was to retain the title of emperor, and to have the island of Elba as a sovereign principality, and an annual revenue of two millions of francs from the French treasury. Soon after he departed for that island.

A general peace was now concluded at Paris. By the instruments of peace, France retained the old boundary of 1792, with even some additional territory. She also recovered her lost colonies, with the exception of the islands of Tobago, St. Lucie, and Isle de France, which were ceded to England, and St. Domingo, which was given up to Spain. France was likewise exempted from all contributions of war and other oppressive requisitions: the monarchs wishing to re-establish the dominion of the Bourbons on a firm basis. Concerning the conquests wrested from France, it was decided that Holland, with an augmentation of territory, should fall to the house of Orange; that Switzerland should be independent; that Germany should form a confederation of independent states; that Italy, with the exception of a part

which returned under the dominion of Austria, should also consist of independent states; and that Malta should remain in the power of England. A congress, consisting of plenipotentiaries of all the powers which had taken part in the war, was to assemble within two months at Vienna, to settle definitively all these new relations.

When the allied sovereigns imagined that they had restored the peace of Europe, the emperor of Russia, the king of Prussia, with a numerous company of counts, barons, dukes, princes, marshals, and generals, visited England. Among these were the brave old general Blücher, and Platoff, the hetman of the Cossacks, who had been two of the most formidable antagonists of Napoleon. The reception of all these by the prince-regent and people was both honourable and flattering. Such continuous shows, spectacles, and feasts were given, as London never before had witnessed. Soon after the duke of Wellington returned to England, and received the thanks of both houses of parliament, for his eminent services to his majesty and the public. The sum of £500,000 was voted to him, to be laid out in the purchase of an estate, as a lasting token of the national gratitude.

The work of the duke of Wellington, however, was not yet done. Peace had returned to bless the world; but it was of short duration. While congress was sitting, for the purpose of establishing peace, an event occurred which called the nations of Europe again into the field of battle. This was the escape of Napoleon from the island of Elba, and his restoration to the throne of France.

No sooner had Napoleon arrived in Elba than he commenced a secret and active correspondence with his friends, both in Italy and France, with a view of again subverting the throne of the Bourbons. This correspondence became more active when his friends and agents reported to him the return of the French prisoners of war from Russia, Poland, Saxony, England, Prussia, Spain, and other countries. The temper of these veterans was unchanged, and their devotion to glory and to their emperor as great as ever. Many of them enlisted into the armies of Louis XVIII.; but they carried the tri-coloured cockade in their knapsacks, ready to put on their caps if Napoleon should ever return. Aware of this, and other circumstances favourable to his enterprise, on the 26th of February, 1815, Napoleon embarked with a body of about 1000 men; and on the 1st of March he landed at Cannes, a

short distance from Frejus. He met with little support in Provence; but on penetrating into Dauphiny, "the cradle of the revolution," the people began to flock round his standard. From this time his onward march to Paris was one of triumph. There were none to oppose him: the very troops sent against him proved faithless, and universally hailed him as their emperor. All along the road he was joined by soldiers in detachments, battalions, and divisions, who tore the white cockade from their caps, and mounted the tricolour. On hearing of their faithlessness, Louis fled from the Tuileries, and Napoleon entered Paris in the midst of a loud shout of *Vive l'empereur!* He once more seated himself on the throne of the Bourbons, and all things were restored to the state under which they had been in the days of his former empire.

On receiving the news of Napoleon's landing in France, the monarchs assembled in congress at Vienna pronounced a terrible proscription against him: they declared his lawful claim, even to existence, forfeited by his departure from Elba; his person excluded from general, human, and civil rights; and, as an enemy of the world, he was delivered over to public justice. This declaration was published in the name of the eight powers that had signed the peace of Paris, and they immediately prepared for war on a most gigantic scale: the forces raised against him were estimated at 1,365,000 soldiers. The contest which was now resumed was brief, but bloody. At the head of his phalanxes Napoleon defeated the Prussians in a murderous battle at Ligny; but here his triumph ended. The duke of Wellington was then at Brussels and hearing of the enemy's approach, he marched out of that city with his troops, and took up his position on the far-famed field of Waterloo, where he awaited the attack.

It was on the morning of the 18th of June that the final struggle commenced. It was the sabbath, a day sacred to peace; but Napoleon, eager to measure his strength with Wellington, whom he had often longed to meet in the field of battle, and, hoping to crush him before the Prussians under Blucher could come to his assistance, led out his forces to battle. The strife was fearful. Throughout the whole day the British were charged in squadrons and masses; but in vain: at every charge the French troops returned, crippled and dismayed. Towards the evening every part of the French army, except the guards, on whom Napoleon placed his greatest reliance, had been engaged, repulsed, and frightfully

thinned. At length the guards were brought forward to the scene of action: they advanced in two massy columns, and moved resolutely on, with supported arms, under a destructive fire from the British position; but their attack proved fruitless. When within fifty yards from the British line they attempted to deploy; but the close fire upon them was too terrible: their flanks were enveloped by some of the British guards; they got mixed together in a confused mass; in that mass they were slaughtered like sheep; they were broken, and gave way in irretrievable confusion. There was no more fighting: the grand army of Napoleon took refuge in flight, followed by their victorious enemies. As the broken imperial guard reeled away from the British position, and as Napoleon, in the agony of despair, exclaimed, "They are mixed! they are mixed!" and was preparing to put spurs to his horse, Blücher, who, notwithstanding his recent defeat at Ligny, hastened to the decisive contest with his ordinary courage, came in sight with his Prussians; and when he reached the fatigued victors, the task of pursuit was assigned to him. He would follow the fugitives, he said, with his last horse, and his last man; and he faithfully performed his word. In the pursuit the Prussians took a terrible revenge on the French for the defeats they had sustained: they were cut down on the road in heaps like cattle, and the whole army was either destroyed or dispersed. In the battle and the retreat the French lost 30,000 men in killed and wounded: the British and Hanoverians about 14,000. Many officers were killed, and among them, on the side of the British, were general Picton and sir William Ponsonby, two of the most valiant of the British generals.

The war was finished. Blücher soon appeared in sight of Paris, and after a few days a capitulation was signed, in virtue of which the French army promised to evacuate Paris within three days, and to retire behind the Loire within eight days. On the 7th of July Blücher and Wellington entered the proud capital; and on the following day Louis XVIII. re-appeared in his conquered residence. The reign of Napoleon had previously ended: he had fled to Paris; but, menaced by the victors, the chambers compelled him to sign his abdication. On the day when Louis re-entered Paris he embarked at Rochefort; but the English cruisers made it impossible to put out to sea, and in this embarrassment he surrendered to Captain Maitland, of the *Bellerophon*. He declared

that he surrendered himself to the protection of the English laws, and that he would henceforth live in England as a private man ; but there was no longer any law or right for the proscribed. Taught by sad experience that no dependence could be placed on him—that his mad ambition endangered the peace of Europe—it was announced to him that he would be conveyed to St. Helena, as the common prisoner of the allies, yet under the particular supervision of England. This was done. On the 18th of October, the man who had been for nineteen years the terror of the world, landed on that solitary and desolate island, which proved to be his destined grave.

By the captivity of Napoleon the object of the war was attained. Not so much as a treaty of peace was necessary, as he against whom alone war was waged was overthrown. The allies, however, thought that they were obliged to require some sacrifices of France; partly for indemnifying the expenses of the war, and partly for preventing similar dangers for the future. The French plenipotentiaries and those of the allied powers, therefore, concluded a treaty, called, "The Second Peace of Paris." By this treaty the boundaries of 1790, not of 1792, as in the first peace of Paris, were fixed as the basis, by which France ceded a considerable portion of territory to Holland, Sardinia, and Switzerland. France next engaged to pay the sum of 700,000,000 francs, as indemnity to the allied powers; and it was also agreed that an allied army of 150,000 men should occupy France for five years, and that 50,000,000 francs should be paid annually for the maintenance of these troops. Finally, it was settled that the dominion of the Bourbons should continue to exist as the law of foreign powers; but at the same time it was made imperative upon them to respect the charter. Besides this general treaty, the different powers concluded among themselves numerous partial treaties. By one of these the treasures of art, plundered by the French in the different periods of the revolutionary war, were to be restored to their rightful possessors. This completed the humiliation of France. These were the dearest objects of the French people, as they served to remind them of the victories they had gained; and the parting with them was felt as a greater national dishonour than even the capture of the city of Paris by the allies, or the occupation of France by the allied troops. Thus ended the revolution. In order that this abyss might never open again, the monarchs of Russia, Austria, and Prussia concluded personally the



"Holy Alliance," to which compact all the powers of Europe, except England, finally agreed. This compact had for its professed object the government of the world on the precepts of justice, and of Christian love and peace; but it proved to be a solemn mockery. Subsequent events have brought to light the true spirit of this so-named "Holy Alliance"—that of tyranny and oppression.

In the year 1816 two royal marriages took place. The princess Charlotte, the amiable and gifted daughter of the prince-regent, was married to prince Leopold, of Saxe-Cobourg; and the princess Mary, fourth daughter of his majesty, to her cousin the duke of Gloucester.

At this time there was general distress in England, arising chiefly from the long and expensive war in which the nation had been engaged; from a deficient harvest; and from a general stagnation in trade and commerce. Distress engendered discontent; and artful demagogues, taking advantage of it, worked upon the feelings of the distressed; and both in London and in the provinces there was much riotous and even treasonable conduct. Several desperate characters, who were leaders of a tumultuous mob which assembled in Spa-fields, were apprehended and tried; but were acquitted. At Derby, however, the conduct of the mob was so unequivocally treasonable that a jury found several individuals guilty; the most daring of whom were executed, and the rest transported. On this occasion the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and other violent measures adopted, for the restoration of good order and government.

During the war the piratical state of Barbary had infested the commerce of the Mediterranean, and subjected Christians to the most dreadful slavery. An expedition was now fitted out, under the command of lord Exmouth, to put a stop to these proceedings. Algiers was bombarded by him, and the city and harbour were soon reduced to a shattered heap of ruins. By this event the dey of Algiers was humbled: he agreed to abolish Christian slavery; to deliver up all the slaves in his dominion; to return all the money received for the redemption of slaves in the present year; and to make reparation and a public apology to the British consul for the indignities to which he had been subjected. The deys of Tunis and Tripoli also agreed to abolish Christian slavery in their states; and the ships traversing the Mediterranean were thereby delivered from their depredations.

The public distress still continued in 1817; and the prince-regent nobly gave £50,000 per annum for the relief of the country: ministers also gave up one-tenth of their official incomes, while the necessities of the state required such a sacrifice. The close of this year was marked by an event that filled the nation with mourning; this was the death of the princess Charlotte: she, whose looks of health and gladdening smiles had long been hailed by the nation with heartfelt satisfaction, expired on the 6th of November, after giving birth to a still-born child. The indications of sorrow on this event becoming known were unusually general and sincere. The civic procession and entertainment on the lord-mayor's day were abandoned; the theatres were shut up: and on the 19th, the day of her interment, every shop was closed: it was a day of voluntary humiliation, and of sorrowful meditation on the instability of human greatness and human happiness. Brief as were the days of the princess, she had not lived in vain: her life was a bright illustration of piety and virtue.

By the death of the princess Charlotte the hope of an heir to the throne was cut off, and in 1818 several royal marriages took place in consequence. The duke of Clarence was united to the princess of Saxe-Meningen; the duke of Kent to the princess Leiningen; and the duke of Cambridge to the princess of Hesse. Suitable provisions were made for the royal personages by parliament, though not on an extravagant scale. This period was particularly fatal to the royal family. At the close of this year her majesty, queen Charlotte, expired at Kew-palace, in the seventy-fifth year of her age. As a wife and a mother she was a pattern to her sex; and as a queen, she set a noble example to the nation for virtue and morality. During the period in which she presided over the British court she preserved it from the contamination of vice, notwithstanding the dangers proceeding from the licentious examples of other European courts, as well as from that moral relaxation which our own prosperity was calculated to produce. No one of known lax morality was permitted to be presented at her court. On the death of the queen, the guardianship of his majesty, which she had performed with so much tenderness, was entrusted to the duke of York. A salary of £10,000 per annum was voted him for the performance of this filial duty, though not without much opposition.

The distress of the country still existed among all classes of society, and especially in the manufacturing districts.

Great disorders took place this year in several parts of the country. Instigated by a party named "Radical Reformers," who represented that a reform of parliament would be the sure means of putting an end to present and future sufferings, the people entered into secret combinations to effect that object. Seditious assemblages became the order of the day; and at Manchester a riot took place, in which several were killed, and between three and four hundred wounded, by the soldiers. Several of the ringleaders were taken and condemned to imprisonment and to pay fines: among them was Henry Hunt, a man whose only merit consisted in bold daring, and mob oratory. These events caused a great commotion in the nation. Parties became bitterly exasperated against each other; and as persons of property generally adhered to the ministerial side of the question, the lower orders began to entertain a deep-rooted indignation against their superiors. Their hostility was increased by the passing of the celebrated "Six Acts" by parliament, which had for their object the suppression of seditious assemblages, and the restraint of the press, which had been a powerful instrument in the hands of the factious in the promotion of disorder. These acts, however, had the effect of restoring tranquillity, for in the year 1819 no mention is made in history of any outbreak among the people. The exhibition of feeling, indeed, which had been displayed, finally led to happy results. It contributed to the reform of our institutions. When the minds of men became soothed, the general wish was, as it ever will be in the breasts of true-born Englishmen, to promote the general welfare. An iron foot was placed on the democratical spirit which was abroad; but when order was restored, sober attention was given to the grievances of which the people complained.

In January, 1820, death again visited our palaces. On the 28th of January, the duke of Kent expired, after a short illness; and eight days after, his majesty died, in the eighty-second year of his age, and, counting the ten years of the regency, in the sixtieth year of his reign. Over the last nine years of his reign, a dark and mysterious veil had been drawn. In the periods of the deepest national solicitude, his mind had felt no interest; and in the hour of the most acute domestic feeling his eye had not been wet with the tears of affection. Reason and sight had both departed from him: he was not allowed even to rejoice at the issue of the momentous struggle

in which he left his country when his malady drove him into retirement. But though he could not think of his people, they thought of him; and when he died, all felt that they had lost a father. He was mourned over as the "dear old king," and the "good old king;" and he will be venerated as such as long as the roll of British history is in existence. Few among the English monarchs have left a name so dear to the nation as George the Third.

#### GEORGE IV.

A. D. 1820. George IV. had so long governed the empire that his acquisition of the crown effected no other change than that of the title of regent to king. At this time he was by no means popular; and the assumption of this new dignity was followed by perplexities of great magnitude. He had long repudiated his wife, now queen Caroline, and she had been living in foreign lands as an exile. This step had alienated the affections of his subjects from him; and when it became known that he was resolved to extend the limits of the hostility he had displayed towards his consort, their feelings became more embittered. Yet there were circumstances which promised that his reign would be glorious to the nation. He had been long accustomed to the task of governing; he ascended the throne at a mature age; and he commenced his reign in the midst of a universal and profound peace. There was now no threat of foreign invasion to "fright the isle from its propriety;" and it seemed to require but little judgment, on the part of the king and his ministers, to render the nation as contented within as it was secure and respected abroad. His first act showed that he understood the art of ruling. All the officers of the crown were retained in his service; thereby giving a pledge to the country that he was not friendly to change. Before his first council he made a declaration, that it would ever be his desire to promote the prosperity and happiness of his people, as well as to maintain unimpaired the religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom. This declaration was made public, and on the 31st of January the king was proclaimed, first under the portico of his palace, and then at various stations throughout his "good city" of London.

The commencement of the reign of George IV. was signalized by the discovery of a sanguinary conspiracy. The Six

Acts recently passed had quelled open sedition, but there was still an under-current of insubordination at work among the people. A conspiracy was set on foot, which had for its object the overthrow of the government, and the irremediable confusion of national affairs, by the assassination of the whole cabinet. The chief leader of this plot was Arthur Thistlewood, who had once served as a subaltern in the West Indies. Associated with him were several desperate characters; the principal of whom were Ings, a butcher; Davidson, a Creole; and Brunt and Tidd, shoemakers. The plot was to be carried into execution at a cabinet-dinner given by lord Harrowby, in Grosvenor-square. Before the day arrived, however, the conspiracy was discovered, and on the evening when it was to be put into execution, as the conspirators were assembled in a stable in Cato-street, and about to sally forth on their dreadful mission, a strong body of police and soldiers surrounded them, and called upon them to surrender. In the conflict which ensued one of the police was killed; but all the above-mentioned desperadoes were captured, brought to trial, and executed. Six others were also taken with arms in their hands; five of whom were transported for life, the sixth received a free pardon, as he appeared to have been ignorant of the true nature of the designs of his associates.

As is usual on the occasion of a new accession to the British throne, the old parliament was dissolved, and a general election took place. The result of the elections was that opposition gained a slight accession of strength, but the new parliament appeared to take the complexion of that by which it had been preceded. The session commenced on the 27th of April, and it proved to be a stormy one. On hearing of the accession of her husband to the throne, queen Caroline resolved to return to England. Ministers endeavoured to prevent her taking such a step, but her resolution was fixed, and she reached the British shores on the 6th of June. She was received by the people with a hearty welcome; multitudes met her on the beach at Dover, and her progress to London resembled a triumphal procession. The return of queen Caroline was followed by great commotions. The whole kingdom was turned into one great arena of disputation, in which her innocence or guilt was advocated, according to the different views of the people. A committee was appointed to examine into the nature of the charges brought against her, and the result was that a bill of pains and penalties was

brought into the house of lords. This was an act which, according to precedents in former ages, might pronounce the queen guilty of an adulterous intercourse, degrade her from her exalted station, and dissolve the marriage between her and the king. The bill passed a first, second, and third reading; but before the question was put, "that the bill do pass," it was abandoned. Such a commotion was raised in the kingdom by this extraordinary proceeding, that the peers shrunk from the odium they would have obtained by pushing the matter to an extremity. After her acquittal the queen went in state to St. Paul's, to return public thanks, on which occasion she was surrounded by such multitudes as to make it difficult for her to pass along the streets of the metropolis. The event was celebrated by a general illumination and other tokens of joy and triumph. But queen Caroline was soon destined to see her popularity wane. The favour of the populace is ever fickle and uncertain. What the queen of England was doing soon became as indifferent to the people as that of the other members of the royal family, and her final fate an object of curiosity rather than of interest. The whole procedure was highly injurious to the national character; and every lover of order and decency, whatever his rank or his principles, rejoiced when the strife was brought to a conclusion.

The decline of the popularity of queen Caroline was clearly manifested on the occasion of his majesty's coronation, in 1821. When it was known that such an event was to take place, she preferred a claim to be crowned, like her predecessors: this was not only refused, but it was resolved that she should not even be allowed to witness the ceremony. It was in vain that she sought to obtain an entrance into Westminster-hall: she on whom the populace, almost as one man, had before waited with addresses, assuring her of support and commiseration, went from door to door of the abbey, seeking admittance; and to be at every door rejected with contumely and scorn. This was too much for her proud spirit. She had placed her last stake on the hazard of a day; and having totally failed in her object, sunk under the deepest humiliation. But death soon came to her relief. Soon afterwards she was attacked with a fatal disease, and on the 7th of August she expired. Before her death she had given directions that her remains should be interred in her own country, and that this inscription should be engraved on her tomb:—  
"Here lies Caroline of Brunswick, the injured queen of Eng-

land." Her funeral procession was attended with a serious riot. At her death the favour of the fickle multitude returned; and when government gave orders that the procession should not pass through the city of London, they assembled in great numbers for the purpose of opposing these orders. It was in vain that the military endeavoured to put them into execution: the hearse was forced into the city, where the procession was joined by the lord-mayor and authorities, the shops being closed, and the bells of the different churches tolling. Such was the fate of Caroline of Brunswick. The persecution of her after death by the ministry was loudly condemned by the people, with great justice: it was unworthy of manhood to carry resentment beyond the grave. Even her faults should then have been forgotten.

This year died the "world tyrant," Napoleon, in the rocky island of St. Helena.

"The fame of blood and bravery is his:  
His name hath havoc in its sound! and Time  
Shall read it while his ages roll:—'t will live  
When time and nature are forgotten words!  
For as a noble fame can never die,  
But proudly passeth on from earth to heaven,  
There to be hymn'd by angels, and to crown  
With bright pre-eminence the gifted mind  
That won it gloriously; so evil fame  
A fiery torment to the soul must be  
For ever:—let Ambition think of this!  
Who murder kings, to make her heroes gods."

R. MONTGOMERY.

No event of importance occurred in 1822. Parliament was chiefly occupied in debates on the agricultural distress which prevailed; on the currency; on the expediency of restoring the Roman Catholic peers to their seats in parliament; and on parliamentary reform. Similar questions occupied the session of 1823; but none of these were definitively settled. At this time the country was in a more prosperous state than it had been for several years. Unfortunately, however, this revival of prosperity gave a dangerous activity to enterprise, and generated a spirit of headlong speculation, which subsequently produced disastrous consequences. It was during this year that the memorable era of joint-stock companies commenced, which resulted in the ruin of many families, hitherto opulent. "They that will be rich often fall into temptation and a snare."

This year the king gave an instance of royal munificence, calculated to benefit the country to remote generations. His father had collected a valuable library; and this was now given to the trustees of the British Museum, in trust for the nation. The sum of £40,000 was voted by parliament for the erection of a separate building for its reception; and in the following year it was transferred to the Museum. The gift is a splendid monument of the good taste and patriotic spirit of George IV., and will redound to his honour to the latest ages of the world.

During the session of 1824 important steps were taken towards a more unrestricted system of trade. All the protecting duties between Ireland and Great Britain were repealed; and enactments were passed tending to withdraw British silk manufacturers from the protection of laws which prohibited the importation of foreign silks. The unequal restrictions on the import and export trade of wool were also removed; all which measures tended to increase the trade and commerce of England, and to benefit the whole community. It is on her commerce that the greatness of Great Britain is founded, and these measures were the commencement of a system of legislation for its extension. Before the close of the year the British government admitted the South American colonies, which had long been at war with the mother country, Spain, into the rank of independent powers. Treaties of amity and commerce were concluded with Mexico, Columbia, and Buenos Ayres, which gave a fresh impetus to commerce.

A war broke out this year between the East India Company and the Burmese sovereign: several battles were fought, in which the British were uniformly victorious. The war continued in 1825 and 1826, and the British forces penetrated, after several brilliant victories, to the vicinity of Ava, the capital of the Burmese empire. The Burmese monarch then submitted: a treaty was entered into by which he ceded several provinces to the East India Company, and engaged to pay a large sum of money for the expenses of the war. In this war several large armies of the enemy were almost annihilated, though the British forces did not amount to more than 5000 men. The country was almost desolated: the Burmese destroying everything in their retreat which could afford sustenance to the invaders.

At this period Mr. Canning, one of the most able ministers



that England ever produced, endeavoured to introduce more liberal ideas into the administration than it had hitherto entertained. He laboured to obtain the abolition of the monopoly of grain; the emancipation of the catholics; and a parliamentary reform suitable to the exigencies of the time. These plans, however, were frustrated by the opposition of the tories. A corn-bill was passed by the commons, but rejected by the lords: a plan for the emancipation of the catholics experienced a similar fate; and his measure for parliamentary reform was not even entertained by the commons. The hostility to which he was exposed had a fatal effect on his constitution: enfeebled by it he fell a prey to a disease from which he might otherwise have recovered: he died in August, 1827.

In the same year the duke of York, the heir presumptive of the crown, expired. His royal highness had been for some time seriously ill, and his disease finally assumed the character of dropsy, which resulted in death. His royal highness was in the 64th year of his age. His death was accompanied by sincere and universal regret, his public and private character being such as to excite one universal sentiment of respect and esteem. His royal highness was succeeded as commander-in-chief by the duke of Wellington. At his death the duke of Clarence became heir-presumptive to the crown, and ministers embraced this opportunity of adding £6000 per annum to his income, as well as £3000 as a jointure to his consort. This increase was strongly opposed by several members, on the ground that great distress prevailed in the country; to relieve which a royal letter had been issued to the bishops, exhorting them to use all their exertions in promoting charitable contributions for the needy and distressed.

Canning was succeeded in the administration by lord Goderich: his ministry was composed partly of tories and partly of whigs; but it did not stand long. There was a want of union among its members; and where union is wanted, no British ministry can prove stable. Early in 1828 the Goderich administration was dissolved, and the duke of Wellington became premier. All the friends of Canning were removed, and the cabinet was composed wholly of tories: among them were the earl of Aberdeen, who was charged with foreign affairs; lord Ellenborough, lord Bathurst, lord Palmerston, lord Lyndhurst, earl Dudley, Mr. Huskisson, and last and greatest of all, Mr. Peel. All these had been

decidedly opposed to the measure of catholic emancipation brought forward by Mr. Canning, and most of them had eloquently lifted up their voices against it; now, however, their sentiments on this subject underwent a complete change. In obedience to the voice of a certain part of the nation, a bill for the emancipation of the catholics was brought in under their auspices, and passed both houses. In April, 1829, it was sanctioned by the king. By this bill Roman Catholics were allowed to sit in both houses of parliament.

This measure was not sufficient to satisfy the people; they had gained one great point, but they wanted yet another to be conceded. A reform of parliament was more decidedly demanded every day; but on this point the Wellington ministry was inexorable. Several attempts were made in the years 1829 and 1830 to amend the representation; but every succeeding attempt proved a failure. In the latter year a bill was brought in and passed for repealing the duty on beer. This measure was intended to benefit the people: but it has proved very injurious to the morals of the lower orders: by it the picture which the poet Cowper drew of the evils of public-houses, in his day, have been increased a hundredfold. It is now emphatically true, that

“ Pass where we may, through city or through town,  
Village or hamlet, of this merry land,  
Though lean and beggar'd, every twentieth pace  
Conducts the unguarded nose to such a whiff  
Of stale debauch, forth issuing from the sties  
That law has licensed, as makes temperance reel.”

During the session of 1830 business was interrupted by the illness and death of the king. His majesty's health had for a considerable time been in a precarious state; but the first bulletin was not issued till the 15th of April. At the latter end of May the disorder of his majesty gave rise to a hope of his recovery; but this hope proved delusive: his disorder returned and increased; and on the night of the 25th of June death once more visited the palace of the kings of England. The death of George IV. excited a less lively sensation among the people than commonly follows that of English monarchs. Although he well understood the art of ruling, he was not one of the most popular monarchs in English history. Perhaps one of the chief reasons of this was, the circumstance of his standing in immediate contrast with

the "good old king," his father. The people, moreover, remembered his failings—for princes as well as subjects are frail and erring creatures—and though they did not rejoice at his death, there were no such signs of mourning exhibited as there were at the death of his predecessor. But if George IV. had his failings, he had also his virtues. There were some redeeming qualities in his character which should render his name dear to the country. Thus he betrayed no desire unduly to extend the prerogatives of the crown, or to curtail the rights of his subjects; and he was a munificent patron of literature and the liberal arts; praise which can scarcely be given to any member of the house of Hanover who had reigned before him. As regent, his name will ever be associated with the most splendid triumphs in the annals of British history: as king, his most unpopular act was the yielding the point of catholic emancipation. This had estranged the affections of the great body of his people from him; but it seems clear that in doing so he conceived that he was conferring a blessing on his country. At the same time he yielded the point reluctantly, and the completed concession afforded him no gratification.

#### WILLIAM IV.

A. D. 1830. As soon as the death of the king was known his next brother, William Henry, duke of Clarence, was proclaimed by the title of William IV. On his accession no immediate change took place in the government. All the judges and other great officers were re-appointed to the places which had become vacant, and his majesty signified to the members of the administration that he wished to retain their services. A change, however, took place in the feelings of their indispensable supporters, the whigs, which, added to the national distress which prevailed, and the disturbed state of public sentiment, soon occasioned not only their retirement from office, but the greatest change in the British constitution that had taken place since the Revolution of 1680.

The whigs had supported the cabinet out of gratitude for their concession of catholic emancipation. They seem to have expected that as they had conceded this point, they would also yield to the cry for parliamentary reform. In this, however, they were disappointed. The duke of Wellington boldly

averred, in the house of lords, that, in his opinion, parliamentary reform neither ought to be conceded, nor was required by the thinking and respectable portion of the people. From that hour a determined opposition to the duke's government commenced, and it soon became manifest that he could not long retain his power.

Circumstances, both foreign and domestic, favoured the views of the opposition. In France, this year, a great revolution took place. A royal ordinance had been recently published, abolishing the liberty of the press; cancelling the existing system of representation; and fashioning for the kingdom a new system of election, which would produce a chamber of deputies more subservient to the royal will. All Paris rose in arms against these decrees, and Charles X. and his descendants were excluded by the deputies from the throne: the French crown was presented to the duke of Orleans, who readily "took the oath to the charter and the glorious revolution." These events were hailed in England by the whigs with applause, as the dawning of a new era in the history of man. At this time there was a general election, consequent upon the demise of the late king, and the excitement produced by these events acted in the elections very unfavourably to ministers. The question of parliamentary reform now assumed a more prominent and remarkable shape than it had hitherto done. The force of example was added to the existing motives for change; and the notion of transferring the privileges of this or that corrupt borough to an unrepresented populous town was discarded. A radical change in the representation was loudly and boldly demanded. Meetings, petitions, and addresses were got up on every hand in order to bring about such a change, and threats were even uttered that a refusal would lead to a general convulsion, in which the privileged orders might possibly be compelled to yield more than was required. Disturbances took place throughout the country. Incendiaries lit up conflagrations night after night, in which much property was consumed; and bands of men, still more daring than the incendiary, attacked machinery of all kinds, especially agricultural, the use of which became so unpopular that insurance-offices refused a policy to those who kept them on their premises. Government attempted to put down these outrages by the strong arm of the law. The military force was increased in the disturbed counties, and a proclamation was issued, offering rewards for

the conviction of incendiaries. But this only increased the evil: some were captured, but outrage and violence still continued.

It was under these circumstances that, on the 26th of October, the first parliament of king William met for the despatch of business. Notices were early given in the session, that a change in the representation would be demanded, which ministers declared their intention to oppose. The embarrassment of ministers was greatly increased by a domestic occurrence. Some time before the meeting of parliament the king and queen had promised to honour the lord-mayor's feast, at Guildhall, with their presence. Great preparations were made by the citizens on the approach of the festival; but two days before it was to take place, the lord-mayor received a note from the home-secretary, stating that his majesty had resolved, by the persuasion of his ministry, to postpone his visit to a future opportunity. The reason given was, that from information recently received, there was reason to apprehend that, notwithstanding the devoted loyalty and affection borne to his majesty by the citizens of London, advantage would be taken of the occasion to create tumult and confusion, and thereby to endanger the lives and properties of his majesty's subjects. This announcement filled the metropolis with alarm. It was conceived that some atrocious conspiracy had been brought to light: that the crisis of the constitution and the country had arrived. The funds fell three per cent.; and in the country it was generally expected that the next mail would bring intelligence that London was in a state of insurrection. All, however, remained calm: the circumstance which led to the decision of his majesty was simply that the duke of Wellington had been warned by the lord-mayor elect to come guarded to the festival, as information had been received by him that a set of desperadoes intended to attack his grace's person on his approach to the hall. Such was the explanation given in parliament, when ministers were called upon to explain the grounds upon which they had acted. But this was not deemed sufficient reason for the postponement of the king's visit to Guildhall. Ministers had been unpopular before; and their unpopularity was increased a hundred-fold by this circumstance. It was obvious that the duke's administration had received a shock from which it could not recover. Opposition made a final and successful attack upon it on the 15th of November. On that day the chancellor of

the exchequer stated to the house his arrangements for the civil list, which he proposed to raise to the annual sum of £970,000. This was opposed as extravagant; and a motion was carried against ministers, by which a select committee was to be appointed to take into consideration the estimates and accounts, presented by command of his majesty, regarding the civil list. This was fatal to the Wellington administration: on the following day it was announced in both houses that ministers had resigned, and that they continued to hold office only till successors should be appointed.

The task of forming a new administration was committed by his majesty to earl Grey. The new ministry was formed in about a week; and it consisted of whigs, and of those who had been formerly adherents of the deceased premier Canning. The duke of Richmond was the only leading member of the old tory party who entered the new cabinet, and he became postmaster-general. The other members of the government were the duke of Devonshire, lords Althorpe, Holland, Palmerston, Goderich, Auckland, and Lansdowne; the honourable Agar Ellis; sir Edward Paget and sir Robert Spencer; and Messrs. Denman, Howe, Thompson, Ellice, Rice, Grant, and Wynne. Mr. Brougham, who had distinguished himself in the opposition to the Wellington ministry, was created a peer, and became lord-chancellor.

At the opening of the session the speech from the throne had recommended a regency bill. This was under consideration when the fate of the late cabinet was sealed; and the first act of the new ministry was to pass such a measure. The bill provided that in the event of a posthumous child of the present queen, her majesty should be guardian and regent of the kingdom; and that if such an event did not occur, then the duchess of Kent was to be guardian and regent, during the minority of her daughter, the princess Victoria, the heir-presumptive to the throne of Great Britain.

The new ministry stood pledged to apply themselves forthwith to what was termed the reform of parliament: that is, to strengthen and enlarge the democratical part of the constitution. This great measure was introduced by lord John Russell, on the 1st of March, 1831. His lordship was not a cabinet minister, but the measure was entrusted to him in consideration of his constant and strenuous exertions in this cause. Extravagant demands had been made by the people; involving not only the shortening of the duration of parlia-

ments, the extension and the equalization of the franchise and vote by ballot, but a reform of property as well as of representation; all the possessions of the church were recommended to be seized and appropriated "to the necessities of the state." Ministers wisely paid no attention to these extravagant demands; but they produced a measure which involved a very extensive change in the representation. Old boroughs were to be disfranchised, and new ones created. The general result of the measure went to create a new constituency of about 500,000 persons: the increase in counties being about 100,000; in towns already represented about 110,000; in new boroughs, 50,000; in Scotland, 60,000, and in Ireland, 40,000. The debate on this great change in the representation occupied the greater part of the session. By some it was opposed as too sweeping in its nature; by others, as not sufficiently extensive. On the second reading of the bill for the amendment of the representation of the people in England and Wales, an amendment was moved, that it should be read that day six months. This was lost by a majority of one only, which was in substance a defeat of ministers, although it was celebrated by the mob as a victory by illuminations. Subsequently a bill for amending the representation of Ireland was brought in, and read a first time. The house then went into committee on the clauses of the first bill; and it met with such opposition, that it became evident it could not be carried in the present parliament. Ministers now recommended a dissolution; and parliament was prorogued on the 10th of May for that purpose. On the next day a proclamation was issued, announcing its dissolution, and directing a new election, the writs of which were made returnable on the 14th of June.

The declared intention of the dissolution was to obtain from the people a house of commons pledged to support the reform bill. This was the only test by which candidates were tried. They were called upon to support "the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill" which ministers had proposed. Every means were tried to gain a majority in its favour. Candidates were even told by the electors, that they would not vote for them unless they promised to support it, because if they did they would vote against the king! The official influence of the ministry was put forth unsparingly and unblushingly. In some cases, as at Dublin, it was so used that the members returned were declared not duly elected. The

excitement which everywhere prevailed had scarcely an example in history. The people had been taught to believe that a reform of parliament would prove a panacea for all their grievances, and a cure for all their sufferings; and therefore they exhibited the greatest anxiety to return members who would assist in bringing that reform into existence. Hence those who were known to be adverse to reform were everywhere exposed to the most lawless violence wherever they dared to show themselves on the hustings. They were denounced as the oppressors of the people, and the opponents of the king. In some instances the life as well as the property of men were sacrificed; and in Scotland, especially, the elections were controlled by the violence of riotous mobs. The result of all this was, that the elections generally terminated in favour of the reforming candidates. Out of the eighty-two members for the counties of England, all but twelve returned stood pledged to support the bill. In a word, ministers succeeded in obtaining a house of commons fashioned after their own mind: the success of the Reform Bill in that house was certain.

The new parliament met on the 14th of June. The speech recommended the attention of the house to the great question at issue on an early day. Ministers lost no time in bringing it forward. It was introduced on the 24th of June, by lord John Russell, and it passed the commons in all its stages triumphantly. But it had yet to be seen whether the lords would have the boldness to reject it. All the means in their power were used by the reformers to intimidate the peers into submission. Political unions got up addresses and petitions; and meetings were convened to warn them of the consequences of rejecting the bill, and to inform them how deeply the security of commercial as well as of all other property was involved in passing it unmutated and without delay. Still the peers resolved to oppose a proud front to any innovations in the constitution. The bill was read a first time in the lords, and was directed to be read a second time on the 3rd of October. In moving the second reading, earl Grey lifted up his warning voice against its rejection. Their lordships, he said, must adopt this bill, or they would have in its stead something stronger and more extensive. The measure was brought forward at the recommendation of the crown, and had been carried by an overwhelming majority of the other house: were they then, he asked, prepared to reject it, and



that on its second reading? They were: after many powerful speeches for and against the measure, the second reading was negatived.

The rejection of the Reform Bill created a great sensation throughout the country. Meetings were held in every part, and riots became the order of the day. In London the mansions of the duke of Wellington and others were attacked, and were only saved from destruction by the timely aid of the police; and similar scenes took place in various parts of the country. Bristol especially was the scene of gross outrages. The episcopal palace, the mansion-house, the excise-office, with a great part of Queen-square, fell a sacrifice to the flames. Many warehouses, likewise, shared in the conflagration; and the disorders were only quelled by the power of the military. About one hundred were killed or wounded, and about two hundred were taken prisoners. A royal proclamation was issued in November, exhorting all classes to unite in suppressing tumults; but as winter advanced, the alarm of the executive government increased, and apprehensions were entertained lest the peace of the country should be endangered by the formidable associations which everywhere existed. Nor was it in England alone that danger was apprehended: in Ireland there was a loud cry raised for the repeal of the union, and in several counties the most wanton outrages were committed. All law was there trampled under foot: blood stained the land, and cried aloud for vengeance.

In September, before the lords rejected the Reform Bill, the coronation of William IV. took place. This ceremony was shorn of the grotesque pageantry of chivalric times, and was confined to the interior of the abbey. On this occasion his majesty was saluted with hearty cheers from the multitude, such as greeted his father in the most popular period of his reign. In conformity with precedents, the coronation was distinguished by the grant of new honours. Three marquises, four earls, and fifteen barons were created; and this increase of the peerage was afterwards extended: twenty-eight more names were added to the list of baronets of the United Kingdom, for the express purpose of carrying the Reform Bill.

In the midst of the distracted state of the country, God laid his hand upon the people. The confusion which prevailed was increased by the cholera-morbus. This frightful

malady first appeared on the bank of the Ganges, in 1817; and since that period it had been slowly but surely making its way towards England. It had extended eastward along the Asiatic continent, and through the islands of the Indian Ocean to China and to Timor: and westward, Bombay, Persia, Asiatic Turkey, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, all experienced the dreadful visitation. Precautions had been taken in England, by enforcing quarantine regulations, to preserve the country from the malady, but they were fruitless. Before the close of the year it found its way to Sunderland, and from thence to the metropolis, and to almost every part of the empire. Concerning the disease there was a great contrariety of opinion among the medical profession. The main points on which they differed were, as to whether the disease was contagious or not; whether it was imported or indigenous; and whether it partook of the properties of the plague, or was to be regarded as a transient scourge. Whatever it was, it proved fatal to hundreds: one out of every three attacked by it fell a victim to its ravages; and it must be regarded as an instrument of punishment to a guilty nation.

"God proclaims

His hot displeasure against guilty men  
That live an atheist life; involves the heaven  
In tempests; quits his grasp upon the winds,  
And gives them all their fury; bids a plague  
Kindle a fiery boil upon the skin  
And putrefy the breath of blooming health.  
He calls for famine, and the meagre fiend  
Blows mildew from between his shrivelled lips,  
And taints the golden ear. He springs his mines  
And desolates a nation at a blast."

The British parliament re-assembled in December. In this session the advocates of parliamentary reform were again defeated. A new bill, similar in principles to that which had been rejected, was brought in before the Christmas holidays, and though it passed the commons, and was read a second time in the lords on the 7th of May, 1832, it was finally rejected. On this defeat of ministers they resigned, and a great commotion followed in the country. The annals of England, indeed, do not present a more alarming period than the interval between the 9th and 16th of May, during which negotiations were pending for a new administration. Loud outcries were raised against the house of lords; and the queen herself was charged with being hostile to the bill, and therefore, to the

wishes of the people. Addresses were voted to the king by political assemblies, praying him to create as many peers as might be necessary to ensure the success of the bill; others were presented to the commons, praying them to stop the supplies; and threats were held out that, unless measures were taken in accordance with their advice, tumult, anarchy, and confusion would overspread the land, and would cease only with the extinction of the privileged orders. At some of the meetings language was used daring any administration to assume the reins of government without undertaking to carry the whole bill. The king found the greatest difficulty in forming an administration. Lord Lyndhurst was charged with the duty of constructing a new cabinet; but all his efforts failed. At length the king had again recourse to earl Grey: his administration was resumed; and then, in order to prevent the further creation of peers, and the mischiefs which threatened the country, many peers, abandoning for a time their rights and duties as legislators, absented themselves from parliament, and the Reform Bill for England and Wales, on the 4th of June, was passed. Three days after it received the royal assent, by commission. It was followed by similar bills for Ireland and Scotland. Thus the storm which had long agitated the country was hushed to peace. By its opponents the measure of reform was looked upon as the harbinger of ruin to the country. "Reform," said one of them, has triumphed: the barriers of the constitution are broken down: the waters of destruction have burst the gates of the temple, and the tempest begins to howl. Who can say where its course shall stop? Who can stay its speed?" But if ruin was the natural consequence of this measure, an overruling Providence has averted the calamity. That which was looked upon as the undermining of the constitution has been overruled for its stability: that which was deemed a curse has proved a blessing. Thus short-sighted is man.

The passing of the Reform Bill was followed by a general election. As might have been expected, the result of the elections was generally in favour of the ministerial candidates, or those who professed the same general views, and declared their adherence to a reforming ministry. The first session of the new parliament was opened by the king in person, on the 5th of February, 1833. During this session the charters of the Bank of England and Ireland expired. The former was renewed; but while the political government of our vast

territories in Hindostan were again vested in the East India Company, the trade of India and China was thrown open to British enterprise. This session is further rendered memorable by the passing of an act for the entire abolition of slavery in the West Indies, a measure which, for a long series of years, had been advocated by the humane Wilberforce and other Christian philanthropists. In former sessions the importation of slaves from Africa had been prohibited, and measures had been adopted for the amelioration of the condition of the slave population; but up to this year they still wore their chains. By the first Reform Parliament of England, however, their shackles were completely broken. The sum of £20,000,000 was granted to the proprietors by way of compensation, and the slaves were placed in a state of apprenticeship, which has since expired and invested them with complete liberty. Thus the dark spot of slavery was wiped out of the British annals. We had no slaves at home, and now it was nobly resolved that we should have none abroad; that wherever Britain's power was felt, mankind should likewise feel her mercy.

“ She started from her trance, and round the shore  
Beheld her supplicating sons once more  
Pleading the suit so long, so vainly tried,  
Renewed, resisted, promised, pledged, denied;  
The negro's claim to all his Maker gave,  
And all the tyrant ravished from the slave.  
Her yielding heart confessed the righteous claim;  
Sorrow had softened it, and love o'ercame;  
Shame flush'd her noble cheek, her bosom burned,  
To helpless, hopeless Africa she turned:  
She saw her sister in the mourner's face,  
And rushed with tears into her dark embrace:  
' All hail ! ' exclaimed the empress of the sea,  
' Thy chains are broken: Africa, be free ! ' ”

Ireland was at this time in a deplorable condition. Famine, disease, and crime devastated the whole country. In one province alone there had been one hundred and ninety-six murders and attempts at murder in one year, one hundred and ninety-four burnings, and nearly two thousand burglaries and attacks on houses. These crimes were in a great measure the results of the reckless system of agitation which prevailed in that ill-fated country. The subject was brought before parliament, and in connexion with a measure investing the executive with extraordinary powers for the suppression

of disturbance, thence called the Irish Coercion Bill, various bills were introduced for the amelioration of the grievances of Ireland. One of these had for its object the reform of the Irish Protestant church, one of the provisions of which involved the appropriation of Irish tithes, after due provision for the Protestant clergy, to general purposes of education. This clause was strongly opposed by the tories, and was made the pretext for the rejection of the bill by the house of lords. Ireland was then, as it had been for a long series of years, and as it still continues to be, the greatest difficulty which the British ministry has to encounter.

The measures adopted to repress the outrages in Ireland were found to be inoperative. Crime still abounded; and in the session of 1834 the Irish Coercion Bill, which was to have expired in August, was renewed, and rendered more stringent. Some of the provisions of the bill went to prevent those meetings which enabled agitators to work on the ignorance and passions of the misguided multitude; but before this bill was passed the administration of earl Grey was dissolved. The great disturber of the peace of Ireland was the notorious O'Connell, who, as soon as the bill for Catholic emancipation was passed, raised a loud cry for the repeal of the union. He had the temerity to make a motion to that effect in parliament, which was strenuously opposed by government and members on both sides of the house. The daring character of O'Connell was well known; but instead of meeting him with bold defiance, Mr. Littleton, the Irish secretary, committed the fatal error of secretly negotiating with him, soothing, and even intrusting him with the views and determinations of the cabinet. This involved the fate of the whole cabinet. O'Connell was acquainted with the provisions of the renewed Coercion Act; and though he secretly promised ministers to aid them in their design, he openly declaimed against them for endeavouring to annihilate the constitutional rights of his country. Mr. Littleton's indiscretion finally led to his own resignation, and that of lord Althorp and earl Grey; lord Melbourne then became premier; all the other members of the cabinet retained office.

One act was carried by the Melbourne administration which has proved of great importance to all classes of the community. This act had for its object the entire reorganization of the poor-laws; a measure which had long been required. Great difference of opinion exists, even at the present

day, regarding its merits; but it is clear that if evils are attached to it, they are outweighed by the advantages derived therefrom by society at large. It has not only relieved the owners and occupiers of lands from heavy burdens, but it has raised the moral character of the English peasantry. Under the old poor-laws they unblushingly sought the pittance of charity; but now they are mainly solicitous to subsist by their own honest industry.

The rule of the Melbourne administration, however, was brief. Before the prorogation of parliament its weakness and vacillation had been apparent: the want of intrinsic power, indeed, had rendered them dependent on O'Connell and his faction. But while the Irish agitators supported them, they expressed the utmost contempt for them; thus bringing their government still further into disrepute. At the same time the most inveterate hostility was evinced to them by the public press, which denounced their incapacity to carry on government on any fixed principles. Certain of its members, also, gave high offence to the king; and he availed himself of an opportunity, afforded him by the death of earl Spencer, to dismiss the whole ministry from his service. The task of forming a new cabinet was committed to sir Robert Peel, who now became premier, and the new ministry was formed towards the close of the year.

The change in the administration was followed in 1835 by a general election. In England the new government obtained a majority in the elections; but in Ireland and Scotland public opinion was decidedly expressed against them. When parliament assembled, they were left in a minority in the very first subject of discussion, that of the choice of a speaker. This defeat was brought about by the union of O'Connell with the whigs; but as it was hoped that this union would not prove lasting, ministers still retained office. Upon several subsequent divisions, however, they were equally unsuccessful; and on being defeated in a measure concerning the appropriation of the surplus of the revenues of the Irish church, sir Robert Peel resigned. The whole of the Melbourne cabinet, with the exception of Lord Brougham, were now recalled; and during this session they succeeded in passing bills for the reform of the English corporations, and for the solemnization of the marriages of dissenters in their own chapels. These measures were followed in the session of 1836 by laws for the better registration of births, marriages, and deaths; for the

commutation of English tithes; and the nearer equalization of episcopal sees. Upon Irish questions, however, the house of lords was still opposed to the views of the cabinet and the majority of the house of commons. The lords refused to pass an Irish tithe bill with the appropriation-clause, and the commons refused to accept the measure without it, so that there was once more a collision between the two houses.

At this time the affairs of the Canadas forced themselves on the attention of the legislature. The house of assembly in Lower Canada had recently carried its opposition to the mother-country to the extent of refusing the supplies. An attempt was made to reconcile the differences through the intervention of commissioners; and this failing, in 1837, the two branches of the British legislature agreed to oppose by force the refractory spirit displayed by the colonists. Subsequently lord Durham was appointed lord-high-commissioner of the Canadas, with the most comprehensive powers for the suppression of revolt, the amelioration of grievances, and the reorganization of the institutions of that country.

Ever since his accession to the throne the king's health in general had been good. In the course of the present spring, however, symptoms of decline began to exhibit themselves; and they increased so rapidly that in June they foretold dissolution. His last days were spent in preparing for eternity. Nothing seemed to give him greater pleasure than the presence of the archbishop of Canterbury, from whose hands he devoutly received the sacrament. This was on Sunday, the 18th of June; and on the following day he breathed his last. His majesty expired without a struggle, and without a groan, his affectionate consort still holding his hands, unwilling to believe the reality of his spirit's departure. "Thus died, in the 73rd year of his age, in firm reliance on the merits of his Redeemer, king William IV.: a just and upright king, a forgiving enemy, a sincere friend, and a most gracious and indulgent master." Few monarchs of England ever possessed the love of his subjects in a greater degree than William IV. There was but one opinion in the country of his character; and that was expressive of his kindness and amiability. He does not appear to have had a personal enemy throughout his dominions, although he had sanctioned measures to which a large section of the community were opposed. All felt that what he did was done in the belief that it was for the good of the country, whose interests were ever dear to his heart.

## ALEXANDRINA VICTORIA.

A.D. 1837. ALEXANDRINA VICTORIA, who now succeeded to the British throne, was the daughter of the late duke of Kent; and at the period of assuming the regal dignity, was eighteen years of age. Her accession to the throne was hailed with more than ordinary enthusiasm. All parties in the state vied with each other in testifying their affectionate allegiance to the youthful sovereign. One effect of the descent of the crown to a female, was the separation from it of Hanover, after a union of more than a century. This abscission of territory, however, scarcely called forth an expression of regret: a proof of the little value attached in this country to foreign dominion as a source of wealth and strength. The queen's uncle, Ernest, became king of Hanover.

The formal business of parliament was completed with all possible dispatch, and at the close of the session the parliament was dissolved. At this time the country was in a state of perfect tranquillity. The popularity of the ministers had been declining, but the demise of the king promised an increased stability to their power. Queen Victoria was believed to have been educated by her mother in principles favourable to their rule; and her countenance and support was expected, not only to give security but popularity to their government. Nor did they fail to turn the event to good account. In the new elections it was proclaimed that the young queen entered warmly into their views, and espoused their political creed without reservation. Ministerial candidates traversed the country, "placarded with her majesty's name, inviting the electors to exhibit their loyalty by supporting her ministers." This appeal to the people, however, failed in its object, for after a keen trial of strength between rival political parties, their triumphs were nearly balanced.

In the autumn of this year, the great corporation of the city of London distinguished itself by a striking demonstration of its loyalty to the crown, in a magnificent entertainment which was given to the queen, in Guildhall, on the 9th of November. On this occasion the utmost enthusiasm prevailed: along the entire route, in going to and from the city, she was greeted with enthusiastic cheers, and in the evening a brilliant illumination appeared along the whole line of her passage. Nothing was wanted to give the utmost possible splendour to the event.



The queen opened the new parliament on the 20th of November. Before the Christmas holidays, news arrived of a revolt in Canada. This was the first subject brought under notice after the recess, at the opening of the year 1838: a bill was passed, after much opposition, for the suspension of the existing constitution of that country. The chief subjects which occupied the attention of parliament this session, beside the affairs of Canada, were those of vote by ballot, of slavery, and of education; but the motions relative thereto were all negatived. The bill concerning education, which was brought in by lord Brougham, had for its main object the education of the people, without reference to creed; but the difficulties it encountered were insurmountable. Legislators loved education very well, but they loved disputation better.

The autumn of this year was rendered remarkable by a turbulent spirit which displayed itself among the working classes in the manufacturing districts. The twofold cause of this disaffection was the poor laws and the price of provisions. As a remedy for these evils, mob orators taught the people to demand universal suffrage. A favourite practice with the parties to these transactions was to assemble by torchlight in the open air: a practice which gave a mystery to the meetings, calculated to strike the imagination of the vulgar, and which gave the working classes generally an opportunity of attending them. The speeches delivered at these meetings have been characterized as "furious nonsense;" but they were at the same time calculated to work mischief. Happily, however, the government exerted themselves to restrain the fury of the people, and order was for a time restored.

In the session of 1839 a bill was passed for the regulation of municipal corporations in Ireland: a question which had before been several times discussed in parliament. At this time disputes existed between the British government and the Jamaica legislature, arising from a recent act, which empowered her majesty in council to make rules for the government of the West India prisons; to appoint inspectors; and to regulate other matters of necessary discipline. This was resisted by the Jamaica assembly as a violation of their rights, and resolutions condemnatory of the bills were unanimously adopted. So refractory were the members that they resolved to forego the exercise of their legislative functions till the bill was repealed. In consequence of this a bill was brought into parliament for the suspension of the existing

constitution of Jamaica for five years. Ministers had before been considerably weakened by the desertion of some of their supporters; and on this occasion others voted against them, and the result of the debate brought about their resignation. Sir Robert Peel, however, having failed in the formation of a new cabinet, the Melbourne administration again resumed office. The cause of sir Robert's failure arose from his wish to make a sweeping change in the queen's household. This her majesty resisted as arbitrary; and as sir Robert Peel conceived that his measures would be thwarted by the influence of the whig ladies around the queen, he declined the important trust which had been committed to his hands.

Measures were taken by the Melbourne administration, after their resumption of office, for the advancement of education; but they were not commensurate with the wants of the people. Every section of the religious community opposed each other on this great question, which rendered it difficult for ministers to adopt any enlarged or enlightened educational measure. They found equal difficulty this session in legislating for the Canadas. Great expectations had been formed at the commencement of the session on this subject, but they were doomed to be disappointed. Nothing was done: no measure was even submitted for consideration. Conversations of a personal nature took place, but the subject was not brought forward by any party as became the legislators of a great and mighty empire. A bill, however, was passed this session, having for its object the healing of the breach existing between the British parliament and the Jamaica house of assembly, which had the desired effect. Other acts were at this time passed for the better ordering of prisons; the suppression of the Portuguese slave-trade; and for the disposal of waste lands in the colonies. This session was particularly signalized by the reduction of the rates of postage: a measure which has greatly tended to the promotion of the interests of trade and commerce, and has proved of great individual benefit.

During the session of 1839 a "National Petition" was presented to parliament, signed by 1,200,000 of the working classes, demanding universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, remuneration of members for their attendance in parliament, and the abolition of the property qualifications. A motion to take this petition into consideration was rejected. Its rejection was contemporaneous with alarming riots at Bir-

mingham, arising out of the proceedings of the chartists. That dangerous body of men had recently resorted to many strange expedients in order to impress the people with an idea that they were the strongest party in the country, and that they could carry their plans into effect without resistance. Large bodies of them went from house to house with books to obtain subscriptions for their purposes; and if people refused to subscribe they would enter their names into one of the books as though they were marked objects of vengeance. Another practice of these dangerous men was to go in procession to the churches, and to take possession of the body of the edifice; some smoking their pipes, and others wearing their hats, as if in defiance of all that was holy. These chartist combinations were prevalent throughout the country; and during this year they proceeded to elect deputies in the most important cities, in order to form a national convention. These deputies met at Birmingham, in a place called the Bull-ring, and various encounters took place at this spot between the mob and the police and soldiers. Several houses were destroyed; and such was the danger to which this town was exposed, that it was found necessary to establish a more efficient police, and to provide sufficient military means to preserve the peace. Certain bills were passed in parliament for this purpose, and order was eventually restored.

An announcement was made at the opening of the session of 1840 that her majesty was about to be married to Albert, prince of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. A bill was consequently brought in and passed for the naturalization of his royal highness: the sum of £30,000 was also voted him out of the consolidated fund, to commence on the day of his marriage with her majesty, and to continue during life. The marriage took place on the 10th of February, and the union of her majesty with the prince has been productive of much mutual happiness, and conducive to the welfare of the nation. The universal prayer of her loyal subjects is, that they may be long spared to each other, and that her majesty may long continue to rule over the destinies of the British empire.

A bill was this year brought into parliament, and passed, for the union of the two Canadas. Much discussion took place on the affairs of China. During the last year a serious collision took place between the Chinese authorities and the British subjects at Canton. This led to hostilities: the British captured Chusan, and for the first time British cannon

wrested from the emperor of that vast empire a portion of his dominions. The disputes which had occurred arose out of the contraband traffic in opium. The Chinese government had prohibited the introduction of this pernicious article into their country; and an imperial commissioner demanded that every particle of opium on board the British ships should be at once delivered up to the Chinese authorities, and be destroyed. This was refused; and the refusal gave rise to a series of hostilities which led the British government to interfere, and to engage in war with the Chinese empire. The policy of government, with reference to the affairs of China, was made the subject of a series of condemnatory resolutions in parliament, and they were only negatived by a small majority. The injustice of the war was strongly felt by the British nation; but it was hoped that by it a door might be opened for the preaching of the gospel in that vast empire; an empire which contained more than 300,000,000 human beings, all bowing down to gods of wood and stone.

At this period ministers had in a great measure lost the confidence of the country: their weakness was seen in the session of 1841, when several motions relative to the registration of voters in Ireland, etc., were negatived. It was expected that from the defeats they experienced they would resign; but they still clung to office. In consequence of this sir Robert Peel moved a resolution to the effect that her majesty's ministers did not possess the confidence of the house of commons sufficiently to enable them to carry any measure of essential importance to the public welfare; and that their continuance in office, under such circumstances, was at variance with the spirit of the constitution. This resolution was adopted; but instead of resigning, parliament was dissolved, and an appeal was made to the country by a general election. Great efforts were made by both parties on this occasion; but the results of the elections were unfavourable to ministers: this was seen at the opening of the new parliament. An amendment to the address was carried against them by a large majority. This amendment to the address represented to her majesty the necessity that her ministers should enjoy the confidence of the country, and that it was not possessed by the present administration. In reply, her majesty stated that she would take measures for the formation of a new cabinet, and sir Robert Peel was charged with this task. This time he was successful; the change embracing the

queen's household. The principal members of the new administration were the duke of Wellington, the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Haddington, sir James Graham, lords Ellenborough, Stanley, Wharnccliffe, Lowther, and Lyndhurst; the honourable H. Goulburn, sir E. Knatchbull, and sir H. Hardinge. The only measures of importance brought forward this session by the new ministry were bills for the better administration of justice in the court of chancery, and for the continuance of the new poor-law commission.

This year the differences which had arisen between the courts of Great Britain and the Chinese empire were for a time adjusted, though not till after further hostilities had taken place. All the forts surrounding Canton were captured, and then the Chinese emperor purchased peace by indemnification. The island and harbour of Hong Kong were ceded to the British crown: an indemnity of 6,000,000 dollars was to be paid to the British government; and the trade and commerce between the two countries, which had been stopped, were to be renewed. Subsequently, further important concessions were made by the Chinese empire, and the result of the war has proved highly favourable to the interests of Great Britain. And it must be mentioned, to the honour of the British nation, that great exertions have been made, and are still making, for the Christianizing of the Chinese people. Missionaries have been sent out, churches have been erected, and a good hope is entertained that the multitudes inhabiting the Chinese empire will eventually embrace the divine doctrines of the gospel; that they will become experimentally acquainted with the way of salvation through the atoning blood of a crucified Redeemer.

An important treaty was signed this year between France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain, whereby the former powers agreed to adopt the English laws relative to the slave-trade.

Several important measures were passed by parliament in the session of 1842: one of these was a new corn-law, on the principle of a graduated scale. Great opposition was made to this measure, and several resolutions were moved as amendments; but the bill finally passed in its original state. The next important measure passed was an income-tax bill, by which all persons having an income of more than £150 per annum were subjected to a tax of seven pence in the pound: personal property was also taxed to the

same amount. This impost was warmly opposed; but after several motions made, with the view of getting rid of it, the motion was adopted. It was to cease in three years; but at the end of that time it was renewed, and the income-tax bill is still part of the law of the land. The passing of this measure was followed by extensive alterations in the tariff, or customs' duties. The duties on numerous articles of trade and commerce were either greatly reduced or wholly repealed by a bill entitled the "Customs' Act," which has proved highly beneficial to the country. The repeal of the corn-laws was demanded; but government still opposed this measure, though it was evident that such a measure must soon be adopted. Another bill, passed this session, had for its object the restraining of the employment of children in mines and collieries, which had led to great moral degradation, and much human suffering. This humane law was brought about by the exertions of lord Ashley, who had previously procured an enactment to prevent the cruelties inflicted on children employed in factories. During this session an attempt was made upon the queen's life, by an insane person named Bean, and a bill was passed for her majesty's protection with perfect unanimity. A bill was also passed in this session renewing the poor-law commission for five years, and forming districts for the purposes of education, with various minor matters. The proceedings of the session were closed by a debate, taking a retrospective view of its operations; a practice which had of late years been adopted by both parties, and which gave rise to much strife.

Hostilities had been recently renewed with China; but in this year the war was finally concluded. A treaty was signed on the 26th of August, by which the Chinese now engaged to pay 21,000,000 dollars, and by which several ports were to be opened to British merchants. The islands of Chusan and Kolang-soo were to be held by the British till the money payments were made, and arrangements for opening the ports completed. Thus ended this inglorious war; a war in which success was attended with little honour, and which was solely induced by a traffic injurious to the bodies and souls of men.

The British arms were also successful this year in a war with the Affghans, in the East Indies. At the commencement of this war in the preceding year the British arms had suffered several reverses; but they were now everywhere vic-

torious. Several fortresses were stormed, and some of them levelled with the dust, while thousands of the Affghan troops were slain, and the whole country in the line of the march of the British troops devastated. The Affghans had for several centuries been adverse to the British rule in India; but when our troops evacuated their country they left behind them a name which still inspires that people with terror. It must be confessed, indeed, that this war brought a great and lasting stain upon the British arms: it was carried on in a spirit of revenge; and where that spirit is displayed in warfare it ever leads to deeds of outrage and wrong, and which cannot be justified. It is true that the Affghans themselves set an example of cruelty. Bloody deeds were committed by them at which the mind instinctively revolts; but they were barbarians, while those against whom they were opposed were nominal Christians, from whom better things were expected. "A spirit of revenge is the very spirit of the devil, than which nothing makes a man more like him, and nothing can be more opposite to the temper which Christianity was designed to promote."

At the opening of the year 1843, the aspect of public affairs created great disquietude and anxiety. In every branch of trade and industry there was great depression. This was attributed by some to the working of the new tariff; and by others to a groundless panic, occasioned by that measure. Whatever it arose from, its existence was clearly proved by the diminished consumption of those articles which mainly contributed to the public revenue. There was a considerable decrease in the excise, stamps, customs, and taxes. The distress which prevailed naturally gave rise to various opinions as to the remedies to be applied. Some suggested the repeal of the corn-laws; others threw the blame on the income-tax, and the other recent financial measures; some attributed the distress to the poor-laws; and others pointed to emigration as the only means to relieve the universal pressure. All these subjects were discussed in both houses of parliament this year, but very few practical results arose from these discussions. A lengthened debate, also, took place on a plan brought forward by government to promote the education of the poor; but such was the animosity displayed against it, that it was abandoned. Several of its clauses were open to strong objections; but on the whole it was an enlightened measure, and calculated greatly to benefit the rising generation. A bill brought in for the endowment of additional churches and the

augmentation of small livings, met with more success: a motion to that effect was unanimously voted. The funds for these purposes were to be derived in part from Queen Anne's Bounty, and in part from the revenues of certain bishoprics, cathedrals, and other ecclesiastical establishments. Several reforms in the law were made this session; one of which made great changes in the registration act, and another made several alterations in the law relating to defamation and libel.

Great commotions took place this year in Ireland. After the attainment of the Roman Catholic Relief Act, the Irish agitators commenced a loud cry for the repeal of the union, and they now held "monster meetings" throughout the country in furtherance of that chimerical object. So bold had they become that government resolved to interfere: Mr. O'Connell and his coadjutors were arrested on charges of conspiracy, sedition, and unlawful assemblage. Their trial took place in 1844, when they were fined, and sentenced to be imprisoned for the space of twelve calendar months; but their sentence was soon after reversed by parliament, and they were liberated. In South Wales at this time there was also considerable commotions. A war was raised against the turnpike system, arising from the vexatious tolls to which the peasantry were subjected. The toll-gates were everywhere demolished; and no sooner were they re-erected than they were again destroyed. The disturbances which took place were denominated the "Rebecca riots:" the supposed head or chief of the gate-breakers being called Rebecca: a name derived from a passage in the book of Genesis, which reads thus:—"And they blessed Rebekah, and said unto her, Let thy seed possess the gates of those which hate them."—xxiv. 60. In order to quell these riots, government sent into Wales a large body of troops, and many of the London police; and in a short time some of the most active of the rioters were captured. From this circumstance, and various other causes, the spirit of disturbance displayed in Wales towards the close of the year began to decline.

This year witnessed another war in the East Indies. It was discovered that the ameers of Sind were preparing to attack the British, and sir Charles Napier was sent against them. A great battle was fought at Meeanee, the result of which was that the six ameers who governed that country, and who had ruled it with a rod of iron, were captured, and the whole of Sind was annexed to our dominions in the East. The Sin-



dian population everywhere expressed their satisfaction at the change of masters. Sir Charles Napier was appointed governor of Sind, and was empowered to take such measures as might appear best calculated to suppress the slave-trade which had long existed in that country, and to abolish all duties of transit which had been imposed by the fallen ameers. In the course of this year, also, the British troops gained two decisive victories over the Mahratta forces; the consequence of which was the submission of the Mahratta Durbar to demands which had previously been made by the Indian government. This war was chiefly undertaken for the defence of the new ruler of the Mahrattas, the Maharaja Jyajee Rao Scindia, against whom the Mahratta forces had rebelled.

In the autumn of this year queen Victoria, accompanied by prince Albert, visited Louis Philippe, king of France, in his own dominions. This was an interesting event, inasmuch as it tended to increase the harmony which had now happily for some years existed between these two countries. After receiving a most cordial reception from their illustrious host and the French people, her majesty and prince Albert proceeded on their voyage to Ostend.

IN the session of 1844 several acts were passed of considerable importance. One of these had for its object the regulation of railways; the other contained salutary provisions for the regulation of joint stock companies; and a third entirely remodelled the system of turnpike-road management in South Wales, the abuses of which had given rise to the "Rebecca riots." A further alteration was made in the Poor Law Amendment Act, having for its chief object the preservation of morality among the poor. Another act permitted sugar, not being the produce of slave labour, to be imported into the country at diminished duties. A bill was also passed for the abolition of a number of penal acts retained in the Irish statute-book, and which were generally obsolete. But the crowning measure of this session was an act for the regulation of the Bank of England, and the administration of banking concerns in general. The great principle of this bill went to establish a gold standard of money: the makers of promissory notes were not to issue more than they would be able to pay on demand to the same amount in solid gold. All these measures were conceived in a safe and judicious spirit of reform, well suited to the circumstances of the country, and the temper of the age.

During this year a governor-general was appointed to our recent acquisitions in China, in the person of Mr. Davis, well known for his admirable work on China, and who had resided many years at Macao, as chief-superintendent of the East India Company. Lord Ellenborough, who had shown himself too warlike, was recalled from the government of India, and sir Henry Hardinge was appointed his successor. Both these appointments have proved beneficial to the interests of Great Britain, as well as conducive to the happiness of the people over whose destinies they have presided.

The income-tax was to have ceased in 1845; but on the meeting of parliament, contrary to the expectations and wishes of the people, it was renewed. In this session a bill was passed for improving and increasing the grant to Maynooth college for the education of the Roman Catholic priesthood. Great opposition was made to this measure. Those who were ardently attached to the vital principles of Protestantism felt an apprehension that the endowment of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Ireland, and the rapid downfall of the established church in that country, if not in England, was involved in such-a measure. Their zeal being thus awakened no exertions were spared to frustrate the plans of government; but the bill passed with large majorities. Another measure was adopted for the extension of academical education in Ireland, which was termed by its opponents—consisting of both Protestants and Romanists—"a gigantic scheme of godless education." The bill was fairly open to such a charge, for religious instruction was wholly left out of its clauses. This was a lamentable oversight, for youth is the season when such instruction is absolutely necessary; without it their bark enters on the rough voyage of life without a rudder; and it cannot be any wonder if it founders upon the rocks or the shoals by which it is surrounded. This divorce of religion from education was loudly protested against in both houses, and fears were expressed that such a precedent might extend to the English universities. The bill was brought in to conciliate the Roman Catholics in Ireland; but instead of this, government discovered that it only increased their asperities. For several years they had been legislating for this purpose; but at length they found it was all in vain. Alluding to a declaration of Mr. Sheil in parliament, when commenting on this measure, sir Robert Peel remarked that it would be said, "See how unavailing all attempts are to conciliate the Ro-

man Catholics of Ireland. Regardless of the warnings, the feelings, and fears of their friends, they hoped, by proposing certain measures, that they would make an impression on the catholic mind; but instead of this, the leading Roman Catholic member gets up and declares that, unless they went ten times as far as they had yet gone, they would have an insurrection in Ireland." Other bills, passed this session, relieved the Jews from certain tests which had previously been required from them upon their election to municipal offices; regulated juvenile labour in calico print-works; provided for the better care of lunatics; regulated banking in Scotland and Ireland, on principles similar to those of the Bank Charter of England; and facilitated the enclosure of commons in England and Wales.

Towards the close of this year the British dominions on the left bank of the Sutlej was suddenly invaded by the Sikhs. This invasion was considered as a formal declaration of war on the part of the Lahore government, and sir Henry-Hardinge proceeded to take measures against the Punjaub government as a hostile state. The Sikh army, on crossing the Sutlej, invested Ferozepore on one side, and took up an entrenched position at the village of Ferozeshah, about ten miles in advance of Ferozepore, and nearly the same distance from Moodkee. A terrible battle was fought at the latter place, in which the British obtained a complete victory: the whole force of the Sikhs was driven from position after position with great slaughter; night alone saved them from destruction. Subsequently, they were driven from their encampment at Ferozeshah, and the whole of their artillery was captured. Those who had escaped the slaughter now recrossed the Sutlej; and early in the next year, 1846, the victorious British followed them, and pressed forward to Lahore. Terms of peace were agreed on; and one of the stipulations between the two states was the disbandment of the Sikh army. The importance of these victories was acknowledged by government, and the people of England at large, who joined in admiration of the conduct of the governor-general, the commanders, and the troops by whom the victory was achieved. Earlier in the year 1845, sir Charles Napier was employed in military operations against the mountain tribes on the right bank of the Indus, north of Shikarpoor. In these operations he was completely successful: the power of the robber tribes, which had long been a terror to Sind, was utterly broken.

The moral effect of this conquest was more important than the physical: it demonstrated to the people of Sinde that the British power was able to protect them.

For many years a repeal of the corn-laws had been demanded both in and out of parliament. No subject, indeed, had possessed more interest in England. In order to obtain this demand, a corn-law league had been set on foot, and its agents had been sent to every part of the country to enlighten the people on this great question. Hitherto sir Robert Peel had been decidedly hostile to a repeal of these laws; but during the last year the utter failure of the potato crop induced him to alter his opinion. This visitation had created great distress throughout the United Kingdom, and some measure was necessary for its alleviation. In the session of 1846, therefore, a bill was brought in by the premier, and carried, which made an immediate and great reduction of duties on corn, and which provided for its free importation at the end of three years. Connected with this great measure was another, which passed into a law, by which the customs' duties generally were either wholly repealed or considerably reduced. But these enlightened measures procured the downfall of sir Robert Peel as premier. Simultaneous with them, he brought in a protection life bill for Ireland; and the agriculturists, offended with him for the strides he had taken in free trade, united with the whigs, who were adverse to coercion, and this bill was rejected. Sir Robert Peel now resigned; and his cabinet was succeeded by a whig ministry, under the premiership of lord John Russell. In his retirement sir Robert Peel carried with him the sympathy and admiration of the people: all felt that he had not only benefited England by these great measures, but all the world.

"The band of commerce was designed,  
To associate all the branches of mankind;  
And if a boundless plenty be the robe,  
Trade is the golden girdle of the globe.  
Wise to promote whatever ends he means,  
God opens fruitful nature's various scenes;  
Each climate needs what other climes produce,  
And offers something to the general use;  
No land but listens to the common call,  
And in return receives supplies from all."

COWPER.

The wisdom of these great measures of free trade was clearly manifested in the autumn. Again there was a failure

in the potato crop: it had promised to be abundant, but before it came to perfection it wasted away. The visitation was universal. England, Ireland, and Scotland all felt the rod of the Almighty. So great was the distress occasioned thereby that parliament was called for the express purpose of opening the ports for the admission of corn free from all duty. By this measure the famine impending over the land was averted: ships arrived from all parts of the world, laden with corn for the sustenance of life. Yet in Ireland, where the people had for ages depended upon the potato crop for food, famine and its consequent disease swept away thousands of its inhabitants. The hand of charity was willingly stretched forth in England for their relief: government and the nation united in aiding that unhappy people, and but for the timely aid afforded, the whole country would have been one vast scene of death and desolation. Would that the pen of the historian could record that this aid was followed by a nation's gratitude! But it was not so. The old animosity of the Celt against the Saxon remained, and it was exhibited by awful scenes of murder and bloodshed. The year 1847, with which this history closes, was distinguished by outrage and wrong in Ireland, to repress which coercive measures were resorted to by parliament. This year was also marked by great commercial distress in England: numbers who had hitherto lived in affluence, were plunged into the depths of poverty. Failures occurred daily, and all classes of society felt the pressure. Various causes gave rise to this distress; one of the most prominent of which was the dangerous spirit of speculation which had for some time pervaded the whole community. Fears were entertained that a great crisis of the country had arrived; but that DIVINE PROVIDENCE which had hitherto protected it in distress is still its SAFEGUARD and its SHIELD: GREAT BRITAIN IS STILL THE GREATEST AMONG THE GREAT NATIONS OF THE EARTH.

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## CHAPTER XXII.

NOTICE OF THE RELIGION, GOVERNMENT AND LAWS,  
LITERATURE, ARTS, COMMERCE, AND MANNERS AND  
CUSTOMS OF THE LAST PERIOD OF ENGLISH HISTORY.

*Religion.*—The chief events connected with the religious history of this period have been recorded in the previous pages. They chiefly consisted in legislative acts, having for their end an enlarged system of toleration. The established church still remained, and still continues to remain, intimately connected with the state, but a greater liberty of conscience was allowed to all bodies of Protestant sectaries. By the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, with other measures of a similar tendency, all persons not in connexion with the established church are placed on nearly the same footing with churchmen, as regards political rights and privileges. There are few offices and dignities from which any class of British subjects is excluded on account of religious opinions. Even the Jews, who had for ages been trodden under foot, and looked upon as outcasts of society, have been permitted to have a voice in the great councils of the nation.

*Government and Laws.*—Concerning the government of this period, a few words will suffice. In England it remained essentially the same as it was in the last period noticed in this History. A great change, however, took place in the constitution of Ireland, in the abolition of its parliament, which has been mentioned in a previous page. Many important alterations were made in the criminal jurisprudence of England. Numerous barbarous statutes were erased from the statute-book, and others were rendered more consonant with the enlightened spirit of the age. Mercy has been blended with justice in a remarkable degree; and though some laws may still require modification, the British code may be said to be generally worthy of a Christian community.

*Literature.*—The progress of literature in this period was very remarkable. In the middle of the last century it had lost almost all traces of originality. Invention was discouraged, research unvalued, and the examination of nature proscribed. It seems to have been considered that the trea-

asures accumulated in the preceding age were sufficient for all national purposes, and that the sole work of authors was to reproduce what had been already written in a more elegant shape, and a more polished style. This slavish obedience to established rules, however, was not lasting. The American war first, and then the French revolution, broke the chains that had thus fettered the public mind, and works of great excellence, too numerous to mention, appeared in every branch of literature. Most of the great English poets, historians, theologians, critics, and scientific writers wrote in this age, and their productions are generally known to and read by all men. Cheap literature has become the order of the day; books are now as easily obtained by the poor, as they were by the rich at former periods. One striking feature of the literature of this age is displayed in what is termed "The Periodical Press." Reviews and magazines hold a high rank in literature. But with much that is excellent, there has also appeared much that is destructive to morality and religious principle. The press has proved a mighty engine for evil as well as for good. Infidel publications, and novels of an immoral tendency abound; and it becomes the young to be careful how to choose the good and refuse the evil. An ill book well written is like poisoning a fountain that runs for ever: a man may do mischief in this way as long as the world lasts. He is a nuisance to future ages, and lays a snare for those who are yet unborn. The poet says justly:—

" Books are not seldom talismans and spells  
By which the magic art of shrewder wits  
Holds an unthinking multitude enthral'd.  
Some to the fascination of a name  
Surrender judgment hoodwink'd. Some the style  
Infatuates, and through labyrinths and wilds  
Of error leads them by a tune entranced;  
While sloth seduces more; too weak to bear  
The insupportable fatigue of thought,  
And swallowing, therefore, without pause or choice,  
The total grist unsifted, husks and all."

COWPER.

*Arts.*—The arts as well as literature made a remarkable progress in this period. Agriculture, architecture, painting, and music have made rapid strides toward perfection. A remarkable revival of the art of wood-engraving also took place, and it derives its principal interest from its application to the illustration of books. This period is further marked

by the English School of Painting: painters appeared who have immortalized their names by works equal to the great productions of the old masters. Thus the portraits of sir Joshua Reynolds have been justly compared with the simplicity of Titian, the vigour of Rembrandt, and the elegance and delicacy of Vandyke. It was in this period that the Royal Academy was founded, by which the art of painting has received great encouragement. The art of sculpture also made rapid progress in this period; in which the names of Banks, Bacon, Nollekins, Flaxman, and Chantrey are justly celebrated. Line engraving, in the hands of Woollet and Strange, was brought to a degree of perfection it had never yet reached, and which has never since been equalled. The arts of mezzotint and lithography have, likewise, been adopted with great success, for the purpose of illustrating popular works.

*Commerce.*—Of the British commerce, that branch which we enjoyed exclusively, namely, the commerce with our colonies, was long regarded as the most advantageous. Since the separation of the American states from Great Britain, however, the trade, the industry, and manufactures of the latter have greatly increased. New markets have opened, the receipts from which are more certain and less tedious than those from America. By supplying a great variety of markets, the skill and ingenuity of British artisans have taken a wider range. The productions of their labour have been adapted to the wants, not of rising colonies, but of nations the most wealthy and refined, in every part of the globe. Our commercial system, no longer resting on the artificial basis of speculation, has been rendered more solid as well as more liberal. The recent great measures of free trade have proved of the utmost benefit to British commerce. No nation upon the face of the earth is so great as regards its commerce as Great Britain. It is, indeed, on its commerce that its greatness is based. Its ships visit all lands and all climes, carrying its productions thence, and receiving in return their gold and their produce. One great cause of the extension of commerce is the application of machinery in our manufactures. By this means Great Britain is enabled to supply the world with articles for domestic use which cannot readily be obtained elsewhere. "To see," writes a British tourist, in 1791, "barren hills and valleys laugh and sing under the influence of an auspicious trade, must give the benevolent heart the most agreeable sensations. Villages



swarming with strong, healthy, and beautiful children, well fed these may be considered as the offspring of trade. Handsome country-houses on every hill, elegantly furnished, and surrounded by as elegant pleasure-grounds: these are thy blessings, O Commerce! these are thy rewards, O Industry!"

"Ingenious Art, with her expressive face,  
Steps forth to fashion and refine the race;  
Not only fills necessity's demand,  
But overcharges her capacious hand:  
Capricious taste itself can crave no more  
Than she supplies from her abounding store:  
She strikes out all that luxury can ask,  
And gains new vigour at her endless task."

*Manners and Customs.*—The period at which this history has now arrived is so recent, and its habits and modes of thought differ by such fine and scarcely perceptible shades from our own, that the subject of manners and customs may be dismissed in few words. On former occasions it was necessary to be more minute, that the imagination of the reader might be transported back to the times described, in order to call up their bodily presence before them. Now, however, it may be assumed that the prominent characteristics of the manners to which this section refers are so much the same which still prevail as to render detail unnecessary. There may be shades of difference in the dress, the habits, the furniture, and the amusements of the former part of the period to which these remarks refer, but they are so fine as not to call for any specific notice. An acute writer's opinion on the manners of the English at the close of the reign of George III. are applicable to the present day. "The dominating idea which gives form and bearing to the manners of Great Britain is English. Before it all provincial peculiarities are giving way: to it Scotch and Irish manners are conforming. It is the model in which all are cast, though its impress is less distinct and sharp, in many cases, from the unfavourable nature of the materials, or of the circumstances under which they have been passed through it. An Englishman's *ideal* of manners is not unusually typified by his *ideal* of dress and equipage. There is in his choice of all three a shunning of the gaudy, or anything that appears to approach to it, which amounts even to affectation. There is combined with this an intense anxiety that the quality of the article should be excellent, and its finish, with all the plainness of its form,

exquisite. The English gentleman, if addicted to show, lavishes it not on his own person, but on his domestics; and even, with regard to them, he wishes their appearance to be rich rather than gaudy. His plain carriage must be as neat as tools and varnish can make it, and as commodious; his horses must strike by their blood and high keeping; the harness must be such as to pass unnoticed; and the standard of taste to which the deportment of the English gentleman must conform is strictly analogous. His amusements are manly, with a strong dash of the useful: his taste is to make himself comfortable. He is a hunter, a votary of the turf, a cricketer, a yachter; and in all of these pursuits he prides himself on being a master of mechanical details. He is fond of farming, or of reading, or of taking a part in public business; but these serious pursuits he affects to treat as amusements: even though an enthusiast in them, he must talk lightly of them. On the other hand, he must affect a passionate interest in the pleasures of the table, and similar trifles. He will be pardoned, too, for being passionately attached to them, so long as he combines with them a relish for manly sports. The English gentleman is hardy, endowed with a healthy relish for pleasure, and has a high sense of honour. This ideal of the high-bred gentleman communicates its sentiment to the whole of society: even the ladies catch something of its self-dependent, elastic tone, without diminution of or injury to their perfectly feminine graces. This model is emulated throughout society, in sufficiently gross and awkward caricature sometimes, but still so that lineaments of what is imitated can be detected." That England, at the close of the reign of George III., had much to learn in the philosophy of social intercourse, and that it still has much to learn, even in the nineteenth century, cannot be denied; but its social habits and modes of thought are infinitely superior to what they were at the first dawn of English history, and may challenge comparison with those of the most refined nation in Europe. It has truly been remarked that they are a source of justifiable pride, and of good augury for the future. For refined manners, for high morality, and for noble sentiment, England ranks high among the nations of the earth.

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## QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

### CHAPTER I.

WHAT are the earliest traditions respecting the ancient Britons?  
 What legend is perpetuated concerning them by Geoffrey of Monmouth?

What is the traditionary tale related of them by Holinshed?

What modern theories are proposed on this subject?

What race did the Romans find in the southern part of Britain, and who first described them?

Are there any proofs of the existence of that race?

What is said of the people occupying the interior?

Were they of the same descent as those who occupied the southern parts?

State the names of the British or Celtic tribes.

What is said of the boundaries of the country at that early period?

What was the character of the ancient Britons?

What was their employments?

Describe their houses.

Where were their towns erected, and how defended?

What does Cæsar say of their skill in the art of fortification?

Are there any specimens now in existence?

Can you describe Chun Castle?

What is said of the furniture and handicrafts of the Britons?

Describe their war-carriages.

Describe the earthenware of the Britons.

Were they acquainted with the art of mining?

What is said of their commerce?

What is said of them as warriors?

What great roads were constructed by them?

How did the Romans improve these roads?

What is said of the barrows in which they buried their dead?

What modes of burial did they practise?

What was their diet? and what their beverage?

Can you relate anything concerning the Druids?

What function procured them the highest honour among the people?

What was their chief office?

What does Lucan say of their religious rites?

What ceremony was practised by them in gathering the mistletoe?

Was the sacredness of the mistletoe peculiar to them?

Describe the classes into which the Druids were divided.

In what consisted their historical and philosophical knowledge ?  
 Did they believe in one God, and teach that doctrine to the people ?  
 What is said of their rites ? and what of their doctrines ?  
 How did they maintain their authority over the people ?  
 What is said of the Arch-Druid ?  
 What is said of the Druidical system ?  
 What is said of Druidism after the Druids, as an order of priesthood, became extinct ?

## CHAPTER II.

What Roman first attempted the subjugation of Britain ?  
 Can you relate Cæsar's motives for this attempt ?  
 In what year did Cæsar cross the British Channel ? and with what success ?  
 Relate the circumstances of his second invasion.  
 Who was his great opponent ? and did he conquer Britain ?  
 At what date did the Romans again invade the country ? and by whom was it invaded ?  
 Who succeeded Plautius ? and what success attended Ostorius ?  
 Can you relate anything concerning the British chieftain Carac-tacus ?  
 Who were the next Roman governors of Britain ?  
 What circumstance drove the Britons into revolt ?  
 Relate the account given of Boadicea.  
 Who completed the conquest of Britain ?  
 What is said of the Britons under the rule of Agricola ?  
 By what people were the Romans attacked in the reign of Ha-drian ?  
 Were the Caledonians conquered ?  
 By what people was Britain disturbed in the third and fourth centuries ?  
 What emperor ruled over Britain in this period ?  
 When did the Roman emperors abandon the island ?  
 Relate the moral condition of the country under the domination of the Romans.  
 What is said of the spiritual condition of Britain at the same period ?  
 Who was "England's first martyr ?" and under what Roman emperor were the British Christians first persecuted ?

## CHAPTER III.

What was the state of Britain after the departure of the Romans ?  
 What gave rise to the Saxon invasion ?  
 Relate the character of the Saxons.  
 Who were their first leaders ? and what was their success ?  
 By what Saxon chiefs were they followed ? and what kingdoms did they found ?

In what year are the Anglo-Saxons first called English ?  
 What is said of king Arthur ?  
 What is said of the history of the Heptarchy ?  
 What was the ascendant monarch of the Anglo-Saxons called ?  
 What remarkable incident occurred in the reign of Ethelbert ?  
 What circumstance led to the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons ?  
 Relate the result of the mission of Augustine.  
 Who succeeded Ethelbert as Bretwalda ? and what is said of him ?  
 Relate the wars of Penda, the Saxon king of Mercia.  
 By whom was Penda conquered ?  
 How did Wulfere extend his dominions ?  
 At what time did the yellow plague appear in England ?  
 Can you relate anything of Elfrid ?  
 Under whom did the kingdom of Mercia assume the ascendancy ?  
 When were the kingdoms of the Heptarchy united under one sovereign ?  
 What title did Egbert assume ?

#### CHAPTER IV.

When did the Danes first invade England ?  
 By whom was Egbert succeeded ?  
 With what success did the Danes invade England in the reign of Ethelwulf ?  
 What circumstance led to the partition of Ethelwulf's kingdom ?  
 In whose reign did the Danes again invade England ?  
 What was their success in the reign of Ethelred ?  
 Who succeeded Ethelred ?  
 Relate Alfred's first operations against the Danes.  
 By what means was he conquered by them ?  
 Where did he take refuge, and what were his employments in his retreat ?  
 By what means did Alfred gain intelligence of the councils and plans of the Danes ?  
 Relate the result of the battle at Ethundane.  
 Was he again troubled by the Danes ?  
 Relate their operations.  
 When did Alfred die ?  
 Can you relate anything of the character of Alfred ?  
 By whom was he succeeded ?  
 In what wars was Edward engaged ?  
 Who succeeded him on the throne ?  
 In what wars was Athelstane engaged ?  
 What title did Athelstane assume ? and what was his character ?  
 Can you relate anything of the events of Edmund's reign ?  
 By whom was Edmund succeeded ?  
 What events happened in Edred's reign ?  
 What commotions rent the kingdom in the reign of Edwy ?  
 What was the character and conduct of Dunstan ?

- What circumstance led to the death of Edwy?
- By whom was Edwy succeeded?
- What title did Edgar assume? and what was his character?
- Can you relate anything concerning the character of Elfrida?
- Can you relate the circumstances of the death of Edward the martyr?
- Who next succeeded to the throne of England?
- What circumstances led to the invasion of England by Sweyn, king of Denmark?
- What success attended his operations?

## CHAPTER V.

- Can you relate anything of "Thurkill's host?"
- Who defended Canterbury against the Danes? and what is said of Alphege, the archbishop?
- What circumstances led Sweyn again to invade England?
- What was the result of this invasion?
- By whom was Ethelred succeeded?
- What treaty was concluded between the Saxons and the Danes in the reign of Edmund Ironside?
- Who succeeded to the English throne at the death of Edmund?
- What was the conduct of Canute on his succession?
- What was his conduct at the latter part of his reign? By what incident is his power as a monarch illustrated?
- By whom was Canute succeeded on the throne?
- Can you relate the chief circumstances of Harold's reign?
- What is said of Hardicanute, his successor?
- Who did the people choose for their sovereign at the death of Hardicanute?
- By whom was Edward the Confessor assisted to the throne?
- Who in reality ruled the kingdom after his accession?
- What circumstances rendered Edward unpopular?
- What circumstance gave rise to a quarrel between Edward and earl Godwin?
- What were the results of this quarrel?
- Relate the death of earl Godwin.
- When did Edward die? and what was his character?
- By whom was he succeeded?
- What claims had William, duke of Normandy, to the throne of England?
- What was the conduct of William when he heard of the death of Edward?
- By whom was England invaded while William was preparing for war with Harold?
- Can you relate the circumstances of the battle of Hastings?
- What were its results?

## CHAPTER VI.

- What is said of the government of the Anglo-Saxons ?
- How were their kings elected ?
- Describe the castes among the Anglo-Saxons.
- Describe the divisions of the country at that period.
- What was the general character of the Anglo-Saxon laws ?
- Can you describe any of these laws ?
- What was the nature of guilds, or clubs, among the Anglo-Saxons ?
- What were the trades of the Anglo-Saxons ?
- Can you describe the commerce of the Anglo-Saxons ?
- What is said of their agriculture ?
- In what did their coinage, or money, consist ?
- What is said of the Anglo-Saxon women ?
- Describe the houses and furniture of this period.
- Describe the dress of the Anglo-Saxons.
- Describe their food.
- What is said of their salutations ?
- What of their conduct towards children ?
- What was their mode of travelling ?
- What were their amusements ?
- What is said of the literature of that period ? and what of the Anglo-Saxon language ?
- Relate what is said of the arts ; of poetry, painting, and architecture among the Anglo-Saxons.

## CHAPTER VII.

- What was the conduct of the Normans after the battle of Hastings ?
- What steps did William take to secure his conquest ?
- What circumstances attended his coronation ?
- What oath did he take ? and did he respect his oath ?
- What insurrections took place in the first year of his reign ?
- Relate his operations in Devonshire and other counties.
- What circumstances led to the revolt of Edward, earl of Mercia ?
- Can you relate anything concerning Aldred, the archbishop of York ?
- What is said of the disaffection of the English nobles and Norman chiefs ?
- Relate the various revolts which took place in 1069.
- Relate William's operations against the Northumbrian people.
- In what other parts did insurrections break out ?
- Relate his operations against Hereward, a Saxon leader.
- What circumstances called William to his continental dominions ?
- What circumstances recalled him to England ?
- What was the cause of a quarrel which broke out between William and his son Robert ?

- What was the character of Robert ?  
 Can you relate anything concerning Odo, the king's brother ?  
 By what means did William oppress England ?  
 What circumstances preceded his death ? and where did he die ?  
 In what manner was he buried ? and what was his character ?  
 By whom was William the Conqueror succeeded ?  
 What plan was formed for the dethronement of William, sur-named Rufus ?  
 Did it succeed ?  
 Relate the circumstances.  
 What is said of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury ?  
 What success attended the operations of William Rufus against the Welsh ?  
 What led Robert to mortgage Normandy to his brother William ?  
 Relate the circumstances attending the death of William Rufus.  
 By whom was he succeeded ?  
 In what way did Henry commence his reign ?  
 What success attended Robert's invasion of Palestine ?  
 What gave rise to a war with Robert and Henry ? and what were its results ?  
 Relate the events subsequent to this war.  
 In what way did he lose his only son ? and what effect had it upon him ?  
 What was the cause of his death ? and what was his character ?  
 Who succeeded Henry on the throne ?  
 In what way did Stephen seek to secure his usurped dignity ?  
 In what war was Stephen engaged ? and when did he die ?  
 What does the Saxon chronicler say of his reign ?  
 By whom was Stephen succeeded ?  
 What were the first acts of Henry's government ?  
 Relate his wars and negotiations on the continent.  
 Who assisted him in these wars and negotiations ?  
 What was the character of Thomas à Becket ?  
 What circumstances led to his death ?  
 What events followed his death ?  
 When was Ireland conquered ?  
 What circumstances attended the last year of Henry's life ?  
 What effect had the rebellion of his sons upon his mind ?  
 Where did he die ? and how was he buried ?  
 What were the principal features in his character ?  
 By whom was Henry II. succeeded ?  
 What circumstances attended the coronation of Richard ?  
 What circumstances led to his invasion of Palestine ? and what was his success ?  
 What circumstances led to his imprisonment ? and by what means was he discovered and released ?  
 What events had occurred in his absence ? and what was his conduct towards his brother John, who had usurped his throne ?



In what war was he subsequently engaged ? and by what means was he slain ?

Who succeeded Richard ?

In what wars was John engaged after his accession ?

What circumstances subsequently involved him in a quarrel with the pope ? and what were the results of this quarrel ?

Who induced him to submit to the pope ? and what were the circumstances attending his submission ?

What led to disputes between him and his nobles ? and what were the results of these disputes ?

What circumstances led to a war with his barons ? Where did he die ? and what was his character ?

## CHAPTER VIII.

Relate what is said of the crusades of this period.

Can you describe the feudal law established by the Normans ?

What is said of the Saxon courts of justice in this period ?

What was the result of the rigour of the Anglo-Norman government ?

What is said of the literature of this period ?

What is said of the art of agriculture ? of architecture ? of sculpture and painting ? of poetry and music ?

Can you describe the commerce of this period ?

What was the coined money of the Anglo-Saxons ?

Can you relate anything concerning the manners and customs of this period ?

What is said of the household furniture of the Normans ? and what is related of their dress ?

Describe their sports and pastimes.

## CHAPTER IX.

Who succeeded John on the throne of England ?

What age was Henry on his accession ?

Who was chosen protector ?

How did the earl of Pembroke govern ?

Who succeeded him in his office ?

When did Henry assume the government of England ? and what was the result ?

When was money first raised by direct taxation ?

On what condition did parliament consent to this measure ?

In 1224 there was a war with France : what led to it ? and what were the results ?

What happened to Hubert de Burgh at this period ?

Relate the circumstances.

Whom did Henry marry ? and what were the consequences of his marriage ?

What were the causes of a quarrel which now ensued between Henry and his barons ?

What was the result of this quarrel ? and when was it terminated ?

Relate the circumstances of the crusade in 1270.

When did Henry die ? and what were the chief features of his character ?

By whom was he succeeded ?

Relate the circumstances of the tournament at Chalons.

When was Edward crowned ?

How were the Jews treated by him ?

What was his ruling passion ?

What success attended his arms in Wales ?

In what way did he seek to replenish his treasury ?

What designs had he on the crown of Scotland ? with what success were they attended ?

What circumstances led to his ratification of the Great Charter ?

What success attended his arms in Flanders ?

In what war was he engaged when he died ? where did he die ? what was his character ? to what did his ambition conduce ?

By whom was Edward succeeded ?

What was the conduct of Edward II. when he ascended the throne ?

Whom did he marry ?

Can you relate anything concerning Gavestone, his favourite ?

What were the results of Edward's war with Scotland ?

Whom did he next take into his favour ?

Can you relate anything concerning the Despencers ? and what was the result of the favour shown them by Edward ?

When was Edward dethroned ?

What is related of his death ? and what was the character of his reign ?

Who succeeded him on the throne ?

At what age was Edward III. when he began his reign ?

There was war with Scotland at the commencement of his reign : relate the circumstances, and its results.

To whom was Edward married ? who governed the kingdom at this period ?

What is said concerning the death of Mortimer ?

On what grounds did Edward claim the crown of France ?

Can you relate the circumstances of the war which he undertook in support of his pretensions ?

Can you describe the battle of Crecy ?

What events followed this battle ?

In 1348 there was a great plague : what countries did it visit ?

When was war resumed with France ?

What were its consequences ?

Can you describe the battle of Poitiers ?

Edward the Black Prince commanded in this battle : what is sub-

sequently related of him ? When did he die ? What effect had his death on the health of his father ? When did Edward III. die ? What is said of his reign ?

By whom was he succeeded ?

What sort of government ruled England while Richard was a minor ?

In what wars was he engaged soon after his succession ?

These wars led to an insurrection : can you relate any of the circumstances attending it ?

To whom was Richard married ?

What quarrels took place at this period ?

What was the result of the quarrel between Richard and his parliament ?

Who was the second wife of Richard ?

What circumstances followed his marriage with Isabella ?

By whom was Richard deposed ?

By whom was he succeeded ?

## CHAPTER X.

Can you relate anything concerning the religion of this period ?

What is said of Wiclif ?

Can you relate anything of the government and laws of this period ?

What was the distinguishing characteristics of literature at this period ?

What was the common language of the learned ?

Who were the founders of English literature ?

What is said of the agriculture of this period ? what of the architecture ? what of sculpture and painting ? and what of music ?

What were the chief articles of commerce in this period ?

What were the relative values of the different kinds of coined money ?

Relate some of the leading features of the manners and customs of this period.

Give some account of the furniture and the dress of this period.

## CHAPTER XI.

When and where was Henry IV. crowned ?

What circumstances followed his coronation ?

When and where did Richard II. die ?

In what wars did Henry engage ?

What revolts took place in the early part of his reign ?

How did the commons act towards him ?

What circumstances troubled him in the latter years of his life ?

On what day and at what age did he die ?

By whom was he succeeded on the throne ?

What were the first acts of Henry of Monmouth ?

What commotion happened in the first year of his reign ?

- What measures did he adopt against the Lollards ?  
 In what war was Henry engaged after this commotion ?  
 Describe the battle of Agincourt.  
 What was the fate of sir John Oldcastle ?  
 What success attended the operations of Henry in Normandy ?  
 To whom was he married ?  
 When and where did he die ? and what was his character ?  
 By whom was he succeeded on the throne ?  
 Who governed the kingdom during the minority of Henry VI. ?  
 Relate some of the particulars of the war with France under the regency.  
 By whom was France delivered from the power of the English ?  
 State some of the leading features in the character of Joan of Arc.  
 What victories did she gain ?  
 What is said of Catherine of La Rochelle ?  
 Where was Joan of Arc captured ? and what was her fate ?  
 When was this war with France concluded ?  
 To whom was Henry of Windsor married ?  
 What circumstances led to the death of the duke of Gloucester ?  
 When was war resumed with France ? and what were its results ?  
 Relate the circumstances attending the death of the marquis of Suffolk.  
 Relate the circumstances of the insurrection headed by Cade.  
 Relate the circumstances of the revolt of the duke of York.  
 What were the results of this revolt ?  
 When was Edward IV. recognised king of England ?  
 What victories were gained by him after his accession ?  
 What circumstances led to a rupture between him and the earl of Warwick ?  
 What was the conduct of Warwick at the court of France ?  
 What was his success in his war against Edward ?  
 Where was he slain ?  
 What was the result of the battle of Tewkesbury ?  
 What tragedy occurred in 1478 ?  
 When did Edward die ? and what was his character ?  
 By whom was he succeeded ?  
 What was the character of Richard, duke of Gloucester ?  
 By what means did he encompass the death of lord Hastings ?  
 By what means did he usurp the throne ?  
 Relate the circumstances attending the deaths of Edward V. and his brother.  
 Who opposed the claim of Richard to the throne ?  
 Was Henry, earl of Richmond, successful ?  
 Describe the battle of Bosworth Field.

## CHAPTER XII.

- Can you relate what is recorded of the Lollards ?  
 What improvements were made in the government and laws in this period ?

In what condition was literature during this period ?

By whom was the art of printing introduced into England ?

Relate what is said of the architecture of this age.

Relate what is said of English music.

Describe the state of commerce in this period.

What new coins were issued ?

Can you relate anything concerning the furniture and dress of this period ?

What is said of chivalry ?

Can you recollect anything you have read concerning the hospitality and sports of this period ?

### CHAPTER XIII.

When was Henry VII. crowned ? and to whom was he married ?

Did this marriage put an end to the civil wars ?

What insurrection took place in Ireland ?

What was the result of Simnel's invasion of England ?

Can you relate any of the circumstances attending Henry's expedition to France ?

What is said of Perkin Warbeck ? who espoused Warbeck's cause ? and what was his fate ?

What was Henry's chief object after he had subdued all his enemies ?

Relate an event which illustrates his avaricious character.

How did he oppress his subjects ? when did he die ? and what is said of his reign ?

By whom was he succeeded ?

To whom was Henry VIII. first married ?

In what wars was he engaged ? and what were their results ?

Can you relate anything concerning his minister Wolsey ?

Can you relate anything concerning Henry's visit to Francis, king of France ?

What led to the death of the duke of Buckingham ?

What obtained for Henry the title of " Defender of the Faith ? "

What circumstances involved him in a quarrel with the church of Rome ?

Who was Henry's second wife ?

Can you relate anything concerning the fall of Wolsey ?

Can you relate anything of Cranmer and Thomas Cromwell ?

In what persecutions was Henry engaged ?

What was the fate of Anna Boleyn ?

Who was Henry's third wife ?

What measures did Henry adopt against the monastic establishments ?

In 1536 an insurrection took place : relate its chief features, and the results.

Who was Henry's fourth wife ?

How was the fall of Cromwell encompassed ?

Who was Henry's fifth wife ? and what was her fate ?

- To what did Henry devote his time after the death of Catherine ?  
 Who was Henry's sixth wife ?  
 By what means did she escape destruction ?  
 Did Henry continue his persecutions at the latter period of his life ?  
 Name some of his victims.  
 What circumstances attended the death of Henry ?  
 Relate what is said of the character of his reign ?  
 By whom was he succeeded ?  
 Who became protector during the minority of Edward VI. ?  
 In what war did the protector engage ?  
 Relate what is said of his measures in the promotion of the Reformation.  
 What circumstances led to insurrections during the protectorship ?  
 By whom was his fall encompassed ? how was it effected ? and what circumstance led to his death ?  
 What particular acts were passed in parliament, in 1552 ?  
 When did Edward VI. die ? and to whom did he bequeath the crown ?  
 Who succeeded him ?  
 What was the fate of lady Jane Grey ?  
 Describe the character of queen Mary.  
 By what means did she re-establish popery ? and what were the consequences of its re-establishment ?  
 To whom was Mary married ?  
 When did she commence the persecution of the Protestants ?  
 Relate some of the particulars of this persecution.  
 When did Mary die ? and what events led to her death ?  
 What was the character of her reign ?  
 By whom was Mary succeeded ?  
 What was Elizabeth's policy on ascending the throne ?  
 Did she succeed in re-establishing Protestantism ?  
 Was there any other claimant to the throne of England ?  
 What was the character of Mary, queen of Scotland ?  
 In what condition was her country ?  
 Whom did she marry, in 1565 ?  
 What were the results of this union ?  
 What was the fate of lord Darnley ?  
 What was the ultimate fate of Mary ?  
 Was Elizabeth concerned in her death ?  
 In what continental wars did Elizabeth engage ?  
 What were the results of her war with France ?  
 What circumstances led to her war with Spain ? and what were its chief features ?  
 Describe Babington's conspiracy.  
 In what year did the INVINCIBLE ARMADA sail from the Tagus ?  
 Can you relate the result of this expedition ?  
 What expedition followed the defeat of the Armada ?  
 What circumstances cast a gloom over the last years of Elizabeth's reign ?

In 1599 there was an insurrection in Ireland : who was appointed to put it down ?

Was Essex successful ?

What were the consequences of his failure ?

By whom and when was the insurrection in Ireland quelled ?

When did Elizabeth die ? and what is said of her reign ?

#### CHAPTER XIV.

Can you relate anything concerning the religion of this period ?

Can you relate anything concerning the government and laws of this period ?

What is said of the revenues of the crown ?

Did commerce flourish in this period ?

Describe some of the features of its progress.

What particular insurrection happened in the year 1517 ?

What was the origin of the English Russia Company ?

By whom and in whose reign was the Royal Exchange erected ?

What is said of the fairs of this period ?

What is said of the coinage of this period ?

Relate what is said of the furniture and costume of this period ?

What is said of the duello, or duel ?

Describe some of the chief features of the manners and customs of this period.

What particular festivals were observed ?

What improvements took place in agriculture ?

What were the chief manufactures of this period ?

What were the characteristics of the architecture ?

Who were the most celebrated painters ?

What was the condition of literature at this period ?

Name some of the most celebrated writers.

#### CHAPTER XV.

By whom was Elizabeth succeeded on the throne ?

When was James crowned ? and under what circumstances ?

What plot was discovered soon after his accession ?

Into what scheme did the Romanists enter to subvert the throne ?

Name the chief conspirators. Relate the particulars of this plot.

What was the fate of the conspirators ?

What was the conduct of James after this plot had been defeated ? and what was the effect of his conduct ?

Can you relate anything concerning the character of prince Henry ?

Who was the first favourite of king James ?

What was the fate of the earl of Somerset ? and what led to his death ?

Who was the next favourite of James ?

What was the character of Villiers, duke of Buckingham ?

- Can you relate anything concerning sir Walter Raleigh?  
 On what charge was he executed?  
 In what war did James engage after the death of Raleigh? and what were its results?  
 What circumstance subsequently led to a rupture with Spain?  
 When did James die? and what was his character?  
 By whom was he succeeded on the throne?  
 To whom was Charles married? and were the people satisfied with this union?  
 Did Charles continue the war with Spain?  
 Was he supported by his parliament?  
 Why did they refuse supplies? and how did he obtain money for carrying on the war with Spain?  
 What was the nature of the "Petition of Right?"  
 On what grounds did parliament quarrel with Charles?  
 What measures did he adopt to suppress its power?  
 For how long a period was there no parliament called?  
 What was the conduct of Charles during that period?  
 How did he oppress the Puritans?  
 What resulted from the levying of ship-money?  
 Who opposed this exaction in the court of Exchequer?  
 What circumstances gave rise to opposition to government in Scotland?  
 When did Charles again call a parliament?  
 What was the name given to this parliament? and what was its character?  
 What measures were adopted by this parliament?  
 When did war first break out between Charles and his parliament?  
 What battles were fought at this time? and what were their results?  
 What man appeared who was destined to overthrow the throne of Charles?  
 What battles decided his fate?  
 What measures followed the capture of Charles?  
 By what name was the next parliament denominated?  
 Did the Rump Parliament proceed to the trial of Charles?  
 Relate the particulars of his trial, and his execution.  
 What government was adopted on the death of Charles?  
 What was the success of Cromwell's operations in Ireland and Scotland?  
 How was he received in England on his return? and what measures followed his victories?  
 What induced a war with the Dutch?  
 By what means was the Rump Parliament overthrown?  
 By what parliament was it succeeded?  
 How was this parliament broken up?  
 What new dignity, and what powers were now conferred on Cromwell?  
 What battle put an end to the war with the Dutch?



- Can you relate the particulars ?  
 What were the first acts of Cromwell as lord-protector ?  
 What was the character and conduct of his first parliament ?  
 What conspiracy was formed to bring in Charles II. ?  
 What alliance did he form with France ?  
 What was Cromwell's conduct on being urged to assume the title  
 of king ?  
 What house of peers did he create ?  
 What were the consequences of this measure ?  
 What measures did he take to control his enemies ?  
 What victories did his troops, combined with the French, obtain ?  
 and what were the consequences ?  
 When did Cromwell die ? and whom did he name as his successor ?  
 Did Richard Cromwell long retain the title of protector ?  
 What circumstances led to his abdication from office ?  
 By whose means was Charles II. restored to his throne ?

## CHAPTER XVI.

Can you relate anything concerning religion in the reign of king James ?

Can you relate anything concerning religion in the reign of Charles I. ?

- Who held rule in matters of religion during the commonwealth ?  
 What was the conduct of the Puritans ?  
 State some of the leading features of the government in this period.  
 What was the character of the literature of this period ?  
 How did Cromwell encourage literature ?  
 What is said of the agriculture of this period ?  
 Give some account of the architecture, the sculpture, the painting,  
 and the music of this period.  
 Relate some particulars concerning the commerce.  
 What proofs are given of its prosperity ?  
 What improvements were made in the furniture of this period ?  
 Relate some particulars concerning the costume.  
 What was the customary mode of deciding "affairs of honour ?"  
 Describe the chief amusements of the courts of James and Charles.  
 Relate some particulars concerning the manners of the people at  
 this period.  
 What is said of the superstitions of the age ?  
 Relate some particulars of the town thieves and robbers in this  
 period.  
 Describe the chief amusements of the people.

## CHAPTER XVII.

- When did Charles II. land at Dover ?  
 How was he received by his subjects ?  
 How did he act towards the Cromwellites ?

- Describe the act of indemnity passed by parliament.  
 What other bills were presented to the king with the indemnity act ?  
 What measures were taken concerning the question of religion !  
 What measures were passed by the Pension Parliament ?  
 To whom, and when, was Charles II. married ?  
 For what sum of money did he sell Dunkirk to the French ?  
 Of what nature was the Conventicle Act? and what were its consequences ?  
 In 1665 a plague broke out in London : describe its consequences.  
 In 1666 a fire broke out in the city : describe its results.  
 What were the chief characteristics of the history of England for several years after these events ?  
 Describe some of the incidents which occurred.  
 What plot was discovered in 1678 ?  
 Give some account of it.  
 What events happened in Scotland at this period ?  
 When was the Habeas Corpus Act passed, and what is its character ?  
 Into what parties was the nation now divided ?  
 What was the conduct of parliament at this period ?  
 What was the result of its opposition to the king ?  
 Describe the nature and result of the Rye-house plot.  
 Describe the nature of the persecutions of this period, both in England and Scotland.  
 When did Charles die? and what was his character as a man and a king ?  
 Who succeeded him on the throne ?  
 How did James act on his accession ?  
 What insurrections occurred soon after his succession ?  
 What were the results of these insurrections ?  
 What measures did James adopt for the re-establishment of popery ?  
 What were the results of these measures ?  
 Can you describe the circumstances attending the Revolution ?  
 When the throne of James was subverted by William what convention was entered into by the latter with the English and the Scotch ?

## CHAPTER XVIII.

- Can you relate any of the particulars concerning the religion of this period ?  
 What was the character of the government ?  
 Describe the condition of literature.  
 What is said of painting and music ?  
 Do you recollect anything of what you have read concerning the commerce of this period ?  
 What is said of the growth of London ?

Describe the coinage of this period.  
 What is said of the costume?  
 What is said of the manners?  
 Describe the chief amusements.

## CHAPTER XIX.

In what condition did William III. find himself when he ascended the throne?

Give some account of the opposition he met with from parliament.

What means did James adopt to recover his throne, and what was his success?

In what continental war did William engage?

Describe some of the results.

What conspiracies took place at this period?

What was the origin of the Bank of England?

Can you relate anything concerning the death of queen Mary?

William was still at war with the French: what efforts were now made for carrying on the war?

In 1696 a plot was discovered for the assassination of William: describe its character.

When was peace made with France? and on what conditions?

What particular events followed the peace of Ryswick?

What circumstances led William to contemplate the resignation of his crown?

What events led to the war of succession?

What act was passed in 1701 for the settlement of the succession to the English crown?

What events led to a renewal of war with France?

Did William live to commence this war?

When did he die? and what was his character?

By whom was William succeeded?

Under whose influence did Anne rule?

What were the leading events of her reign?

Can you describe any of the operations of Marlborough against the French?

What is the nature of "Queen Anne's Bounty"?

When did the union between England and Scotland take place, and what was its character?

Can you relate anything concerning the intrigues of Mrs. Masham?

Can you relate anything concerning Sacheverell?

When was peace made with France?

What were the terms of the treaty of Utrecht?

What followed the conclusion of war?

Describe the nature of these intrigues.

When did queen Anne die? and what was her character?

Who succeeded her on the throne?

How was George I. received by his English subjects?

What was his character as a politician?

What efforts were made to subvert his throne ?

Relate some of the particulars concerning the operations of the pretender.

What was the result of the rebellion in Scotland ?

What was the great object of the Septennial Act ?

In 1718 a war broke out with Spain : describe its operations and results.

What circumstance led to a bill for limiting the peerage at this period ?

Can you give any account of the memorable South Sea Company ?

What plot was discovered in 1722 ?

In 1726 there was again war with Spain : state its origin and results.

Where did George I. die ? and what was his character ?

By whom was he succeeded on the throne ?

Under what circumstances did George II. ascend the throne ?

What is said of his person and manners ?

What is said of the character of his queen, Caroline ?

What measures distinguished parliament in the years 1729 and 1730 ?

In what does the history of England chiefly consist for the next four years ?

Relate some of the events which took place.

When did queen Caroline die ?

What anecdote is related in proof of the king's affection for her ?

What particular debate took place in parliament in 1738 ?

At this time war again broke out with Spain : relate the particulars.

In what other war was England engaged in 1743 ?

To what other war did this lead ?

Can you relate any of the particulars concerning the attempts made by the young pretender to regain the throne of England ?

What events on the continent preceded the treaty of Aix la Chapelle ? and what were the consequences of the war with Spain ?

What is related of the strife of parties at this period ?

When was the calendar changed ? and what was the nature of the change ?

In 1753 an alteration took place in the law of marriage : describe the circumstances which led to it.

In 1755 a war broke out with France : what is this war called in history ?

Describe its origin, and its first operations and results.

What new taxes were imposed in 1758, to meet the expenses of this war ?

What were the operations of the war in this year ?

What were the operations of the war in 1759 ?

When did George II. die ? and under what circumstances ?

## CHAPTER XX.

Can you relate anything concerning the religion of this period ?

What were the peculiar characteristics of the government ?

What was the condition of literature ?

What is said of painting ? what of agriculture : what of engraving ? what of music ?

Describe the condition of the commerce of this period.

What is said of the party spirit of this period ?

What was the character of the education of this period ?

To what evils did the defective state of education lead ?

Give some account of the amusements of this period.

## CHAPTER XXI.

By whom was George II. succeeded on the throne ?

In what condition was the kingdom at the accession of George III. ?

To whom and when was he married ?

When were their majesties crowned, and what particular spectator witnessed the ceremony ?

In what condition was the affairs of Europe in 1761 ?

When was peace concluded, and what were the terms of the treaties ?

What particular dissensions arose out of this peace ?

What measures gave rise to discontents in America ? and what changes took place in the government ?

What further measures incensed the Americans ?

What particular circumstances embarrassed ministers at home at this period ?

What changes took place in the ministry from this embarrassment ?

When did war break out in America ? and what were its first operations under general Gage ?

Who succeeded Gage in the command ? and what were the first operations of his successor ?

What particular bills were passed in 1777, in reference to the Americans ?

What were the operations of the war in this year ?

When did France contract an alliance with the Americans ? and what was its result ?

In what other wars was England engaged in 1799 ?

What were the leading events of this general war in 1780 and 1781 ?

What change took place in the administration in 1783 ?

What was the result of this change ?

Describe the treaties of peace entered into by the Rockingham administration.

What new changes now took place in the ministry ?

What particular riot occurred in London during this war with America ?

Give some account of it.

In 1785 a treaty of commerce and navigation was signed between France and Great Britain : state its particular features.

What attempt was made upon the life of the king in 1787 ?

In the next year what happened to the king ?

What was the result of the aid which the king of France afforded to the Americans ?

Can you relate any particulars concerning the revolution in France ?

What was the result of this revolution as regards England ?

When does Napoleon's name first appear in history ?

What attempts were made to set up a republic in England ?

Were they successful ? State their results.

In 1794 Holland allied itself with France : what were its consequences to England ?

Can you describe the mutiny at Sheerness, which took place in 1797 ?

Can you describe the battle fought by Nelson in 1798, in the road of Aboukir ?

When was Ireland united with England ?

What event, in 1799, led to a rupture between England and Russia ?

Describe the events of the war in the years 1800 and 1801.

What particular commotions prevailed at this period in England ?

What armed neutrality was entered into at this period ?

What were its immediate consequences ?

When was peace made with France and Russia ?

What were the features of the treaty of peace ?

Was it lasting ?

What led to a new rupture between France and England ?

When was Napoleon created emperor of the French ?

What European powers acknowledged his dignity ?

What coalition was formed against him ?

What great naval victory was gained by Nelson, in 1805 ?

What were its consequences to Nelson ?

What were its consequences to the French ?

What great statesman died at this period ?

What changes took place in the administration at this period ?

What were the operations of the war in 1806 ?

What decrees were issued by Napoleon against England ? and what counter proclamations were issued by England against Napoleon ?

What were the consequences of the continental system to Denmark ?

What led to a peace between France and Russia ?

What was the first results of this treaty ?

Can you describe the military operations in Spain and Portugal, in 1808?

Who did Napoleon finally place on the throne of Spain?

What happened to George III. in 1810?

To what did his physicians attribute his malady?

Who was appointed to the regency?

What event led to a change in the ministry?

To whom was Napoleon, about this time, married?

What led to a war between Napoleon and the emperor of Russia?

Who assumed the offensive?

What were the consequences of his invasion of Russia?

What events had happened in Spain while he was thus engaged?

What nations now combined against him?

Describe their operations.

When did the allies enter France?

What were the results?

What were the conditions of the peace which followed?

Who visited England after this First Peace of Paris?

Was the peace lasting?

What led again to war?

Describe the circumstances attending Napoleon's escape from Elba.

What armies were raised against him?

What battles followed?

Describe the battle of Waterloo.

What were its results?

To what island was Napoleon banished?

What was the character of the "Second Peace of Paris?"

What was the character of the "Holy Alliance" formed at this period?

What royal marriages took place in 1816?

What riots now took place in England? and from what causes?

What expedition was now fitted out against Algiers? and what was its success?

When did the princess Charlotte die?

What marriages took place in consequence?

When did queen Charlotte die? and what was her character?

What riots took place in 1818? and what measures resulted from them?

When did George III. die? and how were the people affected by his death?

Who succeeded him on the throne?

What had alienated the affections of the subjects of George IV. from him?

In what condition was the nation at his accession?

What conspiracy signalized the commencement of his reign?

Relate the particulars of this conspiracy.

What particular trial took place at this period?

Relate the particulars of this trial.

What circumstances attended the coronation of George IV.?

When did queen Caroline die, and what events happened at her death?

What noted character died in 1821?

What subjects occupied the attention of parliament in the years 1822 and 1823?

What instance of munificence did the king give at this period?

What steps were taken in the session of 1824 towards a more unrestricted system of trade?

What war broke out this year? and what were its results?

What noted characters died in the year 1827?

What changes took place in the administration subsequent to the death of Mr. Canning?

When did the Catholic Emancipation Bill pass?

What particular bill passed in parliament in the session of 1830?

What event interrupted the business of the session?

What was the character of George IV.?

By whom was he succeeded on the throne?

Did any change take place in the administration on his accession?

What revolution took place in France this year?

What effect had this revolution in England?

Describe some of the disturbances which took place.

What events led to a change in the administration?

What was the character of the new ministry?

What measure were they pledged to carry in parliament?

What was the nature of the proposed reform?

Were ministers successful?

What was the result of their defeat?

By what test were the candidates tried at the new election?

Was the Reform Bill again proposed? and was it successful?

What were the consequences of its rejection?

When did the coronation of king William take place? and what was the character of the ceremony?

What particular malady visited England at this period?

Describe the progress of the cholera morbus.

When did ministers again bring forward the question of reform?

What were the results?

By what means was the measure finally carried?

What particular measures rendered the session of 1833 memorable?

What was the condition of Ireland at this period?

What measures were adopted in 1834 to repress these outrages?

What particular act signalized the Melbourne administration?

What changes took place in the administration in the years 1834 and 1835?

What laws were passed in 1836?

When did king William die? and what was his character?

By whom was he succeeded on the throne?

How was the accession of queen Victoria hailed by the people?

In what condition was the country on her accession?



How did the great corporation of the city of London exhibit its loyalty to the crown ?

What particular events characterized the year 1838 ?

What measures were adopted by parliament in the session of 1839 ?

Can you describe the riots which took place at Birmingham this year ?

To whom was queen Victoria married ? and when ?

In 1840 events led to a war with China : what were these events ? and what were the results of this war ?

What change took place in the administration in the year 1841 ? and what events led to this change ?

What important treaty was signed this year ? and by what powers ?

What important measures were passed in the session of 1842 ?

Hostilities were this year renewed with China : what were their results ?

What other war was the British engaged in this year ?

Give some account of this war.

What was the aspect of affairs in 1843 ?

What measures were adopted by parliament this year ?

What commotions took place in Ireland ?

What disturbances took place in Wales in 1844 ?

What war occurred in the East Indies this year ?

What particular acts were passed in parliament this year ?

Who were appointed to the governments of the East Indies and China ?

What acts were passed in the session of 1845 ?

In what wars were the British engaged in India during this year ?

Give some account of the operations of these wars.

What great measure was passed in the session of 1846 ?

By whom was the Corn-Law Bill carried ?

What were the consequences of sir Robert Peel's success to him as minister ?

Who succeeded him in office ?

What particular calamity visited England, Ireland, and Scotland in the autumn of 1846 ?

What were the consequences of this visitation to Ireland ?

By what was that country distinguished at the close of 1847 ?

What particular event happened in this year in England ?

What particular cause gave rise to this distress ?

What is said of Great Britain at the close of this history ?

THE END.

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